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Reports on the working of the Reformed Constitution, 1927

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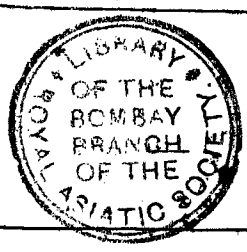

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Letter no. F. 181/27-Public, dated the 26th March 1927.

From—The Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

To—The Chief Secretaries of all local Governments.

SUBJECT.—*Report on the working of the Reforms.*

I am directed to invite a reference to the Home Department letter no. D.-917, dated the 23rd April 1923, in which the Government of India asked all local Governments except Burma, for a report on the working of the reformed constitution and its results, political, financial and administrative covering the whole period from the commencement of the Government of India Act up to date. (A copy of that letter is attached.)

2. In the following year the Government of India in letter no. F.-166, dated the 8th April 1924, from this Department instituted a further enquiry not merely with the object of obtaining a clear picture of the then existing situation, but also with a view to determining the difficulties arising from or the defects inherent in the working of the present transitional constitution and in order to see how far the situation could be improved without taking measures so far-reaching as to involve Fundamental changes in the policy and purpose of the Government of India Act. [In their letter no. 532, dated the 28th July, 1924, the Madras Government brought up to date the history of the development of the Reforms in actual working which they had supplied in their letter no. 838, dated the 18th July, 1923.]

3. When the Statutory Commission has been appointed under section 84A of the Government of India Act, or possibly at some date in advance of that appointment, it will be necessary to address to the $\frac{\text{Government of Madras}}{\text{etc.}}$ enquiries similar to, but more extensive and detailed than, those made in 1924. Meanwhile the Government of India desire to be supplied with descriptive reports of the nature indicated in the Home Department letter of 23rd April, 1923, showing the working of the reformed constitution up to the end of the life-time of the last councils. It will be convenient if the reports follow generally the lines laid down in 1923, but the lapse of time and the growth of the constitution may justify considerable departures from those lines in the manner indicated in paragraph 8 of the instructions of 1923. I am therefore to suggest that the $\frac{\text{Madras Government}}{\text{etc.}}$ may include in their report such matters not specifically mentioned in the scheme of 1923 as are necessary to afford a comprehensive account of the working of the constitution in recent conditions.

4. The Government of India recognize that preparation of these reports will necessarily take some time, but judging from the experience of 1923 they trust that the Madras Government may find it possible to submit the report now called for not later than the 1st July 1927.

( ) To Government of Burma.

[ ] To Madras only.

MADRAS.

Letter No. 755, dated the 19th August 1927.

From—The Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to forward the Madras Government's Memorandum on the working of the reformed constitution revised to date and to state that the views expressed there have the concurrence of the Hon'ble the Ministers. The Madras Government do not consider that there is anything in the Memorandum which should not be published.

ENCLOSURE.

MEMORANDUM ON THE WORKING OF THE REFORMED CONSTITUTION BROUGHT UP TO 1ST JULY 1927.

A.—THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

Paragraph 3 (i)—Constitution and personnel of the Executive Government on both the reserved and transferred sides, and distribution of business.*

1. *Nil.*

2. The strength of the Executive Government under the Reforms introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, was fixed as follows for the Madras Presidency :—

Four Members of the Executive Council, and

Three Ministers.

The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson and the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir Charles) Todhunter were reappointed as Members of Council, and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur (now Sir) Muhammad Habib-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur and the late Hon'ble Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar were appointed as the Indian Members of Council. All the four Members took their seats with effect from the 17th December 1920.

3. The three Ministers who were appointed from the same date were—

(1) The late Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur A. Subbarayulu Reddiyar Garu.

(2) The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. Ramarayaningar (now Sir P. Ramarayaningar, Raja of Panagal).

*The reference is to the paragraphs of Mr. Crerar's D. O. No. D. 917 (Confd.), dated the 23rd April 1923.

(3) The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur (now Sir) K. Venkatareddi Nayudu Garu.

In selecting the Ministers His Excellency the Governor adopted the plan, in strict consonance with the British constitutional practice, of calling upon the leader of the party which had been returned to power by the general elections to make recommendations.

4. The subsequent changes in the personnel of the reserved half of the Government were—

(*a*) The Hon'ble Sir Charles Todhunter took leave from May to October 1921 and the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir Arthur) Knapp was appointed temporary Member of Council.

(*b*) The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson retired from active service from 1st April 1922 and the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir Arthur) Knapp was appointed as permanent Member in the vacancy.

(*c*) The late Hon'ble Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar resigned from the 12th February 1923 and the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir) C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar was appointed Member in his place.

(*d*) The Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir Arthur) Knapp availed himself of six months' leave from the 1st May 1923, and the Hon'ble Mr. R. A. Graham was appointed as temporary Member.

(*e*) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habib-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur having been appointed, from the 1st November 1923, a member of the Royal Commission on the superior civil services in India, the Hon'ble Raja (now Sir) V. Vasudeva Raja Avargal, Valiya Nambidi of Kollengode, was appointed to be a temporary Member of the Council. The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Habib-ul-lah resumed charge of his office on the afternoon of the 31st March 1924.

(*f*) His Excellency Lord Willingdon having vacated his office on departure for England with effect from the afternoon of 12th April 1924, the Hon'ble Sir Charles Todhunter acted as Governor and the Hon'ble Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks as Member of the Council until the arrival of His Excellency Viscount Goschen, who assumed office as Governor on the forenoon of 14th April 1924.

(*g*) On the resignation of the Hon'ble Sir Charles Todhunter with effect from the afternoon of 26th April 1924, the Hon'ble Mr. R. A. Graham was appointed permanent Member of the Council and took his seat on the afternoon of that date.

(*h*) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habib-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur having been appointed Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council resigned the office of Member of Council on the afternoon of the 27th December 1924 and the Hon'ble Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks was appointed Member of Council in his place.

(*i*) The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Knapp resigned on the afternoon of the 30th March 1925 and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur was appointed Member in his place.

(*j*) The Hon'ble Mr. R. A. Graham resigned on the afternoon of the 27th April 1925 and the Hon'ble Mr. T. E. Moir was appointed in the vacancy.

(*k*) On the deputation of the Hon'ble Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar as one of the Indian Delegates to the League of Nations, the Hon'ble Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell was appointed temporary Member of Council with effect from the afternoon of the 7th August 1926. The Hon'ble Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar resumed charge on the forenoon of the 10th October 1926.

5. On the 'transferred' side, upon the resignation of the late Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur A. Subbarayulu Reddiyar Garu from 11th July 1921, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur (now Sir) A. P. Patro was appointed as Minister in the resultant vacancy.

Upon the dissolution of the first Legislative Council with effect from the 11th September 1923, the Ministry having resigned office, the Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal (now Sir P. Ramarayaningar) and Hon'ble Rao Bahadur (now Sir A. P. Patro were reappointed by His Excellency the Governor with effect from the forenoon of 19th November 1923. The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur (now Sir) T. N. Sivagnanam Pillai was appointed from the same date in succession to the Hon'ble Sir K. Venkatareddi Nayudu Garu.

There was no change in the personnel of the Ministers during the life-time of the last Council. Upon its dissolution the Ministers resigned (on the 3rd December 1926) as their party no longer possessed a majority. The Swarajists, the largest party in the Council, declined to accept office. The new Ministry was formed from amongst those Members of the Council who were returned as 'Independents'. The personnel of the Ministry is as follows :—

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan ..	Minister for Education and Local Self Government.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar.	Minister for Development.
The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar.	Minister for Public Health.

6. Under sub-section (2) of section 49 of the Government of India Act, the following distribution of business among the Members of the Executive Council and the Ministers was made by His Excellency the Governor on the introduction of the Reforms scheme. The portfolios reserved for His Excellency the

Governor in the pre-Reform Council were distributed among other Members of the Cabinet :—

HOME MEMBER
- The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson—17th December 1920 to 31st March 1922.
- The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Knapp—1st April 1922 to 30th April 1923.
- The Hon'ble Mr. R. A. Graham—1st May 1923 to 25th October 1923.
- The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Knapp—26th October 1923 to 30th March 1925.
- The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur—31st March 1925 to date.

*Aliens.
Administration report.
Air-craft.
Arms and explosives.
Cinchona.
†Court of Wards and zamindars.
*Criminal justice, including petitions for mercy.
Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, except 'settlements and schools established under sections 16 to 19 '.
Dramatic performances and cinematographs.
‡Ecclesiastical.
‡European education.
*European vagrancy.
Excluded areas.
Forests, including preservation of game.
*Magistracy.
§Malabar affairs.
‡Military.
*Newspapers, books and printing presses.
*Passports.
Pilgrimages outside British India.
*Police.
‡Political.
Public Works (Governor's residences).
Protection of wild birds and animals.
*Railways.
*Regulation of betting and gambling.
*Reports on matters of political and administrative importance.
Rewards for saving life and property.
*State prisoners.

* Since transferred to Law Member.
† Since transferred to Revenue Member.
‡ Since transferred to Finance Member.
§ New subject allotted as a result of the Mappilla rebellion.

FINANCE MEMBER ..
- The Hon'ble Sir Charles Todhunter—17th December 1920 to 3rd May 1921 ; 24th October 1921 to 12th April 1924 and 14th April 1924 to 26th April 1924.
- The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Knapp—4th May 1921 to 23rd October 1921.
- The Hon'ble Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks—13th April 1924.
- The Hon'ble Mr. R. A. Graham—27th April 1924 to 27th April 1925.
- The Hon'ble Mr. T. E. Moir—28th April 1925 to date.

Archæology.
Borrowing.
Conduct of business in Council.
Customs.
Finance.
†Government Press.
Income tax.
‡Indian Civil Service questions other than leave and appointments.
Local fund audit.
Meteorology.
Move of Government to the hills.
‡Office procedure.
Pensions.
‡Petition rules—general questions.
Precedence.
Posts, telegraphs and telephones.
*Ports.
Protected monuments.
*Publicity (including Editors' Table).
‡Public Service Commission and service questions, including examinations and special tests, land returns and Government Servants' Conduct Rules.
‡Reforms—not being legislative.
*Public Works (Harbours).
Salt.
†Stores and stationery for reserved departments.
Taxation.
Trade.

* Transferred to Law Member.
† Transferred to Home Member.
‡ Transferred to Revenue Member.

REVENUE MEMBER — The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habibullah Sahib Bahadur—17th December 1920 to 31st October 1923 and 31st March 1924 to 27th December 1924.
The Hon'ble Raja (now Sir) V. Vasudeva Raja, Valiya Nambidi of Kollengode—1st November 1923 to 31st March 1924 (afternoon).
The Hon ble Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks—28th December 1924 to date.

†Boilers.
†Census.
Development of mineral resources.
Economic condition, including prices and wages.
*Electricity and water power.
Escheats.
Famine relief.
*Inland water-ways.
*Irrigation—major works.
Land acquisition.
Land Revenue administration (other than Court of Wards and zamindars and landlord and tenant).
Minor irrigation.
Pounds.
†Stamps.
Territorial changes (intra-provincial).
Treasure trove.
Water-rates.
Wild animals and rewards for their destruction.
Yeomiahs and hereditary pensions.

LAW MEMBER — The Hon'ble Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar—17th December 1920 to 11th February 1923.
The Hon'ble Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar—12th February 1923 to 7th August 1926 and 10th October 1926 to date.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell—8th August 1926 to 9th October 1926.

Administrator-General, and Official Trustee.
Cantonments.
Civil justice.
†Civil supplies.
Companies.
†Criminal tribes (settlement and schools established under sections 16 to 19 of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911).
†Depressed classes.
Elections.
†Emigration.
Extradition.
Kazis.
†Labour and factories.
Landlord and tenant, including Estates Land Act.
Law officers.
Law reports.
Legislation.
Nuisances.
Poisons.
†Prisons.
Prevention of cruelty to animals.
†Reformatories.
Regulation of medical and other professional qulifications.
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Vehicles.

B.—MINISTERS.

MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND PUBLIC WORKS — The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur A. Subbarayulu Reddiyar—17th December 1920 to 10th July 1921.
The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur (now Sir) A. P. Patro—11th July 1921 to 3rd December 1926.

Education (other than European and Anglo-Indian education).
Excise.
Libraries.
Public Works, other than Governor's residences, harbour works, irrigation tramways and light railways.
Registration of deeds and documents.
Stores and stationery for transferred departments.

* Transferred to Law Member.
† Transferred to Home Member

MINISTER FOR LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT. } The Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal (now Sir P. Ramarayaningar)—17th December 1920 to 3rd December 1926.

Adulteration of foodstuffs.
Local Self-Government.
Medical administration.
Pilgrimages within British India.
Public health and sanitation and vital statistics.
Religious and charitable endowments.
Registration of births, deaths and marriages.
Tramways and light railways.

MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT. { The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sir K. Venkatareddi Nayudu —17th December 1920 to 18th November 1923. The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Sir T. N. Sivagnanam Pillai—19th November 1923 to 3rd December 1926.

Agriculture.
Civil Veterinary department.
Co-operative societies.
Development of industries, including industrial research and technical education.
Fisheries.
Weights and measures.

6-A. The following statement shows the distribution of business as at present arranged :—

A.—MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

I.— LAW MEMBER—The Hon'ble Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, K.C.I.E.

Civil Justice.
Criminal Justice (including petitions for mercy).
Elections.
Electricity (including Hydro-Electric Schemes).
Foreigners.
Fortnightly report.
Irrigation.
Landlord and tenant.
Legislative.
Magistracy.
Marine.
Miscellaneous Judicial heads.
Passports.
Police (including Criminal Investigation Department).
Press and registration of books.
Publicity (including Editors' Table).
Railways.
Report on matters of political and administrative importance.
State prisoners.
Translators to Government.

II. REVENUE MEMBER—The Hon'ble Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks, C.S.I., C.I.E.

Agency.
Constitution of districts, divisions and taluks.
Court of Wards.
Economic condition (including prices and wages).
Escheats.
Famine.
General (*i.e.*, questions of a general nature which cannot be allotted to any particular department).
Government servants' conduct rules.
Indian Civil Service—questions other than leave and appointments.
Land Revenue, Survey and Settlement.
Mines.
Office Procedure.
Petition rules—general questions.
Pounds and special funds.
Public Service Commission and service questions including examinations and special tests and land returns.
Reforms—not being legislative.
Treasure trove.
Warrant of precedence.
Wild animals.
Yeomiahs, inams and hereditary pensions.

II. HOME MEMBER—The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur.

- Administration report.
- Air-craft.
- Arms and explosives.
- Boilers.
- Census.
- Certificate of age and qualification.
- Criminal tribes.
- Depressed classes.
- Emigration.
- Forests (including Cinchona).
- Government Houses.
- Jails.
- Labour (including factories).
- Laccadives.
- Pilgrims to the Hedjaz.
- Reformatories.
- Regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards.
- Rewards for saving life and property.
- Staff and household of His Excellency the Governor.
- Stamps.
- Stationery and Government Presses.

IV. FINANCE MEMBER—The Hon'ble Mr. T. E. Moir, C.S.I., C.I.E.

Central Subjects—

- Archæology and Epigraphy.
- Customs (including trade).
- Ecclesiastical.
- Income-tax.
- Meteorology.
- Opium.
- Political (other than matters relating to Indian States).
- Post Office.
- Salt.
- Telegraphs and telephones.
- European education.
- Finance.
- Military.
- Move of Government to the Hills.
- Pensions.

B.—MINISTERS.

1. MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. } The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan.

- Education other than European and Anglo-Indian education.
- Libraries, Museums and Zoological gardens.
- Light and Feeder Railways and Tramways within municipal areas.
- Local Self-Government.

II. MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT—The Hon'ble Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar.

- Agriculture.
- Civil Veterinary Department.
- Co-operative Societies.
- Development of Industries.
- Public Works (buildings, roads, ferries, ropeways, etc.).
- Registration.
- Religious and Charitable Endowments.

III. MINISTER FOR PUBLIC HEALTH—The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar.

- Adulteration of foodstuffs and other articles.
- Excise.
- Fisheries.
- Medical administration.
- Pilgrimages within British India.
- Public Health and sanitation and vital statistics.
- Weights and measures.

Paragraph 3 (ii). Allocation of funds to reserved and transferred subjects.

7. The division of provincial subjects into reserved and transferred has not been attended by an allocation of the sources of the provincial revenue to the two branches. The expenditure on services of all kinds is a charge on the general revenues and balances of the province ; and the allocation of funds to reserved and transferred subjects is a matter for agreement between the two halves of the Government (*vide* Devolution Rule 31). In the event of failure to arrive at an agreement, the question would have to be decided either by His

Excellency the Governor or by an authority appointed by the Governor-General on the application of the Governor (Devolution Rules 32—35). The latter contingency has not arisen in connexion with the preparation of any of the provincial budgets since the Reforms as the apportionment of funds between reserved and transferred subjects has so far been settled amicably by the combined Government at their joint deliberations.

8. The present procedure adopted by the combined Government in dealing with the expenditure budget is briefly as follows. The budget is divided into part I 'Standing Sanctions' which means items which have already received the approval of the Legislative Council; and part II 'New Schemes' which have yet to go before it. In the case of the former, while there is much calculation and adjustment of detail, there is no question of policy to be considered, while the latter involve the consideration of matters of policy, sometimes from quite a number of points of view. The estimates for 'Standing Sanctions', in the case of both reserved and transferred departments, go through the processes of examination by the Secretariat and are subjected to financial scrutiny; and the estimates, as revised by the Finance Department, are placed by major heads before the Finance Committee. No changes have so far been insisted on by the Finance Committee in Part I of the estimates. The recommendations of the Finance Committee in regard to Part II schemes are made in a classified form in the following order :—

(1) schemes which are essential to the carrying on of the administration;

(2) those that are very urgently necessary;

(3) those that it is advisable to put into effect as soon as funds are available; and

(4) schemes that the Committee do not recommend.

The recommendations of the Finance Committee are then considered by the combined Government at their joint meeting specially convened for the purpose; and, with reference to the funds available after providing for 'Standing Sanctions', a selection is made by them of the 'New Schemes' which should be included in the budget to be presented to the Legislative Council.

9. The following statement shows in broad outline the allocation of funds year after year to the reserved and transferred departments since the introduction of the Reforms in 1921-22. Although there have been extensive redistributions of subjects among the reserved departments, yet the general line of boundary between reserved and transferred subjects has remained intact; hence it is possible to trace in the statement a gradual increase in the yearly allocations to transferred subjects. It is necessary to point out, however, that there are numerous departments on either side which do work for both sides, and that it is not possible to arrive at any exact distribution of expenditure between the two. To take a few instances, there is a large part of the staff concerned with the general administration which serves all departments. The pay of Ministers who are in charge of transferred departments was till 1924-25 shown as reserved. The buildings relating to reserved departments come under Public Works (Transferred). There are other charges which are common to both reserved and transferred departments although the budget shows them as

reserved, such as "interest on debt, repayment of loans, superannuation allowances and pensions and printing".

Year.	Total expenditure.	Reserved.	Transferred.	Percentage to total expenditure. Reserved.	Percentage to total expenditure. Transferred.
	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.		
1921-22 (Accounts)	(a) 1,677·92	1,254·24	423·68	75	25
1922-23 (do.)	1,609·24	1,199·75	409·49	75	26
	(b) + 5·78		(b) + 5·78		
1923-24 (do.)	1,611·54	1,192·21	419·33	74	26
	(b) 2·00		(b) 2·00		
1924-25 (do.)	1,657·06	1,225·61	431·45	74	26
	(c) — 7·78		(c) —7·78		
1925-26 (do.)	1,595·23	1,107·88	487·35	69	31
1926-27 (Revised)	1,617·81	1,083·30	534·51	67	33
1927-28 (Budget)	1,561·60	953·95	607·65	61	39

(a) Includes grants for water-supply and drainage schemes.

(b) Represents grants for water-supply and drainage schemes shown in the Capital account.

(c) Represents grants for water supply and drainage charged to the Capital account in 1922-23 and 1923-24 and written back to Revenue in the accounts for 1924-25.

Excluding the provincial contribution to the Central Government which is reserved, the percentage given above will work as under :—

Year.	Total expenditure.	Reserved.	Transferred.	Percentage to total expenditure. Reserved.	Percentage to total expenditure. Transferred.
	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.		
1921-22 (Accounts)	(a) 1,329·92	906·24	423·68	68	32
1922-23 (do.)	1,261·24	851·75	409·49	67	33
	(b) + 5·78		(b) +5·78		
1923-24 (do.)	1,263·54	844·21	419·33	67	33
	(b) + 2·00		(b) +2·00		
1924-25 (do.)	1,309·06	877·61	431·45	67	33
	(c) — 7·78		(c) —7·78		
1925-26 (do.)	1,373·25	885·90	487·35	65	35
1926-27 (Revised)	1,452·62	918·11	534·51	63	37
1927-28 (Budget)	The remission of the provincial contribution has been taken into account in the framing of the budget.				

(a) Includes grants for water-supply and drainage schemes.

(b) Represents grants for water-supply and drainage schemes shown in the Capital account.

(c) Represents grants for the water-supply and drainage charged to the Capital account in 1922-23 and 1923-24 and written back to Revenue in the accounts for 1924-25.

Paragraph 3 (iii). Constitutional or Cabinet difficulties and the resignation on such grounds of Members or Ministers.

10. Joint meetings of both sides of the Cabinet as opposed to meeting of the Executive Council was almost the invariable rule during the first Ministry after the introduction of the Reforms (1921 to 1923) as shown by the figures below :—

Year.	Meetings of	
	Cabinet.	Council.
1921	46	3
1922	46	2
1923	34	3

No record has been kept of meetings of the Ministers alone.

During the second Ministry (1924 to 1926), the figures were—

Year.	Meetings of	
	Cabinet.	Council.
1924	17	3
1925	26	11
1926	18	21

In the year 1927, there have been up to 31st May, nine joint meetings of both sides of the Cabinet as against ten meetings of the Executive Council. These figures take no account of conferences at which one or more Members of Council and one or more Ministers were present and the frequent informal consultations between individual Members and Ministers, and His Excellency.

The only changes that have taken place in the presonnel of the Government on constitutional grounds, have been (1) the resignation of the late Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar mainly as a consequence of the rejection by the Legislative Council of the Irrigation Bill at its first reading, and (2) the resignation of the Justice Ministry after the elections of November 1926, as it could not command a majority in the Legislative Council.

There have been no resignations in consequence of difficulties in the Cabinet.

Paragraph 3 (iv). Reinforcement or readjustment of Secretariat or other headquarters establishments necessitated by the Reforms.

11. The Reforms led to the creation of the posts of fourth Member of the Executive Council, three Ministers, three Council Secretaries, the President, the Deputy President, the Secretary, and the Assistant Secretary to the Legislative Council.

The pay of these officers is as follows :—

	Pay. Rs.	
One Member of Council ..	5,333	
Three Ministers	5,333	each per mensem from 17th December 1920 to 31st March 1923; and Rs. 4,333 per mensem thereafter.
One President of the Legislative Council.	3,000	per mensem from 17th December 1920 to 31st March 1923; and Rs. 2,000 per mensem thereafter.
One Deputy President of the Legislative Council.	5,000	per annum.
One Secretary to the Legislative Council.	1,500	per mensem from the 17th December 1920 to 5th January 1924 and Rs. 1,000 per mensem thereafter.
Three Council Secretaries ..	500	each per mensem. (There are however no Council Secretaries under the present Ministry).
One Assistant Secretary to the Legislative Council (200—20—400) since raised to Rs. 350—30—500.	425	per mensem (average pay). (*Note.*—One of the two posts of Superintendents sanctioned for the Legislative Council Office was converted into that of an Assistant Secretary with effect from 17th January 1924).
Total at present ..	23,673	per mensem or 2·84 lakhs per annum.

12. A staff of four steno-typists and twenty-four peons was created for employment under the fourth Member of the Executive Council and the three Ministers, while for the President of the Legislative Council a separate office was created consisting of one Superintendent, nine clerks, ten Legislative Council reporters and sixteen servants (both inferior and superior) and a temporary establishment of typists and proof-readers costing at the commencement about Rs. 6,300 and now Rs. 3,000 per annum. A permanent Librarian on Rs. 70—70—10—150—5—175 and a permanent attender on Rs. 35—40 have also, since 7th May 1926, been appointed to the growing librar of the Council.

13. In the Secretariat, a separate Finance Department was constituted. The two Chief Engineers, who were also ex-officio Secretaries to Government in the Public Works Department were relieved of their Secretarial functions in May 1925 and a reparate Civilian Secretary was appointed for the Public Works Department. A readjustment of work among the Secretaries to Government was effected first in 1921 and again in July 1926 and a revi ed nomenclature was adopted as shown below :—

Before the rerorms.	As at present.
Chief Secretariat.	Chief Secretariat.
Revenue Secretariat.	Finance Secretariat.
Revenue (Special) Secretariat.	Revenue Secretariat.
Home Secretariat.	Development Secretariat.
Local and Municipal Secretariat.	Law and Education Secretariat.
Public Works Secretariat.	Local Self Government Secretariat
	Public Works and Labour Secretariat.

14. The main additions made to the Secretariat staff are as follows :—

Department.	Permanent.	Temporary.
Finance Secretariat	(1) Secretary—Pay admissible to Collectors under the superior scale of pay applicable to Indian Civil Service officers *plus* a special pay of Rs. 250 per mensem.	(1) One Assistant Secretary on Rs. 500—50—800 for six months for budget work
	(2) One Deputy Secretary (Grade pay of Indian Civil Service officers under the superior scale *plus* a special pay of Rs. 200 per mensem).	
Law Secretariat ..	One Under Secretary for Legislative drafting work.	*Nil.*
Local Self-Government Secretariat.	(1) One Deputy Secretary in lieu of one permanent Under Secretary (Grade pay of Indian Civil Service officers under the superior scale *plus* Rs. 200 per mensem).	*Nil.*
	(2) One Assistant Secretary on Rs. 500—50—800.	
Public Works and Labour Secretariat.	(1) Secretary—Pay admissible to Collectors under the superior scale of pay applicable to Indian Civil Service officers *plus* a special pay of Rs. 250 per mensem.	*Nil.*
	(2) One Assistant Secretary on Rs. 500—50—800 per mensem.	

15. The post of Deputy Secretary in the Finance Secretariat, which was created temporarily in November 1922, has since been made permanent. Two posts of Assistant Secretary in that department have been abolished, while the establishment has been increased by the appointment of two superintendents and three upper division clerks and by two shorthand and typwriting clerks. Prior to the Reforms, the following additional staff was usually sanctioned for the preparation of the budget for periods varying from five to five and a half months :—

2 Superintendents.

3 Upper division clerks.

1 Typist.

1 Attender.

In 1921, the period of employment of this staff was extended to six months. In 1923, the temporary staff was increased by two superintendents, five upper division clerks and one steno-typist. Owing to the abolition of the posts of two Assistant Secretaries, a temporary post of Assistant Secretary was created for six months. In 1924, the work of compiling the Civil Budget Estimates was taken over from the Accountant-General and the staff was further strengthened by the appointment of an additional superintendent and four clerks for periods varying from eight to nine months. The following

staff is now employed in connexion with the preparation of the budget for the periods noted against them :—

Staff.	Months.
One Assistant Secretary (Rs. 500—50—800)	6
One Superintendent (Rs. 200—20—400)	8½
Four Superintendents (do.)	6
Two Upper division clerks (Rs. 70—175)	9
Two do. do.	8
Three do. (Rs. 120)	6
One do. (Rs. 100)	6
One do. (Rs. 70)	5
One do. (Rs. 90)	4½
Two do. (Rs. 80)	4½
One do. (Rs. 70)	4½
Two steno-typists (Rs. 40—80 *plus* special pay)	6
One attender (Rs. 23)	6
Two peons (Rs. 15)	6

16. With effect from the 1st March 1924, the temporary post of Assistant Secretary created in the Law Department for Legislative drafting work has been retained permanently. The designation of the post has been changed to Under Secretary and a special pay of Rs. 200 sanctioned. The maximum pay of the post including the special pay is, however, restricted to Rs. 1,200 per mensem. The following staff has also been sanctioned permanently for that officer :—

1 Superintendent on Rs. 200—20—400.

1 Upper division clerk on Rs. 70—70—10—150—5—175.

1 Lower division clerk on Rs. 40—40—5—65—3—80.

1 Steno-typist on Rs. 40—40—5—65—3—80 with special pay.

1 Attender on Rs. 23—23—23—1—35.

2 Peons on Rs. 15—20.

The Law Secretariat has been further strengthened by the addition of three permanent upper division clerks.

17. The Local Self-Government Secretariat was strengthened by the appointment of a Deputy Secretary and of an Assistant Secretary, the permanent post of Under Secretary attached to that Secretariat being abolished. An additional staff of three superintendents and four upper division clerks has been permanently sanctioned.

17-A. The Chief Secretariat was strengthened by the addition of one superintendent and one upper division clerk and the Development Secretariat by one upper division clerk. The number of lower division clerks in the former was reduced by one.

17-B. The following establishment was sanctioned for the newly constituted Public Works and Labour Secretariat :—

5 Superintendents on Rs. 200—20—400.

15 Upper division clerks on Rs. 70—175.

4 Lower division clerks on Rs. 40—80.

1 Steno-typist on Rs. 40—80 *plus* special pay.

1 Typewriting clerk on Rs. 40—80.

1 Attender on Rs. 23—35.

1 Duffadar on Rs. 20—25.

9 Peons on Rs. 15—20.

The Central Issue and Record Branches were also strengthened by the addition of three lower division clerks, two typists and two attenders. One drafting section, consisting of one superintendent and three upper division clerks, was temporarily added to the staff of the Revenue Secretariat in 1925. This has since been made permanent with effect from the beginning of 1927.

17-C. In view of the revised financial arrangements which came into force on the introduction of the reforms, it was found necessary to take up the question of the revision of the several financial codes relating to Provincial expenditure. A temporary staff consisting of a special Accounts Officer and the undermentioned subordinate establishment was accordingly sanctioned for the purpose during the latter part of 1924-25 :—

1 Superintendent.

1 Upper division clerk.

1 Public Works Divisional Accountant.

2 Steno-typists.

3 Peons.

The work is expected to be completed by the middle of July 1927. Sanction has been accorded for the employment from 15th July 1927 to 31st March 1928 of the following temporary staff for the maintenance and interpretation of the Financial Codes and for assisting departments of the Secretariat in the revision of their departmental codes and manuals—

1 Superintendent on Rs. 200—20—400.

1 Upper division clerk on Rs. 70—70—10—150—5—175.

1 Steno-typist on Rs. 40—40—5—65—3—80 *plus* special pay for shorthand and typewriting.

Paragraph 3 (v). Co-operation between the Executive Government and the Legislature, with special reference to permanent or special committees of the latter and the action taken in pursuance of their recommendations, and the use of Council Secretaries.

18. One of the most important features of the Reforms has been the extended use of committees in the machinery of Government; and since their inception there has hardly been a week during which committees of one sort

or another have not been sitting. The committees may be said to be of four classes :—

I. Standing committees whether (A) elected by the Legislative Council or (B) appointed by the Government.

II. Departmental committees appointed by the Government.

III. Committees appointed by the Government for the preparation of projects of legislation, etc.

IV. Committees appointed by the Government at the instance of the Council.

I (A).—Standing committees elected by the Legislative Council.

19. As regards committees under this class, reference may be made in the first place to the Public Accounts Committee constituted under rule 33 of the Legislative Council Rules for the purpose of dealing with the Audit and Appropriation Accounts of the province and such other matters as the Finance Department may refer to it. The committee is composed of ten members, of whom seven are elected by the Legislative Council and three are nominated by Government. The intention is that it should become an inquisitorial body which will probe thoroughly all financial irregularities and defalcations and misdemeanours. The committee is reconstituted for every financial year. Twenty-seven meetings had been held by the end of 1926-27. The Committee examined the audit and appropriation reports for the 4 years 1921-22, 1922-23, 1923-24, and 1924-25 and such financial irregularities as were specially brought to its notice by the Finance Department. The appropriation reports were generally received from the Accountant-General at the beginning of March and were examined in the same month during the almost continuous sittings of the Legislative Council. The Committee has made recommendations in regard to financial irregularities, control over expenditure, reappropriations by the executive Government and similar matters.

The reports of the committee are laid on the table of the Legislative Council and the Finance Member moves that the report be taken into consideration.

20. The Finance Committee, though not statutory, is in some ways even more in evidence than that on Public Accounts. It consists of nine members, of whom three, including the Finance Member as chairman, are nominated by the Government, and six are non-official members of the Legislative Council elected by the Council : a fresh committee is appointed every year. While the Public Accounts Committee reviews the finances after the year is over, the Finance Committee deals with current and proposed expenditure. All schemes involving new and recurring commitments are brought before it for examination before they are included in the budget ; and though the committee is only advisory, its recommendations naturally have great weight with the Cabinet when deciding what expenditure shall be included in the est mates to be placed before the Legislative Council for sanction for the coming year. It has also proved of great importance that a selected number of members of the Council should have had the opportunity of closely examining all schemes for new expenditure before they come to be debated on the floor of the House and of bringing informed criticism to bear on the various proposals.

The committee sits continuously for about a week at the beginning of January to consider the budget estimates for the ensuing year and at other times at such intervals as may be convenient.

The number of meetings of the Finance Committee in each year varies, the Committee having met eleven times during 1926-27. The Government have been largely guided by the advice of the committee in fixing the provision to be made for new schemes in the budget estimates.

I (B).—Standing committees appointed by the Government.

21. Besides the above two committees, which are mainly composed of members elected by the Legislative Council, there are standing committees in various departments appointed wholly by the Government, but including a majority or comprising a considerable number of non-official members of the Legislative Council, whose assistance and co-operation the Executive Government wish to secure in the administration of the various departments. The following standing committees may be mentioned in this connection :—

(1) The Road Board as first constituted in May 1921 consisted of fifteen members, of whom seven were non-official members of the Legislative Council. The present strength of the Board is seventeen. It is a standing advisory committee and has been constituted to advise the Government in matters relating to roads. The non-official members of the Board hold office for two years from the date of their appointment. The present Board was constituted in 1926 and includes seven non-official members of the Legislative Council.

(2) *The Standing Advisory Committee for Excise Administration.*—There were eleven members, of whom nine were non-official members of the Legislative Council, with the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of Excise as their President. A resolution moved in the Council by Rao Bahadur A. S. Krishna Rao Pantulu on 3rd August 1921 to the effect that a special Excise Committee should be appointed was modified by the unanimous consent of the House into a resolution that the standing committee to be attached to the Excise Department be required to investigate and suggest means of improving the Excise Administration of the Presidency. The committee prepared a questionnaire on prohibition and local option and sent it to selected officials and non-officials to be answered. The answers received were duly examined and a number of witnesses were also selected for oral examination. At this stage, the work of the committee was interrupted by the dissolution of the Legislative Council and a new committee, appointed after the elections of October 1923, constituted in January 1924 took up the examination of the subject commenced by their predecessors, and completed their report in October 1925. The committee did not recommend any departure from the excise policy which was then being followed by the Government. The constructive proposals of the committee were for the formation of—

(*a*) licensing boards with non-official majorities in municipalities with a population of above 50,000,

(*b*) a licensing board with wider powers for the City of Madras, and

(*c*) advisory committees with non-official majorities for rural areas including the smaller municipalities. These proposals—slightly

modified in respect of details connected with the actual working of the scheme—were accepted by the Government.

(3) The Agency Advisory Committee consisting of nine members, of whom six were non-official members of the Legislative Council, had as its President the Hon'ble the Home Member. It was appointed in October 1921 to advise the Government in regard to Agency administration. The committee met from time to time to advise the Government on various questions, chiefly in regard to the budget. The committee's opinion was generally accepted and acted on. It ceased to exist on the abolition, in October 1923, of the Agency division.

(4) The Forests Committee had at first ten members, of whom eight were non-official members of the Legislative Council; it was presided over by the Hon'ble the Home Member. It was appointed in October 1921, and its functions were advisory. It was reconstituted in December 1923 with twelve members, including the president, of whom nine were non-officials. It ceased to function on the dissolution of the last Legislative Council and the proposal to appoint a fresh committee is under consideration.

(5) The Standing Committee on Education and Registration was first constituted with eight members, of whom seven were non-official members of the Legislative Council; the president was the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of Education and Registration. The committee was appointed on 5th November 1921, and was reconstituted in December 1923 with eleven members, of whom ten were non-official members of the Legislative Council. Since May 1927, two separate committees have been appointed, one for Education and the other for Registration. The Hon'ble the Minister of Education is the President of the Committee for Education and the Hon'ble the Minister for Development is the President of the Registration Committee. The Education Committee consists of nine members, eight of whom are non-official members of the Legislative Council; the ninth, the Secretary to Government in the Law and Education Department, is an ex-officio member. The Registration Committee has six members, of whom five are non-official members of the Legislative Council and the sixth, the Secretary to Government in the Law and Education Department, is an ex-officio member.

(6) The Industries and Fisheries Committee was first appointed in 1921 and was reconstituted in 1924 after the elections of 1923. It consisted of twelve members, of whom eleven (including the Council Secretary to the Minister) were non-official members of the Legislative Council; the President was the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of Industries. Separate committees for Industries and Fisheries have now been constituted. The Industries Committee is presided over by the Hon'ble the Minister for Development and five out of its six members are non-official members of the Legislative Council. The Fisheries Committee has eight members, of whom seven are non-official members of the Legislative Council, and the Hon'ble the Minister for Public Health is its President. The functions of the committees are advisory.

(7) The Agriculture and Co-operation Committee consisting of twelve members, of whom eleven were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed in November 1921, its functions being advisory. It was reconstituted in March 1924, and the Veterinary and Co-operative Departments

were included in its sphere. Since March 1927 two separate committees have been constituted, one for the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments and the other for the Co-operative Department. The Hon'ble the Minister for Development is the President of both the committees. Each committee consists of six members, of whom five are non-official members of the Legislative Council, and the sixth, the Secretary to Government in the Development Department, is an ex-officio member.

(8) The Public Works Advisory Committee, consisting of ten members, of whom nine are non-official members of the Council, with the Minister in charge of the Public Works as chairman, was appointed in November 1921. The Committee was reconstituted in January 1924.

(9) The Consultative Council of Public Health with twenty one-members, of whom eight were members of the Legislative Council and presidents of district boards, was appointed in January 1921, in order to maintain touch with non-official opinion both as regards the general principles of health policy and as regards such broad questions as might from time to time arise concerning medical relief, preventive medicine and medical education. This Council was dissolved on the formation of the Advisory Committee for Public Health to be presently mentioned.

(10) The Advisory Committee for Public Health, ten out of eleven members of which were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed in February 1922. After the elections of 1923, the committee was reconstituted, seven of the eleven members being non-official members of the Legislative Council. It was again reconstituted after the elections of 1926 with the Hon'ble the Minister for Public Health as President, nine out of the remaining thirteen members being non-official members of the Legislative Council.

(11) The Advisory Committee for Local and Municipal Administration with eleven members, of whom ten were non-official members of the Legislative Council, appointed in February 1922, was reconstituted after the elections of 1923 with ten non-official members out of twelve and again after the elections of 1926, with the Hon'ble the Minister for Education and Local Self-Government as President, eight out of the remaining nine members being non-official members of the Legislative Council.

(12) An Advisory Committee for Hindu Religious Endowments was constituted in May 1927 with the Hon'ble the Minister for Development as President, four non-official members of the Legislative Council and the President of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board as members and the Secretary in the Local Self-Government Department as an ex-officio member and Secretary to the Committee.

(13) The Depressed Classes Advisory Committee was first appointed in 1923 with the Hon'ble the Home Member as President; it included five non-official members of the Legislative Council, chiefly belonging to the depressed classes, and the Commissioner of Labour and the Secretary to Government, Law Department. In January 1926, two more non-official members of the Legislative Council were appointed as members of the committee. The committee was reconstituted in May 1927, the number of non-official members of the Legislative Council being six.

The members of these committees have so far been nominated by the Government from the various sections of the Legislative Council. During the budget debates of 1927, a token motion for the reduction of the provision for Provincial Legislative Council was carried with the object of suggesting to the Government that the members of the committees should be elected by the Legislative Council as in the case of the Public Accounts Committee and the Finance Committee. The Government undertook to consider the suggestion but have not adopted it.

II.—Departmental Committees appointed by the Government for special purposes.

22. The number of such committees is naturally very large and it is perhaps unnecessary to specify those composed solely or mainly of officials. The following are instances in which the Government have *proprio motu* included in their departmental committees a substantial number of non-official members of the Legislative Council :—

(1) The Madras Disturbances Committee consisting of three members, of whom two were members of the Legislative Council, with the Hon'ble Justice Sir William Ayling, Officiating Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, as its President, was appointed in July 1921, to enquire into and report on the disturbances in the Perambur division of the Madras City on or after the 29th June 1921, and the measures taken to restore order. The report of the Committee justified the action taken by the Police and the military and it was laid before the Council and the public for information.

(2) The Local Loans Fund Committee had seven members, of whom three were non-official members of the Legislative Council and was appointed in June 1921, to examine proposals to constitute a local loans fund.

The majority of the committee reported that the constitution of a separate Local Loans Fund was unnecessary and that the conditions required for the successful working of such a fund were non-existent. The Government concurred in this view and dropped the proposal.

(3) The Light Railways Committee, four out of eight members of which were members of the Legislative Council (non-official presidents of district boards), was appointed in August 1922 to consider and prepare a note for the use of district boards on the construction and management of light railways. Orders on the committee's report were deferred pending receipt of a communication from the Government of India as to their policy in respect of District Board Railways ; in view of the present policy of the Government of India that all branch and feeder lines should be constructed by the Railway Board from programme funds, no action was taken on the committee's report.

(4) The Leather Industries Committee, with ten members of whom six were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed in January 1923. Orders were passed on the committee's report in November 1924 following generally the recommendations of the Committee.

(5) The Quinine Committee, consisting of three officials and an Auditor deputed by Messrs. Fraser and Ross, was constituted in May 1924. Orders have since been passed on the committee's report generally accepting the recommendations of the Committee.

(6) The Public Works Department Inquiry Committee with eight members, of whom two were non-official members of the Legislative Council appointed in April 1923 to consider the present system of execution of works and accounting in the Public Works Department, and to make suggestions for simplifying and improving it with a view to secure economy in construction as well as in establishment charges. The committee's report has been received and the Government have passed orders accepting most of its recommendations.

(7) An Educational Conference attended by eight members, of whom six were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was called by the Hon'ble the Minister for Education in May and June 1923.

The most important of the recommendations made by the conference related to the introduction of universal elementary education in the Presidency within specified number of years. After this question had been investigated by an officer placed on special duty for the purpose, the Government issued orders for the institution of an educational survey by taluks, with a view to ascertain places already provided with elementary schools and the villages in each local area that have still to be provided with such schools. On most of the other recommendations of the conference, the Government have passed orders generally accepting them.

The elementary education survey referred to above was completed in 1924-25 and a report was submitted to Government. This report forms the basis of the expansion of elementary education and the opening of new schools in centres where they are needed.

Conferences were again assembled by the Hon'ble the Minister for Education at Madras (1) in July 1924, consisting of seventeen members of whom ten were non-official members of the Legislative Council and (2) in August 1924, consisting of missionaries and teacher-managers only.

The most important of the recommendations made by the conferences related to a thorough revision of the Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920. A draft Bill was prepared in 1924 to revise the Act, but it was dropped. The question of amending the Act is now again under consideration, and a Special Officer of the Indian Educational Service is examining it.

(8) Among other matters of less general interest which have been reported on by committees or conferences may be mentioned the question of certain level crossings over the South Indian and Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways in the City of Madras ; the alignment of the Gadwal-Kurnool Railway and the question of the sinking of wells in the Palar river for supplying drinking water to the Katpadi Railway station on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. In all these cases, a considerable number of non-official representatives of the public were appointed on the committees. As regards the first two topics recommendations have been forwarded to the Railway Board, but no final decision has yet been arrived at in regard to the level crossings except in the case of the one at Elephant Gate where the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company have agreed to bear the entire cost of the overbridge as a special case. In regard to the alignment of the Gadwal-Kurnool Railway, the Majority report of the committee has been accepted by the Government subject to certain conditions, and preparations are in progress

for the constructions of the railway. In the case of the last-mentioned item, orders were issued in March 1925 generally accepting the recommendations of the Committee.

(9) In 1923 two departmental committees were appointed, one to examine the best means of making the Law College a true centre of legal culture and study and the other to report on the question of raising the Victoria College at Palghat from the second to the first grade.

The report of the Law College Reorganisation Committee was received in 1924 and orders were passed accepting most of the recommendations of the Committee. In pursuance of the recommendation of the committee relating to the Government Victoria College, Palghat, the College was raised to the first grade with effect from the academic year 1925-1926.

(10) In February 1924 a departmental committee was appointed to report on the future status of the Madras City and Suburban Town-Planning Trust. Orders on the report of this committee have been deferred pending the amendment of the Madras Town-Planning Act, 1920, which is now under consideration.

(11) A special trunk road committee was appointed in 1926 to examine whether the list of trunk roads maintained by district boards required revision and whether any change was necessary in the principles governing the distribution of the grants for their maintenance. The recommendations made by the committee are under consideration.

(12) In March 1926, a committee was appointed to report on the position to be occupied by village panchayats in the concatenation of local bodies, and on certain proposals regarding the constitution and working of district boards. The committee arrived at preliminary conclusions on which the opinions of certain Collectors were invited. These have been received and are under consideration.

(13) The Marina Hospital Committee was constituted in November 1922 to examine plans and to advise on the financial and other details of the combined scheme for the establishment of a medical school and hospital for women, a children's hospital and a Victory Hall on the Marina at Madras.

The proposal to build a hospital and medical school for women on the Marina has been dropped. The funds of the Victory Hall Committee will be refunded by the Marina Hospital Committee, as the subscribers of the fund now wish to erect a memorial of the Great War, independent of any other scheme. On the payment of the fund to trustees to be appointed by the subscribers, the Marina Hospital Committee will cease to exist.

III.—Committees appointed by Government to frame projects of legislation or assist in framing rules and orders.

23. The Land Revenue Settlement Bill Committee consisted of fifteen members, of whom seven were non-official members of the Legislative Council, and the president was the Hon'ble the Revenue Member. The committee was appointed by the Government in April 1921 to make recommendations as to the lines on which a Bill defining the principles of land revenue settlement

should be drafted. The majority of the non-official members of the committee recommended a permanent settlement of the ryotwari tracts, but the committee, as a whole, objected to such a measure and drafted a Bill following the existing settlement procedure, with the modification that the proposals for each settlement should be placed before the Legislative Council. The Government did not accept this recommendation which would make each scheme of settlement practically a taxation Bill; and they put forward certain alternative suggestions for the consideration of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The Government of India then addressed this Government pointing out the inexpediency of legislating on the lines of a permanent settlement at the present moment, and also disapproving of the suggestion made by this Government as to an income-tax on income derived from land. They asked this Government to reconsider the position in the light of their remarks. The Land Revenue Settlement Bill as finally drafted by this Government with the approval of the Government of India was introduced in the Legislative Council in March 1924, but was rejected by that body.

A redraft of the Bill has been published in 1927, but has met with general hostile criticism mainly on the ground that it does not give the Legislative Council the power to fix the rates of assessment. This Government is not therefore likely to proceed with it.

(2) The Religious Endowments Act (Amendment) Bill Committee consisting of twelve members, of whom eight were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed in November 1921, to suggest amendments and alterations in the existing Act and to consider the principles on which a new Bill should be drafted. The recommendations of the committee were taken into consideration before the Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council [*vide* paragraph 41 (*c*) below].

(3) A committee was appointed in November 1921 to draw up a set of draft rules under the Madras Village Panchayat Act, 1920. This consisted of eight members, of whom five were non-official members of the Legislative Council. The Chairman was Rao Bahadur C. V. S. Narasimha Raju, M.L.C. (non-official). The draft rules drawn up by the committee were approved by Government in January 1922.

(4) A committee was appointed in February 1923 to frame rules under the Madras State Aid to Industries Act, 1923. This committee consisted of ten members, of whom six were non-official members of the Legislative Council. The rules framed by the committee were approved by the Government.

(5) The Irrigation Bill Committee consisting of seventeen members, of whom twelve were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was convened by Government in May 1923 to consider the terms upon which the Irrigation Bill which had been rejected by the Council in January 1923 should be redrafted. The committee sat for a week in May 1923. Its recommendations having been duly considered by the Government an amended draft Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council, and referred to a Select Committee. The Select Committee made far-reaching changes in the Bill. The Bill was passed by the Council, which made further changes in it before passing it;

but as some of the provisions in the Bill as passed by the Council were unacceptable to the Madras Government and the Government of India, the Bill was returned to the Council for considering certain amendments thereto. On the dissolution of the Council, the Bill lapsed.

(6) A committee of seven members of whom five were non-officials was appointed in March 1924 to draw up a Bill to regulate apprenticeship in the Madras Presidency. The report of the committee was submitted to Government in January 1925. After careful consideration, the Government have decided that the time is not yet ripe for the introduction of legislation on the lines recommended by the committee.

(7) An Estates Land Act Amendment Committee was appointed in 1924 with a view to examining suggestions received for the purpose of amending some of the provisions of the existing Act and suggesting further alterations and amendments in the Act.

IV.—Committees appointed in pursuance of resolutions or interpellations in the Legislative Council.

24. (1) The most important committee to be described under this head is the Retrenchment Committee, with its subsidiary committees in different departments. By a resolution of the House, dated 16th September 1922, the Finance Committee was constituted a Retrenchment Committee, and it was assisted in its work by the following subsidiary committees.

(*a*) The Judicial Retrenchment Committee, consisting of four members of whom two were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed in June 1923 : this committee has submitted its final report, on which action has been taken by the Government. The recommendations of the Committee were accepted in most cases.

(*b*) The Survey and Settlement Retrenchment Committee consisted of twelve members, of whom six were non-official members of the Legislative Council ; it was appointed to advise on the cheapest system of survey and settlement. Certain specific questions were put before the committee. The Board of Revenue was asked to submit proposals for giving effect to the decisions of the committee, and orders have since been passed by the Government on this subject.

(*c*) The Land Revenue Retrenchment Committee, on which there were fourteen members, of whom ten were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed to examine the possibility of simplifying the system of land revenue administration and to propose alterations in the volume and nature of the work entrusted to the district officers in the maintenance of statistical and revenue accounts. The committee made certain proposals. A special officer was appointed by the Government to examine and report upon these proposals. After considering his report, it was eventually decided that no alteration in the principles of the present system was practicable but that the curtailment of accounts and reports should be further examined.

(*d*) The Medical and Public Health Retrenchment Committee consisted of eight members, of whom two were non-official members of the Legislative Council. Most of its recommendations have been adopted by Government.

(*e*) The Veterinary and Agricultural Retrenchment Committee consisting of nine members, of whom five were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed to review the whole expenditure in the two departments ; the report of the committee has since been received and orders have been passed accepting generally the recommendations of the committee.

(*f*) The Police Committee with eight members was appointed in January 1923. The committee in its report reviewed various important questions connected with Police administration and their principal proposal in the direction of retrenchment was directed to the reduction of about 2,000 constables of the District Police. This proposal has been accepted by Government.

(2) The Committee for the Revision of Salaries of Non-Gazetted Officers, appointed in pursuance of a resolution of the Council passed in February 1921, consisted of eight non-official members of the Legislative Council. The committee sent in a report in March 1921 ; its recommendation regarding the raising of the minimum pay of clerks has been given effect to at an additional cost of Rs. 3·50 lakhs a year.

(3) The Board of Revenue Reorganization Committee consisted of eleven members, of whom six were non-official members of the Legislative Council ; it was appointed in April 1921, with reference to a resolution in the Council passed in February 1921, to enquire into the feasibility of replacing the Board of Revenue by such alternative agencies as might be required in order to carry on the administration with economy and at the same time without loss of efficiency. The committee's recommendations were that the Commissioner of Income-tax should cease to be a Member of the Board, which should thereafter consist of three members only ; that the Land Revenue and Settlement Departments of the Board should be combined under a single Secretary with two Assistant Secretaries ; and that the Board's office establishment should be curtailed ; effect has been given to these proposals.

(4) The Famine Code Revision Committee with nine members, of whom three were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed in August 1921, in pursuance of a resolution in the Council, to revise the provisions of the Famine Code of 1914, after enquiry regarding wages and allowances. The committee suggested various amendments to the Famine Code and orders have been passed in June 1923 accepting the recommendations in most cases.

(5) The Education Reorganization Committee consisted of thirty-two members, of whom twenty-one were non-officials, including several members of the Legislative Council. This committee was appointed in pursuance of a resolution carried in the Legislative Council in September 1921. The committee made numerous recommendations having an important bearing on secondary and intermediate education and its report was published in February 1923. Before passing orders on the recommendations of the committee, the Government considered it necessary to refer the question of the reorganization of secondary education in particular to another committee of officials and non-officials. This committee has recently submitted its report which is under consideration.

(6) In consequence of a resolution moved in the Council in September 1921, a committee was appointed to examine certain matters connected with the establishment of an Andhra University. It consisted of twenty-one members, mostly members of the Legislative Council, the Director of Public Instruction being the only official member. The committee's report was published in December 1922 and an Act has been passed by the Legislative Council constituting an university for the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. The university was brought into existence on 26th April 1926.

(7) On a suggestion made in the Legislative Council during the discussion of the Education Budget for 1926-27, the Government appointed in May 1926 a committee consisting mostly of non-officials to investigate the necessity for a university for the Tamil districts and other matters connected therewith. The report of the committee is awaited

(8) A Committee on the School of Arts was appointed in pursuance of a resolution in the Council, dated 2nd September 1921, to examine the whole question of the present working of the Madras School of Arts and to submit proposals as to the lines on which reorganization should proceed. It consisted of eleven members of whom five were non-official members of the Legislative Council. The committee has submitted its report and orders have been passed in February 1923 generally accepting the recommendations of the committee.

(9) In pursuance of an undertaking given by the Minister for Local Self-Government, in answer to a question in the Council, and to a resolution moved in the Council in February 1921, a committee on the Indigenous Systems of Medicine was appointed in October 1921. It consisted of ten members, of whom four were non-official members of the Legislative Council. The chairman of the committee was a non-official member of the Legislative Council. The committee was asked to report on the question of the recognition and encouragement of indigenous systems of medicine. Its report was reviewed by a special committee appointed by the Government.

The Government, after carefully considering the recommendations of these two committees, decided to accept their recommendations for the establishment of a School of Indian Medicine in Madras. The school was accordingly opened in January 1925. The school provides instruction in the three systems of Indian Medicine practised in this Presidency, *viz.*, Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani, and also in such subjects as Modern Anatomy, Physiology and Surgery in all its branches. An out-patient dispensary and a hospital have also been opened as an adjunct to the school in order to provide clinical instruction to the students undergoing training in the school.

(10) In pursuance of an undertaking given by the Government in the Legislative Council in November 1921, a Water-rate Committee consisting of eight members, of whom five were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed in February 1922, to advise the Government on various matters connected with the levy of water-cess. The recommendations of the committee are still under the consideration of the Government.

(11) A Committee on Industrial and Technical Education was appointed in April 1922 in pursuance of an undertaking given by the Government in the

Legislative Council in November 1921. It consisted of nineteen members, of whom nine were non-official members of the Legislative Council. The committee enquired into the present equipment of the Presidency in the matter of industrial and technical education and drew up a comprehensive scheme. The committee's report, which is of considerable size, was published in April 1923, and orders generally accepting the recommendations contained in the report were issued in November 1924.

(12) A committee consisting of fourteen members, of whom seven were non-official members of the Legislative Council, was appointed by Government in February 1923 in pursuance of a resolution of the Legislative Council passed in September 1922, to report on the separation of the judicial and executive functions. The committee submitted its report, which was laid before the Legislative Council during the March session of 1924, with a statement of the views of the Government on the report. The Council recommended the adoption of the majority report of the committee. In March 1924, the Government of India intimated that no action should be taken on the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions pending their orders on the matter which was under their consideration. These orders are accordingly awaited.

(13) The Srirangam Temple Committee was appointed with reference to a resolution in the Legislative Council passed on 26th February 1923 to examine the necessity for repairs to the temple at Srirangam from the points of view of safety, archæological interest and sanitary requirements. The Committee consisted of five members of whom one was a non-official member of the Legislative Council; it collected the information which was laid on the table of the Legislative Council.

(14) A Committee to inquire into the Drainage and Irrigation of the Cauvery Delta appointed in pursuance of a resolution in the Legislative Council, dated 19th February 1921, consisted of five members, of whom two were non-official members of the Legislative Council. The Committee submitted its report and orders were issued in March 1926 generally accepting the recommendations of the Committee.

(15) A committee, consisting entirely of non-officials, was appointed in June 1925 in pursuance of a resolution in the Legislative Council passed on 5th February 1925 to review the conditions of irrigation in the Ceded Districts and to advise the Government whether any small schemes are worth further investigation or whether it is desirable to concentrate on big schemes such as the Tungabhadra. The Committee submitted its final report in February 1926 and orders thereon were issued in December 1926. The Committee's recommendation for the reinvestigation of the Tungabhadra scheme was accepted; some other recommendations were referred to the local officers for report and some others were rejected.

(16) In pursuance of an undertaking given by the Hon'ble the Law Member in the Legislative Council in August 1924 a Committee was appointed in September 1924 to consider certain details relating to the location of the irrigated areas and distributaries under the Cauvery (Mettur) Reservoir. Orders were issued on the proceedings of the Committee in December 1926 negativing most of its recommendations.

(17) Three Forest Committees to consider and report on Forest Grievances in the districts of Coimbatore, Chittoor, and Kurnools were appointed in pursuance of resolutions of the Legislative Council passed in August 1921 and February 1923. The members of the committees are mainly non-official members of the Legislative Council.

The reports of the Coimbatore and Chittoor Committees have been received, and their recommendations have in the main been accepted by Government. Certain grazing concessions granted in pursuance of the recommendations of the Chittoor Committee have as the result of experience since been largely withdrawn. The report of the Kurnool Committee was also received and orders were passed thereon in 1925 accepting a few of its recommendations.

(18) A committee was appointed in February 1923 in pursuance of a resolution of the Legislative Council, passed in August 1920, to examine the scheme drawn up for the improvement of the condition of the Cooum river in Madras. The report of the committee is now under the consideration of Government.

(19) In 1921 a resolution was moved in the Legislative Council recommending that 50 per cent. of the seats allotted at the different Government and aided colleges be reserved for non-Brahman Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians. Upon an assurance being given by the Education Minister that the matter had repeatedly been considered by the Government who contemplated that in the matter of admissions the principals of colleges should be assisted in the matter of selection of students by a committee which would go into the matter impartially with the view to a fair distribution of the available educational facilities among different classes and castes, the resolution was withdrawn.

In pursuance of the assurance of the Education Minister, committees have been constituted for all Government colleges, both arts and professional, under the Education Department. The committees consist of four members, in each case, in addition to the principal of the college, the personnel being usually so constituted as to include adequate representation of all classes.

In pursuance of the same policy and in connexion with a Legislative Council question on the subject, Selection Committees have been appointed in the Development Department to deal with the admission of students to the Veterinary College and the Agricultural College. A Selection Committee has also been appointed to regulate the admission of students to the Fisheries Training Institute, Calicut. As regards the Forest College, since admissions are at present confined almost entirely to subordinates employed already in the department, no Selection Committee for the appointment of candidates has yet been created.

(20) In pursuance of recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee [*vide* paragraph 24 (IV) (1)] the Government appointed in 1923 committees in each district consisting of the president of the district board as chairman with a membership including the District Collector, the presidents of all taluk boards in the district and the Treasury Deputy Collector (1) to investigate the financial position of all local bodies in the district, (2) to frame so far as possible a normal budget for each local

body, (3) to fix a suitable figure in each case as the minimum closing balance, (4) to make inquiries into the possibilities of retrenchment in expenditure of these bodies whether on establishments, works or contingencies and (5) to consider the question of disestablishment of local bodies, the revenues of which are largely absorbed in the cost of their establishments. District Retrenchment Committees have accordingly framed for each local body normal budget estimates which have been approved by Government. In a few cases revision has been found necessary on account of the division of a local board or other unforeseen circumstances.

(21) In pursuance of a resolution of the Retrenchment Committee, a committee consisting of the Superintendent of Stationery, the Assistant Superintendent of Stationery and the commercial accountants to the Government was appointed in 1923 to inquire into the system of accounts maintained in the Stationery office and other matters connected with the administration of the Stationery department. The Government have passed orders on the report and the general conclusion arrived at was that the system of accounts existing in the Stationery office was simple and logical and did not need revision.

(22) In pursuance of a recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee, a committee consisting of the Superintendent of Stationery and Stamps and two non-official members of the Legislative Council was appointed in August 1923 to investigate certain questions connected with the manufacture and the design of the copy-stamp papers used in this Presidency. The committee's report was received in December 1923 and is still under the consideration of the Government.

V.—Retrenchments in the Public Works Department.

24. The policy of retrenchment was enforced with special rigour in the case of all classes of establishment in the Public Works Department with the result that the staff was largely reduced. Among the more important reductions effected are the abolition of two circles of superintendence, 12 divisions and 25 subdivisions (permanent and temporary) resulting in the reductio in the cadre strength of the Indian Service of Engineers from 79 to 56 and in the strength of the Madras Engineering Service from 106 to 74. The strength of the permanent upper subordinate establishment was reduced from 260 to 194 and 124 temporary upper subordinates were also discharged. The appointments of Deputy Secretary to Government and Assistant Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department Secretariat were abolished. In consequence of the reduction in the cadre of the Indian Service of Engineers referred to above and the resulting excess in the existing strength of the service, recruitment from Europe to this service was stopped pending orders on the report of the Royal Commission on the Services. Promotion from the Provincial Engineering Service to the Indian Service of Engineers was also stopped.

Subsequently it has been found necessary to create two divisions with the subdivisions attached to them on a permanent basis, *viz.*, the Guntur division and the River Conservancy division of the Trichinopoly circle. A new circle called the Tanjore circle has been created for a period of two years and an additional division has also been formed for a period of two years in the Godavari

delta, *viz.*, the Godavari central division. For the execution of the Cauvery-Mettur Project the following gazetted appointments have been sanctioned for varying periods :—

Appointment.	Number of posts.
Engineer-in-Chief	1
Superintending Engineers	3
Executive Engineers	9
Assistant Executive Engineers	6
Electrical Engineer	1
Assistant Engineers	7

At present an Engineer-in-Chief, two Superintending Engineers, seven Executive Engineers and eleven Assistant Engineers are employed on the Project Works.

The strength of the Madras cadre of the Indian Service of Engineers was raised to 62 and the strength of the Madras Engineering Service and of the Upper Subordinates to 77 and 275 respectively. European recruitment to the Indian Service of Engineers was revived in 1925 and proposals for promotions from the Madras Engineering Service to the Indian Service of Engineers are under consideration.

Consequent on the appointment in 1925 of a non-technical Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department, a post of Assistant Secretary to Government has been created.

25. Three Council Secretaries under the Government of India Act were appointed by His Excellency the Governor in February 1921 and one such Secretary was assigned to each of the Ministers. Each of the three Council Secretaries was paid Rs. 500 per mensem in accordance with a vote of the House and enjoyed the privileges and travelling allowances of a Government official so long as he was on duty and attached to his Minister, whether at headquarters or on tour. The three Council Secretaries first appointed were Messrs. E. Periyanayagam, M.L.C. (Indian Christian), A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar, M.L.C., and Dr. P. Subbarayan, M.L.C., and Bar.-at-Law. Dr. P. Subbarayan resigned after a short tenure of office and was succeeded by Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chettiyar, M.L.C., who also resigned after a short time and was succeeded by Mr. T. C. Tangavelu Pillai, M.L.C., Bar.-at-Law.

New Council Secretaries were appointed in March 1924 after the general election, namely :—(1) Abdulla Ghattala Sahib Bahadur ; (2) Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar ; and (3) Mr. T. C. Tangavelu Pillai.

No Council Secretaries were appointed after the general elections in November 1926. The Chief Minister, during the discussion on the Ministers' salaries in March 1927, gave an undertaking that Council Secretaries, if appointed, would be honorary. The question of the appointment of such officers is under consideration.

26. As regards the practical working of the system of Council Secretaries, the former Ministers were of opinion that since their institution in February 1921 they proved of very considerable assistance in various ways. They sat

on Select Committees on Bills introduced by the Ministers and both in this capacity and in the Council itself they helped materially towards the passage of various measures. They replied occasionally on behalf of the Ministers to resolutions and to motions on the budget. Owing to the fact that the heads of most of the transferred departments and the Secretaries to Government in those departments are not themselves members and cannot always be in attendance during the prolonged sittings of the Council, the Council Secretaries proved of great value in keeping the Ministers in touch with the opinions of different sections of the Council and in supplying them with such information as may be required in the course of a debate. In the constituencies they were useful in interpreting the ministerial view both to members of the Council and to the electors and in keeping the Ministers in close touch with party opinion and feeling. The Council Secretaries were also instrumental in securing the vote of the party on ' transferred ' subjects and on several occasions were used for the same purpose on behalf of the Executive Council. In fact it was said generally that the Council Secretaries proved the utility of the institution and contributed towards the smooth working of the Legislative Council.

Paragraph 3 (vi). Relations between the Reformed Government and the Public Services.

27. This branch of the subject, so far as the European services are concerned, is so large and so complicated that it is impossible to treat it fully within the limits of this report. It is an undoubted fact that there was an appreciable amount of discontent and a considerable feeling of insecurity among these services both as to the terms of their pay and pension and as to their general prospects. The feeling was partly due to the fact that in translating the spirit of the Reforms into practical action a considerable number of posts hitherto reserved or believed to be reserved for Europeans were thrown open, and more are likely to be thrown open in the future, to Indians, as has been already done, to take typical instances, in the Educational and Agricultural services while others have been abolished or threatened with abolition. A second cause is uncertainty as to how the constitution of India under the Reforms will develop in the future. A third arose out of the economic conditions which are a legacy of the war.

The grant of the concessions which His Majesty's Government have been able to make as a result of the Lee Commission's recommendations has relieved the disabilities arising from the last cause ; while those arising from the first two causes have been met as far as practicable by the statutory rules issued by the Secretary of State under the provisions of the Government of India Act.

28. Speaking generally, the attitude of the services towards the Reforms has probably been very much the same in this Presidency as in the rest of India ; but the good points are perhaps more in evidence here than elsewhere. The relations between the Ministry and the heads of departments under their control have generally been cordial ; and the local Legislative Council, though naturally sympathetic towards Indian aspirations, has not been unreasonable in its attitude towards the British services. Individual members of the service have undoubtedly found it difficult to serve under the altered conditions ; but the great majority have accepted the change in a most loyal spirit and have done their best to make the Reforms a success. The best proof of harmony

lies in the fact that, despite the enormous displacement of the centre of political gravity due to the Reforms, the departments continued after their introduction to be manned by the same individuals, as heads of departments or as Secretaries to Government, as before the Reforms. Naturally the efforts of these permanent officials have been generally directed towards maintaining continuity, but it is at the same time undeniable that greatly increased respect is now evinced by officials of all classes towards the decisions of the Legislative Council as well as towards the status of its members. Thus genial and cordial relations have been created between the chief representatives of the old and of the new regime which may be described as extremely satisfactory. The difficulties of the task are not to be denied or underrated; and it has to be remembered that not only the officials but the people themselves have had to learn a new lesson. In many cases the latter have found it difficult to understand why the district officer, for instance, is not nearly so ready or so able to redress their grievances as he was in the days before the Reforms. That the centre of political gravity has been shifted is not quite so obvious to them as it is to those at the helm.

Paragraph 3 (vii). General effect of the Reforms on the cost and efficiency of the Administration.

29. *Cost.*—The Reforms may be said to have affected the cost of the administration in six principal ways:—

(1) At the outset of the Reforms the Madras Government were led to expect a very large increase in the revenue available for expenditure, and preparations were made to use it accordingly. The organization of a separate Labour department to promote the advancement of the depressed classes, the extension and development of the co-operative movement, the opening up and improvement of communications in the backward tracts of the Agency, larger grants to municipalities and local bodies for roads, water-supply and drainage works, extension of education in all its branches and development of industries may be mentioned as some of the many projects which called urgently for generous assistance. It is safe to say that inception would not have been given to many of these schemes, involving as they do large and increasing recurring expenditure, but for the anticipation of a large reduction of the contribution to imperial funds.

(2) The Ministry are pledged to their constituencies to promote development in what are called the 'nation-building' departments and are under constant pressure by the Council to do so. To quote only a single department, the large increase in grants to the Madras University under the new Act, the very large grants for Manual training and the large expansion in elementary education, are cases in point.

(3) The check of the Legislative Council on expenditure in the 'transferred' departments is less rigorous than that previously exercised by the Government of India. There can be little doubt that had the previous control of the Imperial Government continued to be exercised, the Madras Government would have been compelled to close each financial year with a balance and this would have been done at the expense of the departments which have been 'transferred,' that is to say, of the most modern departments which are anxious to spend and spend largely on schemes of development.

The remissions in the contribution, which were sanctioned by the Government of India in 1925-26 and 1926-27, have made considerable amounts available for the development of beneficent services in those years as will be clear from the figures set out in paragraph 9.

(4) The Legislative Council itself has urged large expenditure in many directions and has directly promoted it in the case of the subordinate services and of the village officers. It has proposed schemes such as the creation of an Andhra University, the grant of free meals throughout the Presidency to school children of the poorer classes and large increases in the number of medical schools and colleges. Large improvements in the pay of the subordinate services were carried out in accordance with the recommendations of a Salaries Committee of the Legislative Council, while as regards the village establishment, Government had to increase the pay of the village staff from 72 lakhs of rupees per annum to Rs. 119 lakhs, thus throwing an additional burden on the finances of the province of about Rs. 47 lakhs a year. There can be no question that this increase would not have been made under a bureaucratic Government, without the imposition of additional taxation in some form.

Recently under pressure from the Legislative Council, the Government have abandoned the policy adopted in 1920 when the number of village officers and menials was reduced by grouping villages together and they have restored all the posts which had been abolished. The cost was met by a small reduction in pay and by the abolition of the jamabandi allowances hitherto granted to village officers.

In connection with the complete remission of the contribution during 1927-28, the Legislative Council has urged several schemes involving loss of revenue or increased expenditure. The improvement of the pay of subordinate services and the raising of the pay of village establishments have again been brought forward. Demands have been made for the creation of a separate Andhra Province, for the separation of judicial and executive functions, for additional expenditure on the improvement of conditions in villages, for the inauguration of new irrigation works and for increased subsidies to local bodies for the maintenance of roads and for the provision of medical relief. The Legislative Council has also made proposals to earmark the money released by the remission of the contribution in 1927-28 for the purposes of compensating for the loss of revenue caused by experiments in prohibition, of reducing land revenue assessment generally, of reducing the rates of stamp duty, court-fees and registration fees to the level at which they stood before 1922 and of handing over the revenue derived from ryots' forests to Forest Panchayats.

(5) On the other hand the Legislative Council has pressed continuously for economies at the expense of the superior services and their amenities. As examples may be mentioned resolutions advocating the abolition of the Board of Revenue, the Land Records department and the post of Commissioner of Labour, curtailment of salaries of all appointments on Rs. 500 and over, and the reconsideration of the Government Order allowing increased rates of travelling allowances.

In consequence of another agitation in the Council, dating from before the Reforms, considerable economy has been effected by the decision of the Government arrived at in 1921 to reduce the period spent by the Government on the

hills from six to three months. A very much reduced establishment is now taken to Ootacamund for the shorter period, and the move now costs Rs. ·30 lakh as against Rs. ·58 lakhs in pre-Reform days.

(6) There has been a large increase of expenditure, not only in the office of the Legislative Council, but also on the travelling allowances of members, while the travelling allowances of non-official members of district and taluk boards crippled the resources of those bodies very seriously. The printing and stationery charges for the Legislative Council are very large. For printing and binding alone the figures rose from Rs. 2,803 in 1920-21 to Rs. 14,549 in 1921-22, Rs. 12,699 in 1922-23, Rs. 6,990 in 1923-24 and Rs. 12,596 in 1924-25.

30. *Efficiency.*—As regards the question of efficiency, it is sufficient perhaps to state that the main change to be observed is that between a rigid adherence to a fixed policy and the constant formulation of new and progressive policies. The former is the more efficient so long as the policy is the right policy, but in its nature tends to be unprogressive. The latter is apt to be less efficient until the policy is established, but may result in changes which bring about economy as well as efficiency in the administration.

Another effect which is very noticeable in the post-Reform era is the general unsettlement of the minds of the permanent officials. They have been brought up to carry out definite policies without questioning the underlying reasons for them. They have now seen the policy of every department pulled up by the roots and examined *ab initio* and they are uncertain what is to be taken as established policy and what is not. Meanwhile the revision of all salaries and allowances, as well as of the financial codes, has produced undoubtedly inequalities which did not exist before, has resulted in a general uncertainty as to officers' positions and has prompted a spirit of questioning of authority and demurring to rules and orders which will render administration difficult until the services settle down again to an established order.

Paragraph 3 (viii). Reforms and Local Self-Government.

31. It is difficult to arrive at a correct appreciation of the effect of the Reforms on Local Self-Government in this Presidency, because simultaneously with them the operation of the administration of the local bodies has been greatly affected by two factors. The first of these was the complete revision just before the Reforms of the old Local Boards Act and District Municipalities Act which was accompanied by legislation relating to village panchayats, elementary education and town-planning, as well as by a large increase in the number of local bodies and the removal of them from official control which also involved depriving them to some extent of the assistance of the revenue and other staffs who had carried out a good deal of their work for them when the revenue officers were presidents. The second cause was the increase of prices which, while it rendered it necessary for them to increase their charges on account of establishment and otherwise, rendered Government unable to give them all they expected in the way of grants thus imposing a check on the new activities which they were anxious to pursue.

32. There has certainly been an awakening of the civic consciousness of the people as a result of the Reforms and the policy of deofficialization, but it is too early yet to estimate results in the way of civic achievement.

33. There has been an unwillingness shown, which is not unnatural to elected bodies who have had new powers given them, to face the unpopularity of imposing new taxes or even to collect sufficiently strictly those which they imposed, or to enforce the law in dealing with appeals for remissions, but with better financial conditions, there is every hope that the policy of giving wider powers to local bodies will in the future be justified.

34. The political aspect of Local Self-Government is dealt with in a later paragraph under the heading of 'Khilafat and non-co-operation.' For a short time and in certain quarters there was a tendency to introduce the doctrines of extremist politicians into local politics. But this was successfully combated by the late Ministry and there is now little, if any, ground for complaint on that score.

B.—The Legislature.

35. The work of the Legislative Council will be dealt with under the following five heads :—

(i) Government Legislation.

(ii) Non-official members' Bill.

(iii) Financial Business.

(iv) Resolutions and Questions.

(v) Miscellaneous.

Paragraph 4 (*i*). *Government Legislation.*

36. A considerable number of legislative proposals which the Government had on hand during the latter half of the decade preceding the introduction of the Reforms had to be held up on account of the war. During the two years following the end of the war, five of these measures were introduced into the pre-Reforms Council and were passed into law during the year 1920. These were—

(1) The District Municipalities Act, 1920.

(2) The Local Boards Act, 1920.

(3) The Village Panchayat Act, 1920.

(4) The Elementary Education Act, 1920.

(5) The Town-Planning Act, 1920.

(6) The Madras Village Courts Amendment Act, 1920.

37. Although these Acts have had very important effects on the post-Reform administration, it is unnecessary to refer to them in detail, because the passing of these measures belongs to the period anterior to the Reforms. Other projects of legislation, to be presently mentioned, had also been planned before the Reforms and though the reformed Council has had to deal with them in the different technical stages of legislation, they would in all likelihood have been proceeded with, whether there was a change of Government or not. These measures were—

(1) A Bill to amend the Madras Cattle Diseases Act, 1866 (Bill No. 3 of 1921). The object of the amendment was to give discretion to the keeper of a

hospital pound in the matter of impounding animals suffering from infectious diseases, such as rinderpest. This Bill was introduced on the 11th March 1921 and was passed by the Council on 31st August 1921 and came into force on 11th October 1921 as Madras Act III of 1921.

(2) The Madras City Tenants Protection Bill (Bill No. 6 of 1921). In many parts of the city of Madras dwelling-houses or other buildings had been erected by tenants on land belonging to others, in the full expectation that, subject to payment of a fair ground-rent, they would be left in undisturbed possession, notwithstanding the absence of any contract as to the duration of the lease or as to the terms on which buildings should be erected. As, however, there had been attempts to evict a large number of such tenants, it was considered necessary to safeguard their interest by legislation. The Bill provided for the payment, as compensation to the tenant in case of ejectment, of the value of any buildings which might have been erected by him or by his predecessors in interest. It also provided for the settlement of a fair rent at the instance of the landlord.

The Bill was read for the first time on 3rd August 1921 and further considered on the 12th and the 13th of October 1921 and the 15th and 16th November 1921 and was passed by the Council on the 16th November 1921. On the 13th December 1921, a message was received from His Excellency the Governor suggesting an amendment to clause 12 of the Bill as passed. The consideration of this amendment was adjourned to the 16th December 1921, on which date the House agreed to the amendment and report was accordingly made to His Excellency the Governor.

It came into force on 21st February 1922 having been published as Madras Act III of 1922. Certain defects which were subsequently brought to light in this Act have since been removed by a Bill brought forward by a non-official member of the Legislative Council, *viz.*, Bill No. 3 of 1925. This Bill was introduced in the Council on 24th August 1925 and was finally passed into law on 31st August 1926. It received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and of His Excellency the Governor-General on 30th September and 20th October 1926 respectively and was brought into force as Act VI of 1926.

(3) The Prince of Arcot Endowments Bill (Bill No. 5 of 1921). This measure aimed at providing for the better management of the charitable and religious endowments under the control of the Prince of Arcot. The local Government, who had powers of supervision under a scheme of arbitration, sought to discharge that responsibility by legislative enactment. The Bill was introduced on the 1st August 1921 ; the report of the Select Committee was presented on the 13th November 1922, on which date the measure was passed by the Council. It was published and became law on 30th January 1923.

(4) A Bill to amend the Madras Port Trust Act, 1905 (Bill No. 9 of 1922). It was meant to provide for the carrying out of a number of minor alterations in the Madras Port Trust Act, rendered necessary (1) for purposes of administrative convenience, *e.g.*, the constitution of the board, the appointment of a chairman and regulations for the benefit of the staff ; (2) for the transfer to agents of steamer lines of certain services hitherto imposed by law on the board ; and (3) for the issue and conversion of documents of security which are necessary whenever the Port Trust issues a loan. The Bill was read for the

first time on the 12th September 1922. It was further considered on the 13th and 14th September and on the 17th November 1922 on which date it was finally passed by the Council. It came into effect on the 13th February 1923.

(5) A Bill to amend the law relating to Survey of Lands and Settlement of Boundary Disputes (Bill No. 2 of 1921). The main object of the Bill was to make the decision of a survey officer as to boundary conclusive, unless it was challenged in a civil court, and to bring the law into accord with modern requirements, so as to cover the survey of estates or other similar areas, re-surveys, maintenance and the like. This Bill was introduced into the Council on the 14th February 1921 ; but its further consideration was postponed, according to the wish of the majority of the Council, till 1st August 1921, when it was read for the first time. The report of the Select Committee was presented in November 1922 and the Bill was passed into law on the 30th January 1923.

This Bill received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and of His Excellency the Governor-General on the 21st February 1923 and the 12th March 1923 respectively and was brought into force as Act VIII of 1923 on 29th May 1923.

Owing to a clerical error which had crept into the Bill when it was submitted to His Excellency the Governor for his assent, the Act as assented to by His Excellency the Governor and His Excellency the Governor-General was slightly different from the Bill as passed by the Council. It therefore became necessary in the next year again to introduce and pass a Bill re-enacting the provisions already passed by the Council with the correct words entered and to obtain the assent of His Excellency the Governor and of His Excellency the Governor-General to the measure as passed by the Council and this was done by means of a Bill introduced and passed on 5th December 1924.

38. Among other important legislative measures conceived before the Reforms, the two following have to be prominently mentioned :—(*a*) the Madras Irrigation Bill and (*b*) the Estates Land Bill.

(*a*) The Madras Irrigation Bill. The Government had for many years felt the necessity to define clearly the position of the State in respect of irrigation and to introduce an enactment with a view to enable the State to regulate irrigation in the interests of the general community and to secure control over the waters of rivers, streams, etc. The Bill, to introduce which an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Government in January 1923, was the result of reiterated draftsmanship, dating from the year 1856. Having been given up in 1861 and again in 1882, the project of legislation was revived in 1898 and again after the publication of the report of the Irrigation Commission in 1909. It was ready for the Legislative Council in 1914, when the war supervened and further progress had to be deferred. After the conclusion of the war the Bill was revised again to clear the doubts and difficulties created by recent judicial decisions, particularly by the Privy Council decision in the Urlam case (I. L. R., 40 Mad., 886), and advantage was also taken of this revision to make the Bill a comprehensive measure by including in it provisions relating to water-rate and to the allied subjects of *mamul* wet, *kudimaramat* (contribution of labour by ryots according to custom), and irrigation panchayats. On 29th January

1923 the then Law Member, the late Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar, moved that the Bill be read for the first time. The motion was lost after a heated debate, 57 votes being recorded against, 19 for, and 10 being neutral. It may be noticed in this connexion that the special committee [paragraph 23 (5)] was unanimously of opinion that some legislation for the purpose of conferring on the Government the power to regulate irrigation is absolutely necessary. After further consideration of the measure by the Special Committee, the Bill was reintroduced in the Legislative Council in February 1924, and was finally passed by the Council on 5th December 1924. It was however reserved by His Excellency the Governor for the assent of His Excellency the Governor-General and was later returned by His Excellency the Governor with the consent of His Excellency the Governor-General with a recommendation that certain amendments be passed. Two of these amendments were specially important and deserve mention. The Bill as passed by the Council had provided that the rates of water-cess should be specifically approved by the Legislative Council and one of the amendments proposed by His Excellency was intended to remove this innovation. The Bill as passed by the Council required further that every rule passed under the Act should have the positive approval of the Legislative Council before it could become law. This provision was sought to be modified by means of another amendment by which the rules had only to be laid before the Legislative Council for a period of not less than two months while the Council was in session. The amendments of His Excellency came before the Council on 27th August 1926 when by a motion for adjournment carried by the Council, the consideration of the Madras Irrigation Bill was adjourned *sine die*. With the dissolution of the Council the Bill has lapsed and the Government have since consulted certain leading members of the parties in the present Council as to the nature of the Legislation which is best suited to this Province.

(*b*) The Estates Land Act (Amendment) Bill, which is intended to amend the Madras Estates Land Act, 1908, is another measure dating from the period before the Reforms. The project was first considered by an informal committee consisting of a few members of the then Legislative Council and certain representatives of the zamindari classes. The committee was presided over by the late Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar and the Bill thus prepared was referred to a special committee of the Cabinet. Subsequently however the Government appointed another *ad hoc* committee, representative of all the interests concerned, to go into the amendments required in the Act and this Committee has just concluded its labours.

39. The next category of legislative measures to be mentioned is that properly belonging to the period of the reformed Government, inasmuch as they are measures conceived since the year 1921 and more or less directly as a consequence of the Reforms. Three of these measures may be mentioned first, both on account of their priority in time and on account of the fact that they are mutually related as measures dealing with non-co-operation, a danger which seriously threatened law and order at the end of the year 1921 and which urgently demanded the enactment of special measures for the purpose of combating it. These measures were—

(1) A Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, and the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920 (Bill No. 10 of 1921). It was considered neces-

sary that all municipal councillors and members of local boards should be required to make an oath or affirmation of their allegiance to the Crown, as the Government had received definite information that several councillors and members were not prepared to give this guarantee of their loyalty. The Bill was read for the first time and passed through the several subsequent stages, including its final passing into law, on the 16th December 1921. On the same day His Excellency the Governor addressed an important speech in person to the members of the Legislative Council referring to the recent attempts of non-co-operators to subvert law and order in the Presidency, and appealing to all loyal citizens to support the Government in their efforts to secure obedience to the constitution of the country.

In this connexion, it may be mentioned that according to the provisions of the Bill above referred to every elected or appointed member of a Municipal Council or Local Board had to take the prescribed oath or affirmation of allegiance before taking his seat and within three months of the commencement of his term of office. By a later Bill of 1924 to amend the Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1921, *viz.*, Bill No. 3 of 1924, members of Local Boards and Municipalities were allowed to make the oath at one of the first three meetings at which they were present. The Bill was read for the first time on 19th August 1924 and was passed into law on 4th February 1925. It received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and His Excellency the Governor-General on 4th March 1925 and 1st April 1925 respectively and was brought into force as Act IV of 1925.

(2) A Bill to amend the Madras Revenue Recovery Act II of 1864 (Bill No. 1 of 1922). The provisions of the Revenue Recovery Act of 1864 were found inadequate in the face of the difficulties caused by passive resistance ; and the procedure prescribed for the distraint and sale of properties and to meet a default in the payment of tax, was found in such cases to be unnecessarily lengthy. The Bill aimed at shortening the procedure between attachment and sale in these abnormal cases. The Bill was read for the first time on the 14th February 1922 and was further considered and passed into law on the 16th February 1922.

(3) A Bill to amend the Madras Proprietary Estate Village Services Act, 1894, and the Hereditary Village Officers Act, 1895 (Bill No. 5 of 1922). In certain parts of the Presidency an organized attempt was being made by village officers to prevent the collection of the Government revenue by declining or refusing to do their duties or by suddenly resigning their office. They relied, however, on their hereditary right to secure their offices and emoluments for one member or another of their families. The Bill empowered the Government to take steps with a view to preventing such resignations and derelictions of duty. The Bill was read for the first time on the 18th February 1922 ; and after report by the Select Committee was passed into law on the 16th March 1922.

40. The taxation measures of the reformed Government may next be referred to. They were necessitated partly by the increase of salaries to officers of Government owing to the increased cost of living and partly by the creation

of new posts necessitated by the Reforms for which the Council had agitated. The details of these measures are as follows :—

(*a*) A Bill to amend the Court Fees Act, 1870 (Bill No. 6 of 1922). This was a financial measure passed in exercise of the power vested in the local Legislature to undertake legislation regarding provincial subjects as under the Devolution Rules the subject of court fees has been classified as a Provincial subject except as regards fees levied on the original side of the High Court. The Bill was read for the first time on the 17th February 1922 ; and after report by the Select Committee was further considered and passed on the 15th March 1922. On the 24th March 1922 a message was received from His Excellency the Governor drawing attention to a certain drafting omission which was thereupon rectified by the Council and report was made accordingly to His Excellency the Governor.

(*b*) A Bill to amend the Indian Stamp Act, 1899 (Bill No. 7 of 1922), in its application to the Presidency of Madras. This was also a financial measure passed by the local Legislature with the sanction of the Governor-General under section 80-A (3) of the Government of India Act, in order to meet the requirements of the province. The Bill was read for the first time on the 17th February 1922 and the report of the Select Committee was considered and the measure was passed into law on the 15th March 1922.

A Bill to amend this Act (Bill No. 1 of 1923) in order to rectify certain mistakes in schedule 1-A was introduced and passed into law on the 6th February 1923.

(*c*) A Bill to amend the Madras Proprietary Estates Village Services Act, 1894 (Bill No. 3 of 1922). This Bill was essentially a financial measure and was designed to meet the extra cost involved in the revision of the pay of the village establishments in proprietary areas. The motion that the Bill be read for the first time was made on 17th February 1922 by the Hon'ble the Revenue Member, Mr. (now Sir) Muhammad Habibullah. There was a warm debate on that and the next day with the result that the motion was lost by thirteen against fifty-three votes on 18th February 1922.

(*d*) A Bill for the levy of a Cess in Ryotwari Villages towards the remuneration of Village Officers and for other purposes connected with the discharge of their duty (Bill No. 4 of 1922). This also was a financial measure designed to find funds to meet the extra cost entailed by the revision of the pay of village headmen. This measure was the counterpart of the foregoing Bill and, like it, was intended to raise funds by means of a special cess for the purpose of revising and increasing the pay of village headmen. The motion that the Bill be read for the first time was made by the same Honourable Member on behalf of the Government on 18th February 1922 and after a debate was lost by twelve against fifty-four votes on the same date.

(*e*) A Bill (No. 4 of 1923) further to amend the Court Fees Act, 1870, in its application to the Presidency of Madras (Bill No. 6 of 1924), a measure intended to levy fees on memoranda of appearance fixed by legal practitioners other than advocates in criminal cases, was introduced in the Council in November 1923 but was withdrawn as the new Council did not desire to commit itself to a taxation enactment.

(*f*) A Bill to regulate the assessment and the revision of the assessment of the land revenue in the Presidency of Madras, which was designed to place on a statutory basis the limitation of the rates, the main principles on which the land revenue is determined, the methods of valuation, the pitch of assessment, the periods of revision, the graduation of enhancements and the other chief processes of settlement was sought to be introduced by the Government. Although the House was practically unanimous in wishing for legislation on the subject, it did not accept this Bill, as it did not give to the Legislative Council any power to fix the rates of assessment. The motion that the Bill be read in Council was lost on the 28th March 1924, eighteen members voting for the motion and 68 against it. The Government has since published on 22nd February 1927 another Madras Land Revenue Settlement Bill for information and criticism but this also has met with unfavourable criticism for the same reason, namely, that it does not give the Legislative Council power to fix the rates of assessment.

(*g*) The Madras Local Authorities Entertainments Bill (Bill No. 9 of 1924). This Bill was intended to give power to local authorities to impose a tax on entertainments which are defined in the Act as including any exhibitions, performances, amusements, etc., to which persons are admitted on payment. It is modelled on the Bengal Amusements Tax Act, 1922, and opens up a new avenue of taxation for local bodies. It was read for the first time and referred to the Select Committee on 19th August 1924. The report of the Select Committee was presented on 13th February 1926 on which date it was also passed into law. It has duly received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and of His Excellency the Governor-General but has not yet been brought into force, as certain rules under which the Act has to work are yet being drafted.

41. The next group of legislative measures, though relegated to this place by the chronological order of events, comprises memorable landmarks left by the ex-Ministers. The following statement presents a detailed account of these measures :—

(*a*) A Bill to regulate State Aid to Industries (Bill No. 8 of 1922). This measure was designed to encourage new and nascent industries suitable to, and not hitherto established in, this Province and to assist cottage and other small industrialists to build up business, and to this end to afford State assistance to industrial enterprises in this Presidency, partly by direct financial aid and partly by providing, on favourable terms, raw materials such as firewood, water, etc., being the property of Government. The Bill was read for the first time on the 14th November 1922 ; the report of the Select Committee was presented on the 19th December 1922, and the measure was passed into law on the 20th December 1922. This Act received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and His Excellency the Governor-General on the 19th January 1923 and 1st March 1923 respectively and was brought into force as Act V of 1923.

(*b*) A Bill to provide for the Reorganization of the Madras University (Bill No. 10 of 1922). The University of Madras had been still recently an affiliating University, whose main function was to conduct examinations and grant degrees. The main objects of the measure were (*a*) to bring the University into closer contact with the colleges, (*b*) to enable it to take a

greater and more active part in organizing the teaching given to its students and (*c*) to create an academic atmosphere and a feeling of corporate unity among the institutions by which it is for certain purposes held to be constituted. The motion that the Bill be read for the first time was made in the Council on the 14th November 1922 and carried after three days' debate on the 16th November. The report of the Select Committee was presented on the 22nd December 1922 and further considered from the 30th January to 5th February 1923, on which date it was passed into law. The Act received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and His Excellency the Governor-General on the 28th February 1923 and 29th March 1923 respectively and was brought into force as Act VII of 1923.

(*c*) The Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Bill (Bill No. 12 of 1922). The Government of India Act XX of 1863 was found inadequate to ensure the efficient administration of Hindu religious endowments in this Presidency, and there had been widespread dissatisfaction with the management and control of religious institutions falling under sections 3 and 4 of this Act. It was considered preferable to repeal the Act of 1863 altogether so far as this Presidency was concerned, and to enact a self-contained measure to deal with the whole subject of religious endowments. The following features of the Bill may be specially mentioned : (*a*) constitution of a special board of control ; (*b*) provisions for regularly constituted committees to supervise and control religious endowments, to settle *dittams*, etc., and (*c*) provisions for the diversion of surplus funds by applying the *cypres* doctrine. The motion that the Bill be read for the first time was made on the 18th December 1922 and carried after two days' debate on the 19th December. The report of the Select Committee was presented on the 22nd March 1923 and further considered from the 26th to 29th March and on the 2nd and 3rd April 1923. On the last-mentioned date the measure was passed by the Council. The Bill was submitted for His Excellency the Governor's assent on the 3rd May 1923. But various criticisms and protests were received by His Excellency the Governor in respect of the Bill and after a careful consideration of the same he decided to return certain portions of the Bill regarding the applicability of the Act to mutts, the jurisdiction of courts, etc., to the Council for reconsideration under section 81-A of the Government of India Act. In the meantime the Council which had passed the Bill had been dissolved and a new Council had come into existence. The amendments recommended by His Excellency the Governor were accepted by the new Council on 2nd April 1924, several members of the Council who were opposed to the Bill not taking part in the consideration of or the voting on the amendments. The Bill as finally passed received the assent of His Excellency the Governor on the 7th April 1924 and of His Excellency the Governor-General on 29th December 1924 and was brought into force as Act I of 1925.

(*d*) A measure which had evoked so much criticism and opposition could not be expected to be allowed to operate easily and more than one suit was filed impugning its validity *inter alia* on the ground that on the dissolution of the old Council, the Bill had lapsed and that it could not be returned for reconsideration to a new Council. This necessitated a Bill to re-enact the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Bill and to validate action taken and things done under the previous Act (Bill No. 5 of 1926) (Revised). This

Bill was introduced on 25th August 1926 and passed into law on 17th September 1926. Under the Reservation of Bills Rules, His Excellency the Governor reserved it for His Excellency the Governor-General's assent which was obtained on the 19th January 1927 and the Bill was brought into force as Act II of 1927.

(*e*) The Andhra University Bill (Bill No. 11 of 1926) was intended to constitute and incorporate an University in and for the Telugu districts of this Presidency and to satisfy a long felt desire of the Andhra inhabitants of this Province. The chief features of the Bill were :—the concentration of higher education in first grade and 'honours' colleges at certain notified centres, the provision of courses of instruction in scientific, technical and technological subjects, the use of the vernacular languages as the medium of instruction and examination, and the introduction of a 'conscience' clause. It was introduced in the Council on 21st August 1925 and finally passed on 6th November 1925. It received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and His Excellency the Governor-General on 15th December 1925 and 13th January 1926 respectively and was brought into force as Act II of 1926.

42. In addition to the important measures above mentioned, the following Bills on miscellaneous matters also engaged the attention of the Council during the period under review .—

(1) The President's Salary Bill (Bill No. 16 of 1924) intended to provide for the salary of the President was passed into law on 10th October 1924 and received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and His Excellency the Viceroy on 26th October 1924 and 15th November 1924 respectively. It was brought into force as Act V of 1924.

(2) The Deputy President's Salary Bill (Bill No. 1 of 1921). This was intended to provide for the salary of the Deputy President which has to be determined by an Act of the Legislature under section 72-C of the Government of India Act. It was passed into law on the 14th February 1921 and has been brought into force as Act I of 1921.

(3) A Bill to amend the District Municipalities Act, 1920 (Bill No. 7 of 1921). Section 366 of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, required that one-third of the number of elected seats on a municipal council, as reconstituted under that Act, shall be vacated on 1st November 1922, and the remainder on 1st November 1923. Owing to the time taken in the preparation of the electoral rolls and for the holding of the elections under the Act, the period for which elected councillors could be in office was rendered unduly short. The amending Bill extended the term of office of councillors by one year in each case. It was passed into law on the 3rd September 1921.

(4) A Bill to amend the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919 (Bill No. 2 of 1922). The amending Bill (*i*) removed a defect in the original Act under which companies whose paid-up capital was exactly one, two, three, five, ten or twenty lakhs escaped taxation ; (*ii*) enhanced the rate of tax on motor vehicles plying for hire in the city ; and (*iii*) empowered the Commissioner of the Madras Corporation and the Government to incur certain ordinary charges. It was passed into law on the 14th March 1922. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 24th

March and 26th April 1922 respectively and was brought into force as Act VII of 1922.

(5) A Bill further to amend the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919 (Bill No. 10 of 1924 subsequently replaced by Bill No. 13 of 1924). This Bill was intended to substitute the Finance Secretary for the Chief Secretary as Joint Trustee with the Accountant-General for the repayment of debentures and to make provisions for taxing a motor or steam vehicle which has a carrying capacity of less than one ton. It was passed in the Council on 10th October 1924 and received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 1st November 1924 and 14th November 1924 and was brought into force as Act IV of 1924.

(6) The Malabar Completion of Trials Bill, 1922 (Bill No. 11 of 1922). This measure was designed to continue the enhanced powers conferred by ordinance on certain first-class magistrates to deal with the large number of offenders implicated in the Malabar rebellion during 1921-22, on the cessation of the special courts constituted under the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922. It was passed into law on the 19th December 1922. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 4th January 1923 and 17th January 1923 respectively and was brought into force as Act I of 1923.

(7) A Bill further to amend the Madras City Municipalities Act, 1919 (Bill No. 14 of 1922). This measure was deemed necessary to do away with the statutory prohibition in the case of the Commissioner, Revenue Officer, Health Officer and Engineer of the Madras Corporation, to take up any honorary or paid work not connected with their office. It was passed into law on the 20th December 1922. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 4th January 1923 and 20th January 1923 and was brought into force as Act III of 1923.

(8) & (9) A Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, and a Bill to amend the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920. (Bills Nos. 2 and 3 of 1923.) The main object of these Bills was to remedy certain defects which experience with the actual working of the original Acts had brought to light in the matter of constitution, taxation and levy of tolls and the undertaking of remunerative enterprises. Both Bills were read for the first time and referred to the Select Committee on the 6th February 1923, but no further progress was made.

(10) The Tuticorin Port Trust Bill (Bill No. 5 of 1923). This measure was designed to make provision for the regulation of conservancy and improvement of the Port of Tuticorin and for the constitution of a Board of Trustees to administer the port under the control of the Local Government. This was introduced and referred to a Select Committee on the 29th November 1923. The Select Committee's report was presented on the 5th February 1924 and the Bill finally passed into law on the 7th February 1924. During the consi-

deration of the Bill by the Council the following clause was inserted, *viz.*, clause (8) (*f*) :—

"or (*f*) not being an Indian by birth is domiciled in any British possession or Colony as defined in the Interpretation Act of 1889 the laws of which do not confer or recognize rights and privileges in respect of resident Indians which are equal to those conferred or recognized in respect of other residents, provided that the decision of the Local Government shall be final as to whether the conditions of the clause are fulfilled."

and thus the Council expressed its feeling of resentment at the treatment accorded in certain colonies against resident Indians as such. The Bill as finally passed received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 11th February 1924 and 8th May 1924 and was brought into force as Act II of 1924.

(11) The Agricultural Pests and Diseases Act (Amendment) Bill (Bill No. 6 of 1925) was intended to provide more adequately for the prevention of the spread of insect pests by the removal or destruction of growing plants. It was introduced in the Council on 30th March 1925 and was passed on the same date. It received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and of His Excellency the Governor-General on 14th May and 2nd June 1925 respectively and was published on the 23rd June 1925 as the Madras Act VII of 1925.

(12) The Madras Borstal Bill (Bill No. 7 of 1925). The main object of the Bill was to provide for the detention of adolescent offenders between 16 and 21 years of age in special institutions in which they would be given industrial training and other instruction and subjected to such disciplinary and moral influences as would conduce to their reformation. The Local Government were empowered to establish one or more of such institutions called in the Act "Borstal Schools" and power was conferred on certain classes of courts to pass sentence of detention in Borstal schools in the case of adolescent offenders. Provision was also made, subject to rules framed by the Government, for the transfer from jails to Borstal schools of adolescent offenders whether convicted before or after the passing of the Act. The Bill also provided for the release on licence of deserving inmates to enable them to enter the service of societies or individuals.

The Bill was read for the first time on 20th August 1925 and passed into law on the 17th December 1925. It received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and of His Excellency the Governor-General on 22nd February 1926 and 5th July 1926 respectively and was brought into force as Act V of 1926.

(13) The Village Officers Restoration Bill (Bill No. 10 of 1925) was intended for the redivision or regrouping into their original units of the villages which had been amalgamated in June 1920 as a measure of economy and for the revival of the abolished village officers and the restoration to office of those who had held offices before the grouping, amalgamation or reduction. It was read for the first time on 27th August 1925 and was finally passed on 15th February 1926. It received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and of His Excellency the Governor-General on 14th May and 14th June 1926 respectively and was brought into force as Act IV of 1926.

(14) The Indian Ports Act (Amendment) Bill (Bill No. 17 of 1924) was intended to avoid the contingency of internal combustion engined motorships claiming exemption from the payment of port dues under the Indian Ports Act, 1908, in its application to this Presidency, as the 1st Schedule to that Act referred only to sailing vessels and steam vessels. The opportunity was sought to be taken to simplify the 1st schedule to the Act and to carry out certain consequential amendments in Sections 33 (2) and 33 (3) of the Act. The Bill was introduced on 3rd February 1925, but when a motion was made on the same day that it be taken into consideration, Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar moved by way of amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. This was carried and the Government did not press the Bill in that particular form. A subsequent Bill to amend the Indian Ports Act, 1908 (Bill No. 15 of 1925), was however passed in the Council on 6th November 1925 which had the effect of bringing motor boats under the definition of steamers for the purposes of port duty under the Act. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 21st December 1925 and 12th January 1926 respectively. It was brought into force as Act I of 1926.

(15) The Cochin Port Trust Bill (Bill No. 2 of 1925) was intended to make provision for the regulation, conservancy and improvement of the Port of Cochin and it was read for the first time on 30th March 1925 and finally passed on 19th August 1925. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 20th October and 4th December 1925 respectively. An ordinance by the Cochin Darbar is necessary for implementing the enactment.

(16) The Bill to repeal the State Carriages Act, 1861, and to amend the Madras Hackney Carriage Act, 1911 (Bill No. 6 of 1923), was intended to make adequate provision for effective control over the drivers and for regulating the system of fares and conditions of plying and for raising the scales of fees levied under the Hackney Carriage Act. It was introduced on 29th November 1923 and passed into law on 18th August 1924. It received the assent of His Excellency the Governor and His Excellency the Governor-General on 1st October 1924 and 24th October 1924 respectively and was brought into force as Act III of 1924.

(17) A Bill to amend the Criminal Law in force in the Presidency to prevent pilfering in workshops and industrial areas (Bill No. 2 of 1924) was introduced in the Council on 1st April 1924 by the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir) C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. He renewed notice of his intention to present the report of the Select Committee during the meeting in December 1925 but did not proceed with it.

(18) A Bill to amend the Madras Children's Act, 1920 (Bill No. 4 of 1924), was read in the Council on 1st April 1924 on which date it was passed into law. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and Governor-General on 18th April 1924 and 6th May 1924 respectively and was brought into force as Act I of 1924. It merely made certain drafting amendments in the Act so as to render it more easily workable.

(19) A Bill to amend the Madras Town Planning Act, 1920 (Bill No. 5 of 1924). The main object of the Bill was to make provision for the transfer

of a scheme at any stage of its making or execution from one local authority to another, from a Trust to a local authority, or from a local authority to a Trust, and to avoid on such transfer the necessity of having to commence proceedings under the Act afresh. The Bill also provided for the transfer along with the scheme of the assets and liabilities connected therewith and for the payment to the authority from whom the transfer was made of the expenses incurred by it on the scheme up to the date of transfer. It was read for the first time and referred to a Select Committee on 19th August 1924. It was then not proceeded with.

(20) The Madras Village Panchayat Amendment Bill (Bill No. 8 of 1924). The main object of the Bill was to enable a panchayat constituted for a village under the Madras Village Panchayats Act, 1920, to exercise the function of a panchayat court in respect of such village under the Madras Village Courts Act, 1888. The Bill also provided for crediting to the Panchayat fund all penalties, fines, fees, or cess levied by panchayat courts. It was published in the Gazette on 6th May 1924 but was not proceeded with.

(21) A Bill for the Registration of Nurses and Midwives in the Presidency (Bill No. 11 of 1924) was intended to provide for the registration of nurses and midwives in the Presidency of Madras and for regulating the conditions or qualifications for such registration. It was intended thereby to minimize the risk to the public of attendance by unqualified nurses and midwives and to place qualified nurses and midwives under disciplinary control. It was expected that the provisions of this Act would justify themselves by considerably reducing the present high rate of mortality from child-birth. The Bill was read for the first time on 20th August 1924 and passed into law on 29th March 1926. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 7th May and 9th June 1926 and was brought into force as Act III of 1926.

(22) A Bill to amend and consolidate the Madras Civil Courts Act (Bill No. 12 of 1924) was mainly intended to enable the appointment of more than one judge to a civil court of any class in the mufassal and thereby facilitate work and prevent unnecessary expenditure on establishment. It was read for the first time on 20th August 1924 and was finally passed on 7th February 1925. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 27th February 1925 and 18th March 1925 and was brought into force as Act III of 1925. And in pursuance of the Act, several additional courts have now been abolished in the mufassal and additional judges have been appointed to existing courts.

Paragraph 4 (i). Salient points in regard to Government Legislation.

43. While the Council has rendered full assistance to the Executive in all measures intended to preserve the peace and order of the country it is noteworthy that three important legislative measures [paragraphs 38 (*a*) and 40 (*c*) and (*d*) *supra*] proposed by the Government were opposed by a majority in the Council and rejected on the very threshold. Of these, two were measures intended to secure additional revenue to cover additional expenditure proposed by the Council itself on the pay of village officers; the particular proposition of the Government to find the money by reimposing the village-ces-

on ryotwari and zamindari lands was thrown out by the Council, which, however, was at the same time prepared to pass, and did eventually pass, other financial measures, such as those meant to enhance certain court-fees and certain stamp duties in the Presidency [paragraphs 40 (*a*) and (*b*)]. A like fate was shared at the beginning of the year 1923 by an Irrigation Bill which was stoutly and successfully opposed by practically all the representatives of the landholding interests, both great and small, in the Council.

The Council has shown a decided tendency to oppose any increase in taxation and any measure which did not confer on it direct control in the matter of fixing the rate of taxation. A Bill to amend the Court Fees Act [*vide* paragraph 40 (*a*) *supra*] was withdrawn as the sense of the House was against it. The Council actually rejected the Land Revenue Settlement Bill [*vide* paragraph 40 (*f*) *supra*] as it did not contain any clause giving the Council a right to fix the rates of assessment.

And in the Irrigation Bill it inserted a provision to the effect that rules made by the Local Government under it should have been approved by the Council before they could take effect.

44. The only measure which may be said to raise a racial issue was clause 8 of the Tuticorin Port Trust Act; this was a retaliatory provision against certain colonies which were not according equal treatment to Indians. The Hindu Religious Endowments Act was a measure of social reform, while the Madras University Act was designed to reform and reorganize the Madras University, and the State Aid to Industries Act was intended for the protection of industries and the regulation of State Aid to them. In three cases Bills passed by the Council were returned by His Excellency the Governor for the purpose of incorporating in them certain amendments which were suggested and which were eventually adopted by the Council [paragraphs 37 (2) and 40 (*a*) *supra*].

In the case of the Irrigation Bill, however, when the amendments recommended by His Excellency the Governor came before the Council, the House which was opposed to the most important of them decided to postpone the subject *sine die* [paragraph 38 (*a*) *supra*]. In the case of the Malabar Tenancy Bill, His Excellency the Governor withheld his assent (paragraph 46 *infra*).

There have been no cases so far of the certification or of the resort to regulations, or other extraordinary legislative powers during the period under review. Six ordinances were promulgated by His Excellency the Governor-General in connexion with the Mappilla rebellion.

Paragraph 4 (ii). Non-official members' Bills.

45. Private Bills have not played any conspicuous part in the proceedings of the reformed Council. Private Bills in the sense in which they are understood in England practically do not exist in this country, as all Bills passed by the Legislature are what would be called public Bills in the language of the British Parliament. As in England, however, non-official members of the Council are always at liberty to bring in public Bills and of such there have been a few instances during the last three years.

46. For instance, leave was given by the Council for the introduction of eight non-official members' Bills—two to amend the City Municipal Act, 1919, two to amend the Madras Municipalities Act, 1920, two to amend the Madras

Local Boards Act, 1920, the Malabar Tenancy Bill and the Kirlampudi Estates Bill.

(*a*) In the case of the Bill to amend the City Municipal Act, Bill No. 4 of 1921, the object was to do away with the compulsory prepayment of increased assessment before presenting a petition for the revision of the assessment. Leave to introduce the Bill was granted to Mr. Usman Sahib, M.L.C., on the 1st April 1921 ; the Bill was read for the first time on the 1st August 1921 and passed into law on 13th October 1921.

(*b*) & (*c*) *Two* Bills to amend the District Municipalities Act were aimed respectively at raising the rate of toll levied on every cart, whether laden or unladen, and at extending to three years the period during which an elected chairman should hold office. The former Bill (Bill No. 8 of 1921) of which the author was Mr. P. Siva Rao, M.L.C., was brought before the Council on 1st August 1921 for leave to introduce, was read for the first time on 13th October 1921 and was passed into law on 15th October 1921. The second Bill (Bill no. 9 of 1921) in respect of which Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiyar obtained leave to introduce on 1st September 1921, was read for the first time on 14th October 1921 and passed into law on 13th December 1921.

(*d*) The Malabar Tenancy Bill (Bill No. 7 of 1924) introduced by Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar was intended to define the relationship between landlords and tenants in the Malabar district. The main object of the Bill was to grant occupancy rights to certain classes of tenants. The Bill also prohibited the present holders from granting further mortgages of a type peculiar to Malabar over the heads of existing mortgagees. The Bill was read for the first time on 22nd August 1924 and was passed on 2nd September 1926. His Excellency the Governor withheld his assent from the Bill as passed by the Legislative Council, as *inter alia*, it took away from the members of one section of the community, without any adequate compensation, or at any rate diminished the value of rights over property, in which they had been confirmed by a century of legal decisions.

(*e*) A Bill further to amend the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919 (Bill No. 14 of 1924), introduced by Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti, was intended to allow private service of water to houses whose annual rent value is Rs. 60 and upwards, with the previous sanction of the standing committee of the Corporation ; it was read for the first time in the Council on 15th October 1924 and passed into law on 31st March 1925. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 4th May 1925 and 27th May 1925 respectively and was brought into force as Act VI of 1925.

(*f*) A Bill to amend the Local Boards Act, 1920 (Bill No. 15 of 1924), introduced by Rao Bahadur A. S. Krishna Rao Pantulu, was intended to allow local bodies to divert any accumulated railway cess towards the construction of new roads and bridges. It was introduced on 6th November 1924 and passed into law on 1st April 1925. It received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General on 29th April 1925 and 27th May 1925 and was brought into force as Act V of 1925.

(*g*) A Bill to amend the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920 (Bill No. 8 of 1925), was intended to protect the rights of lower castes to use public roads and

markets maintained by local boards without let or hindrance by caste people and renders it an offence under the Madras Local Boards Act to obstruct the free passage of people of any community in such public places. It was introduced by Mr. R. Veerian, a nominated member of the depressed classes, on 14th December 1925, and was passed into law on 31st August 1926.

(*h*) The Kirlampudi Estates Bill (Bill No. 4 of 1926) by Diwan Bahadur O. Tanikachalam Chettiyar, by which the estate of a son of the Maharaja of Bobbili was declared to be impartible within the meaning of the Madras Impartial Estates Act, 1904, was introduced and passed into law on 31st August 1926 without being referred to a Select Committee.

47. Leave to introduce was not granted in the case of the following non-official members' Bills :—

(*a*) On 16th November 1922 Mr. T. M. Narasimhacharlu sought leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Madras Elementary Education Act, so as to provide for the proper representation of local authorities on educational councils, but the Council refused leave.

(*b*) On 12th September 1922 Mr. K. Gopalakrishnayya made a motion for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Local Boards Act, 1920, in a matter of minor detail and likewise a similar motion for leave to amend the District Municipalities Act, 1920 ; both motions were withdrawn by the member on the advice of the Minister for Local Self-Government.

(*c*) In September 1922 Mr. M. Suryanarayana, after giving notice of a motion for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the District Municipalities Act, 1920, also on a point of detail, refrained from making any motion to the effect. No objects or reasons were stated on this occasion.

Some other Bills for which the Council refused leave to introduce were—

(*a*) Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti's Bill to amend the Madras City Municipal Act IV of 1919, rejected on 14th December 1925.

(*b*) Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar's Bill to amend the Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1923, rejected on 10th February 1926.

(*c*) Mr. S. Satyamurti's Bill to amend the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919, rejected on 14th December 1926.

In the case of a Bill to amend the Tuticorin Port Trust Bill brought by Mr. A. Chidambara Nadar, the Council granted leave to introduce it but when it again came up before the House on a motion that the Bill be read in Council it was rejected by the Council. The existing Council has, however, referred to a Select Committee a similar Bill introduced by another Member.

48. Certain other Bills of which notice was given by non-official members during the first two reformed councils lapsed for want of further action on the part of the respective movers. These were—

(*a*) a Local Option Bill of which notice had been given by the Leader of the Opposition, and

(*b*) the Tarwad Management Bill (Bill No. 18 of 1924 by Mr. K. Prabhakaran Tampan).

(*c*) A Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920 (Bill No. 1 of 1925), introduced by Mr. P. K. S. A. Arumuga Nadar to define certain provisions regarding tolls and licences was referred to the Select Committee on 5th February 1925. The Hon'ble Member, however, did not present the Select Committee's report.

(*d*) A Bill to amend the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919 (Bill No. 9 of 1925), proposed by Rao Bahadur C. Natesa Mudaliyar was intended to omit the provision of that Act under which non-payment of any one of the taxes due by a voter during the previous year operates as a disqualification. Leave to introduce was given on 31st March 1925 but the Member in charge took no further action.

(*e*) A Bill to amend the District Municipalities Act and the Madras Local Boards Act (Bill No. 12 of 1925), introduced by Mr. J. A. Saldanha was intended to define " public street " or " public road " in such a way as to ensure right of free passage thereon to all classes of people. It was referred to a Select Committee on 15th December 1925. The report of the Select Committee was presented on 31st August 1926 but as the sanction of the Governor-General was not got for it as amended by the Select Committee the Bill was not proceeded with.

Numerous other Bills in respect of which notices had been received during the period under review have lapsed. The following is a list of such Bills though it is not exhaustive :—

(1) The Jain Succession Bill (Bill No. 7 of 1926) given notice of by Mr. D. Manjeyya Heggade.

(2) A Bill to amend the Madras Village Court (Amendment) Act, 1919 (Bill No. 8 of 1926), by Mr. R. Veerian.

(3) The Madras Elementary Education (Amendment) Bill (Bill No. 9 of 1926) by Mr. J. A. Saldanha on which however further action is being taken in the new Council.

(4) A Bill to amend the Madras City Municipal Act by Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar.

(5) A Bill to amend the Madras Civil Courts Act III of 1873 by Mr. Muhammad Ghouse Mian Sahib for which in addition necessary previous sanction had not been obtained.

(6 A Bill to amend the Madras Planters' Labour Act by Mr. J. A. Saldanha, on which further action is being taken in the new Council.

(7) The Madras Milch Cattle Species Preservation Bill of 1925 by Mr. K. Raghuchandra Ballal for which previous sanction of the Governor-General was not obtained.

(8) A Bill to further amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, by Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiyar for which previous sanction of the Governor-General was required but was not obtained.

(9) A Bill to amend the Madras Outports Landing and Shipping Fees Act, 1885, by Mr. J. A. Saldanha.

(10) A Bill to amend and define the law of intestate succession among Jains governed by Aliyasantana System of Inheritance by Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar.

(11) A Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act by Rao Sahib U. Rama Rao. He was elected to the Council of State and so he resigned his membership of this Council before he sought. permission to introduce the Bill.

(12) A Bill to amend the President's Salary Act, 1924, by Mr. S. Satyamurti.

(13) A Bill to repeal the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1923, by Mr. S. Satyamurti.

(14) A Bill to amend the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1923, by Mr. P. N. Marthandam Pillai. The member withdrew the Bill.

(15) A Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, by Mr. S. Satyamurti.

(16) A Bill to amend the Madras General Clauses Act by Mr. J. A. Saldanha.

(17) A Bill further to amend the Madras City Municipal Act by Rao Bahadur C. Natesa Mudaliyar.

(18) A Bill further to amend the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920 (as amended by Act V of 1925), by Rao Bahadur T. M. Narasimhacharlu.

(19) A Bill to amend the Madras Elementary Education Act by Mr. R. Veerian.

(20) A Bill to amend the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act by Mr. D. Manjeyya Heggade.

(21) A Bill to amend the Madras Abkari Act by Mr. J. A. Saldanha for which the previous sanction of the Governor-General was necessary.

(22) A Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act by Mr. G. Rameswara Rao.

Paragraph 4 (iii). Financial Business.

49. Seven successive budgets, those for the years 1921-22, 1922-23, 1923-24, 1924-25, 1925-26, 1926-27, 1927-28, have been so far presented to the Council, to be dealt with in accordance with the extended powers of voting or revising supplies granted by the Government of India Act. The course of the budget discussion provided by the rules and standing orders is as follows. The budget is presented to the Council by the Finance Member on a date previously notified, which is usually a late date in February or an early date in March. When the budget has been in the hands of members for two or three days, a further period of three days is allowed for a general discussion during which the majority of non-official members make speeches of fifteen minutes' maximum duration apiece, to which the other Members of the Government, followed by the Finance Member, reply at the close of the third day.

During the three days following the general discussion members are at liberty to send notices of motions to omit or curtail any particular items, or to reduce the total, or expenditure in any part of the budget which is subject to the vote of the Council. After the lapse of six further days the various Members of the Cabinet, who are responsible for the demands in the budget, present their demands in order and these are voted on by the Council, subject to restrictions of time as to maximum period allowed for the discussion of particular demands. The discussion of the several motions for the omission or reduction of grants continues for nine or ten days (maximum twelve days), and the consideration of the budget is brought to an end towards the end of March.

50. The following statement shows the number of budget motions received, admitted and discussed in each of the six years under review :—

Budget motions.	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	Total.
Received ..	540	840	1,050	1,274	1,784	1,009	1,400	7,897
Admitted ..	343	794	1,005	1,251	1,020	901	1,148	6,462
Discussed ..	276	174	203	100	95	184	91	1,123

51. The bulk of the motions were aimed in the beginning at cutting out slices, more or less considerable, from the Government demands rather than at criticizing definite features of the Government policy, which is the main trend of a budget discussion in the House of Commons. The absence of an organized opposition, as well as the lack of means of official communication between the whips on either side, was probably responsible for the haphazard way in which the budget was attacked at the commencement. In subsequent years, however, the members began to evince some grasp of the principles

of budgetary criticism and a measure of progress from particular to general schemes of attack is noticeable in the later budget debates.

In recent years, the discussion on certain important matters included in the first few demands has engaged the attention of the Council to such a large extent that several demands, including important ones such as Public Health, Industries, Labour, Civil Works and Loans had to be guillotined for want of time. In 1926, the Swarajist Councillors withdrew from the Council on the first day on which the voting of grants was taken up with the result that a large number of motions were not discussed and the criticism of expenditure and of the policy of Ministers and the Reserved side of the Government was directed chiefly to elicit information and to suggest improvements for further expansion. This feature of the discussion was continued in 1927. Out of 1,148 motions for the reduction of demands or the omission or reduction of items included in demands, 954 proposed token reductions, and were intended to raise discussions on the policy of the members of the Government or to elicit information or to suggest measures for the utilization of the remission of the provincial contribution by reducing taxation or by expansion of expenditure.

There have been a few occasions on which His Excellency the Governor has had to restore grants rejected by the Council. Eight cases are on record—

(1) the restoration, on a certificate by His Excellency the Governor, of a demand of Rs. 2·16 lakhs for the Russellkonda Saw Mill (Budget 1921-22);

(2) the restoration, on a similar certificate, of a demand of Rs. 9,840 on account of the Chief Inspector of Factories included in Demand XXV, Rs. 9·59 lakhs (Budget 1923-24);

(3) the restoration, on a similar certificate, of a demand of Rs. 5 lakhs for enpenditure in the Agency tracts, included in Demand XXXIV, 33·6 lakhs (Budget 1923-24);

(4) the restoration, on a similar certificate, of a demand of Rs. 97,661 on account of Secretariat and Headquarters establishment—Board of Revenue, included in Demand I (Budget 1924-25);

(5) the restoration, on a similar certificate, of a demand of Rs. 1,18,300 on account of the Board of Revenue—Settlement branch, included in Demand I—Land Revenue (Budget 1925-26);

(6) the restoration, on a similar certificate, of a demand of Rs. 7,200 on account of the Official Referee included in Demand XII—Administration of Justice (Budget 1925-26);

(7) the restoration, on a similar certificate, of a demand of Rs. 1 lakh on account of the High Court establishments included in Demand XII—Administration of Justice (Budget 1925-26); and

(8) the restoration, on a similar certificate of a demand of Rs. 3,67,300 on account of special Police included in Demand XIV—Police (Budget 1925-26).

52. A statement showing the reductions in budget grants made the further grants applied for by Government in each year is furnished

Table showing, under Reserved and Transferred subjects, respectively, the and the restorations that have been effected by the

Head of account.	Budget, 1921-22.		Budget, 1922-23.		Budget, 1923-24.	
	Reserved.	Transferred.	Reserved.	Transferred.	Reserved.	Transferred.
	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs.	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs
5. Land Revenue	5·15	..	5·00	..	·28	
6. Excise*	..	·50	..	·30	..	..
7. Stamps	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Forest	2·16†	..	1·06	..	1·00	..
9. Registration	..	..	..	·03	..	..
15. Irrigation	..	..	..	..	..	..
22. General Administration ..	·18	..	..	..	·64	..
24. Administration of Justice ..	·43	..	1·11	..	·20	..
25. Jails and Convict Settlements	..	..	2·00	..	·50	..
26. Police	..	..	1·00	..	..	..
31. Education	..	..	..	..	..	..
34. Agriculture	..	..	..	·02	..	..
37. Miscellaneous Departments ..	1·00	..	·21	..	·10†	..
41. Civil Works	..	4·75	..	0·13	..	1·35
47. Miscellaneous	..	..	·20	..	..	..
Agency Division	..	..	..	..	5·00†	..
Loans and Advances by the Provincial Government.	..	..	12·0	..	..	..
Total ..	8·92	5·25	22·58	·48	7·72	1·35

* The provincial demand for Excise for the three years 1921-22 to 1923-24 represents two-

† These reductions were restored by the local Government on certificate by His Excellency

‡ The sum of ·98 lakh is made up of Rs. 97,661 for 'Board of Revenue' and Rs. 100 for nor under section 72-D of the Government of India Act.

§ Includes 1·18 lakhs for Board of Revenue restored by His Excellency the Governor.

‖ The actual figure was 1,14,401 of which Rs. 1,07,200 were restored by His Excellency the

¶ The actual figure was 1,00,100 of which 1 lakh was restored by His Excellency the

by the Council for each of the seven years 1921-22 to 1927-28 and below :—

reductions that have been made in the budget by the vote of the Council certificate of His Excellency the Governor.

Budget, 1924-25.		Budget, 1925-26.		Budget, 1926-27.		Budget, 1927-28.	
Reserved.	Transferred.	Reserved.	Transferred.	Reserved.	Transferred.	Reserved.	Transferred.
Lakhs.		Lakhs.		Lakhs.		Lakhs.	Lakhs.
..	..	1·20§	..	..	..	Rs. 300	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 100
·01	..	Rs. 100	..	..	..	Rs. 200	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	Re. 1	..	..	..	Rs. 500	..
·98‡	..	Rs. 2		..	..	..	..
Rs. 100	..	1·14‖	..	Rs. 100	..	Rs. 200	..
1·00	..	1·00	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	1·00¶	..	..	..	5·00	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 100
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1·99	..	4·35	..	Rs. 100	..	5·01	Rs. 200

thirds of the charges of the joint Salt and Excise Department.
the Governor under section 72-D of the Government of India Act.
' Legislative Council '. The former item of Rs. 97,661 was restored by His Excellency the Gover-

Governor.
Governor.

53. Towards the close of the voting of grants by the Council, it has been the practice for the Government to move additional demands to meet the expenditure necessitated by the following among other reasons :—

(*a*) Provision has to be made for the pay or the allowances due for March and payable in April, in respect of appointments which have been abolished, or the allowances which have been cut out, as a result of the voting of grants by the Council.

(*b*) Provision has to be made for urgent new items of expenditure which might have to be incurred between April and August when the House would not be sitting and which could not be foreseen at the time the budget was presented to the Council.

The total sums voted by the Council as additional demands in the seven years under review were as follows :—

	Lakhs.
1921-22	17·95
1922-23	31·23
1923-24	10·58
1924-25	1·01
1925-26	*Nil*
1926-27	16·26*
1927-28	8·55

Paragraph 4 (iv). Questions and Resolutions.

QUESTIONS.

54. The reformed Council in this Presidency has been very active in making interpellations and motions on matters of general public interest, ordinarily called resolutions. Both privileges no doubt existed under the Minto-Morley Reforms, but the fact that they can be much more effectively used in the reformed Council which contains a greater number of representatives of the people, has materially tended to increase the importance of this branch of legislative business, which entails in consequence far more work than before on the Executive Government.

55. In the following table an attempt is made to analyse the 8,651 questions asked in the Council till the end of the last session of the second Council to distinguish the proportion of those admitted and answered and those disallowed, and also to show at a glance the various reasons for disallowance :—

Questions for the years 1920-21 to 1926-27.

	First Legislative Council, 1920-23.	Second Legislative Council, 1923-26.	Third Legislative Council. (First Session 1926-27.)
Total number received	3,302	6,937	893
Total number admitted and answered	2,924	5,727	846
Total number disallowed	253	657	28
Total number referred back to the Members of the Legislative Council for further elucidation and not received back	..	58	10
Total number withdrawn subsequently by the Members of the Legislative Council	..	52	4
Total number lapsed	125	443	5

* Of this sum Rs. 2,73,100 represented merely transfers from Non-voted to Voted

Grounds of disallowance.

	No.
1. Questions relating to matters which are not primarily the concern of the local Government	263
2. Disallowed as being in the nature of suggestions for action and not of request for information	233
3. Questions once fully answered	70
4. Questions relating to matters of hardship to individuals and not involving any principle of administration	48
5. Questions asking for information which is already available in a published official document	35
6. Questions not bearing on matters of public concern	46
7. Questions which merely asked for an expression of opinion	36
8. Questions which merely supplied information and did not seek any on a matter of fact	30
9. Questions not within the special cognizance of any Member of Government	46
10. Abstract legal questions	17
11. Questions which were disallowed as being hypothetical and not relating to matters of fact	16
12. Questions not relating to any of the branches of the administration for which the Government Member or Minister interpellated was responsible	30
13. Argumentative	12
14. Defamatory	8
15. Questions containing statements for the accuracy of which the interpellator was not prepared to vouch, especially citations from newspapers	13
16. Questions which are in the opinion of the Hon'ble the President an abuse of the right of questioning	8
17. Questions bearing on matters under adjudication by a court of law or justice	8
18. Questions of excessive length	11
19. Questions relating to Native States	7
20. Questions anticipating budget motions	1
Total	938

56. It may be noted that questions are seldom disallowed in the Madras Council without giving the interpellators an opportunity of amending them in conformity with the Rules and Standing Orders. A common ground of disallowance is that a question instead of asking for information, suggests to the Government a line of action which it would be impossible to concede or discuss without first consulting local officers or the wishes of the Council as a whole. Another equally common ground of disallowance is that a question relates to a matter which is primarily the concern not of the local Government, but of the Government of India or of a body, like a railway company or an electrical corporation, which is not under the official control of the Government.

Questions on the administrative and discretionary powers conferred by statutes on the Judges of the High Court or other officers of Government are also disallowed as not relating to a matter which is primarily the concern of the local Government, *i.e.*, of His Excellency acting with the Members of His Executive Council or with the Ministers as defined under Section 134 (4) of the Government of India Act. Where a question offends by reason of excessive length, an endeavour is first made to induce the interpellator to shorten it, and the small number of questions (11) disallowed on this ground represents the residue after a more or less prolonged correspondence has been carried on in each case with the member concerned.

57. It would be difficult to single out typical questions from among the great variety of those asked at every meeting of the Council (except perhaps to mention that 255 questions were asked in the first three years about communal representation in the public service) ; nor would it serve any purpose to catalogue those instances where the asking of a question has led to definite action on the part of the Government, because such action is an ordinary and necessary incident of the administration. It is obvious that where further action is promised in the answer to a question and there is no subsequent evidence of action having been taken, the interpellator will probably return to the charge by means either of a renewed interpellation or of a notice of a resolution. The number of occasions on which the members have taken action in either of these ways has been few compared with those on which the Government willingly and promptly took the promised action.

During the lifetime of the second Legislative Council and even during the latter period of the first, the right of putting supplementary questions was so freely exercised bythe membere that on several days question time had to be extended beyond the psrscribed period of one hour leaving less time for the transaction of the remaining orders of the day. In December 1924, the system of starred and unstarred questions was introduced in this Council by which oral supplementary questions are allowed only in respect of starred questions. An endeavour is made to include in the list of questions for a day only so many starred questions as judged by ordinary experience can be answered within the space of one hour, care being taken as far as possible to include in the list for a day *all* questions on a particular subject to which answers might have been received.

58. The period of notice for a question is usually seven days, and questions are seldom asked in this Council without this notice. But with the consent of the Member of Government concerned oral questions have sometimes been allowed in this Council on an important event of recent occurrence such as the Malabar Rebellion, the Rampa Fituri, the occurrence of floods or famines, the entry of Ezhuvas (persons of low caste) into an agraharam (a Brahman quarter), the nomination of a prominent politician to the Corporation of Madras, the imprisonment of two Adi-Dravida boys for entering a temple and an order of the Commissioner of Police, Madras, prohibiting public meetings and processions on public roads in connexion with elections.

59. Practically all questions admitted are answered by the Government, although the normal period of seven days allowed by the Standing Orders has been frequently exceeded in cases where the complicated nature of the information demanded, or the necessity of making local inquiries, warranted delay. It will be seen from the statement given at the beginning of this section that out of 11,132 questions received 573 lapsed by reason of their being still under the consideration of departments of the Government at the time of prorogation of the Council; many of these were no doubt repeated at a later session and in some cases the answer was sent after the prorogation to the member who asked it when the required information had been obtained.

Resolutions or motions on matters of general public interest.

60. Of 115 days occupied by sittings of the reformed Council during the first three years the major portion of 39 days was devoted to the discussion of motions of general public interest, exclusive of budget motions, which, as mentioned in paragraph 49 *supra*, regularly occupy nine or ten days in every year. The second reformed Council sat for 155 days out of which 39 days were taken up by non-official business inclusive of Bills and motions on matters of general public interest.

61. The following statement shows the number of notices of resolutions received during the three sessions of the first reformed Council and the four sessions of the second reformed Council, the numbers admitted, disallowed (with the grounds of disallowance) and disposed of in the Council and those lapsed :—

	First Legislative Council, 1920-23.	Second Legislative Council, 1923-26.	Third Legislative Council, 1926-27.
Notice sof Resolutions received.			
Total number received	906	2,111	707
Total number admitted	788	1,986	707
Total number disallowed	118	125	*Nil.*
Total disposed of in Council	438	69	9
Grounds of disallowance.			
1. As not being primarily the concern of the local Government	76	64	..
2. As not containing a specific recommendation to Government	3	..	..
3. As not raising a definite issue	3	12	..
4. As not being a matter of general public interest	4	..	..
5. As a matter concerning His Excellency the Governor and not a Member	1	..	..
6. As detrimental to public interests	2	..	..
7. As not being the concern of the Council	1	3	..
8. As interfering in matters of executive control	3	..	..
9. As relating to the appropriation of funds and therefore requiring the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor	4	2	..
10. As having been discussed within one year previous	18	15	..
11. As relating to the administration of a Prince under His Majesty's suzerainty	1	14	..
12. For want of notice	1	..	..
13. As not falling within the category of motions on matters of general public interest	1	..	..
14. As having been disallowed during the same session	..	6	..
15. Want of compliance with Rules and Standing Orders	..	9	..

62. The Government regularly place on the table at the commencement of each session a list of resolutions carried by the Council during the previous session, together with a statement of the action taken by them upon each, or of the reasons which have precluded the taking of any action. The following is the list for the first six years :—

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government.

I.—FIRST YEAR.

(8th January to 2nd April 1921.)

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Postponement of the adoption of resettlement proposals till the principles of land revenue settlement are embodied in legislation.	15th February 1921.	The Government agreed to expedite the Land Revenue Settlement Bill with a view to passing it by July 1922 and in this hope also agreed that no orders on settlement schemes would be passed before the Bill passed into law. The Council having however since declared for permanent settlement (*vide* second year, No. 33 below), renewed correspondence with the Government of India has become necessary and in the meanwhile the Government cannot delay the progress of settlement any longer, since to do so would be to sacrifice the public revenues to a considerable extent.
2. Appointment of a committee for the revision of salaries of non-gazetted services.	16th February 1921.	Committee appointed—G. O. No. 148, Finance, dated 17th February 1921—*vide* paragraph 24 (2) *supra*, for the action taken by the Government.
3. Relief of rural areas from scarcity in drinking water-supply—Gunjam district.	17th February 1921.	A provincial grant of Rs. 20,000 was sanctioned to the district board for sinking wells—G. O. No. 278, P.H., dated 22nd March 1921.
4. Half-fees for Muhammadan students in aided schools and colleges.	18th February 1921.	Necessary amendments to the Grant-in-Aid Code and the Madras Educational Rules have been notified—G. O. No. 1405, Education, dated 29th September 1921.
5. Appointment of a committee to inquire into the drainage and irrigation in the Cauvery delta.	19th February 1921.	Committee appointed—*vide* G. O. No. 177-I., dated 9th June 1921 ; paragraph 24 (14) *supra*.
6 Wiving of recovery of contributions from local bodies for the maintenance of headquarter hospitals.	Do.	The recommendation has been given effect to—G. O. No. 493, Finance, dated 11th May 1921.
7. Encouragement of the indigenous systems of medicine.	21st ary 1921.	A committee has been appointed to report on the subject—G. O. No. 964, P.H., dated 17th October 1921 ; *vide* paragraph 24 (9) *supra*.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

I.—FIRST YEAR—*contd.*

(*8th January to 2nd April 1921*)—contd.

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
8. Revision of Agency rules ..	5th March 1921.	The revised rules were issued in July 1924.
9. Postponement of the bifurcation of the Kistna district and redistribution of the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari and Kistna.	Do.	The Government have called for proposals for the redistribution of the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari and Kistna.
10. Racial distinctions among railway passengers.	Do.	A copy of the proceedings on the subject was forwarded to the Railway Board for necessary action. A note of the action taken with regard to retiring rooms has been published in G. O. No. 56, Railway, dated 23rd July 1921.
11. Appointment of a committee to consider the question of the abolition of the Board of Revenue.	17th March 1921.	Committee appointed and its recommendations given effect to—*vide* paragraph 24 (3) *supra*.
12. Enfranchisement of women ..	1st April 1921	Necessary regulation framed under the Madras Electoral Rules—G. O. No. 108, Legislative, dated 10th May 1921.
13. Provincial contribution to the Central Government.	Do.	The Government of India and the Secretary of State were addressed.
14. Recruitment to judicial offices from the bar and communal representation therein.	2nd April 1921	The observations made in the debate will be borne in mind as vacancies arise.

II.—SECOND YEAR.

(*1st August 1921 to 27th March 1922.*)

1. Reduction of the strength of the Executive Council.	1st August 1921.	The proceedings were forwarded to the Government of India for transmission to the Secretary of State.
2. Appointment of a committee to revise the Famine Code.	Do.	A committee was appointed—G. O. No. 1962, Revenue, dated 31st August 1921 ; *vide* paragraph 24 (4) *supra*.
3. Ownership of river Poramboke lands in Malabar.	Do.	The matter was not, as pointed out by the Government in the course of the debate, properly one for executive action, but was a matter for the parties interested to establish their rights if any, in a court of law.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

II—SECOND YEAR—*contd.*

(*1st August 1921 to 27th March 1922*)—contd.

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
4. Addition of a statement to the administration report of the Forest Department showing the extent of each class of reserved forest, districtwar.	2nd August 1921.	A statement to the form desired has been incorporated in the administration report—G. O. No. 1934, Development, dated 14th October 1921.
5. Appointment of a committee to inquire into forest grievances in the Coimbatore district.	Do.	A committee was appointed for the Coimbatore district—G. O. No. 1856, Development, dated 4th October 1921 ; *vide* paragraph 24 (17) *supra*.
6. Disafforestation of forests lying within one mile of occupied area in villages.	Do.	The Government have announced that they are ready to institute inquiries in any individual cases of hardship that may be brought to notice—G.Os. No. 1933, Development, dated 14th October 1921, and No. 30, Development, dated 6th January 1922.
7. Disafforestation of class V forests in the Chittoor district.	Do. ..	After discussion with the Advisory Committee on Forest administration, the Government decided that the adoption of the recommendation would be detrimental to the public interests—G. Os. No. 1932, Development, dated 14th October 1921, and No. 31, Development, dated the 6th January 1922.
8. Improvement of grazing grounds by providing drinking water facilities.	Do. ..	The question is under examination and orders will issue shortly.
9. Reduction of seigniorage rates for forest produce in Godavari district.	Do. ..	The Collector of the district has been directed to reduce the rates if in any respect he thinks there is cause for doing so—G. Os. No. 2084, dated the 7th November 1921, and No. 2185, dated 24th November 1921.
10. Committee to consider the improvement of Excise administration.	3rd August 1921.	An Advisory Committee of the Council was appointed. It has advised that no separate committee is called for—G. O. No. 2642, Revenue, dated 2nd December 1921 ; *vide* paragraph 21 (2) *supra*.
11. Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill ..	Do. ..	A copy of the report of the debate was forwarded to the Government of India.
12. Exemption of members of the Legislative Council from restrictions under the Indian Arms Act.	4th August 1921.	A copy of the resolution with a report of the debate was forwarded to the Government of India.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

II—SECOND YEAR—*contd.*

(*1st August 1921 to 27th March 1922*)—contd.

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
13. Revocation of G. O. No. 163, Finance, dated 18th February 1921, regarding the rates of travelling allowances.	5th August 1921.	The Government were unable to give effect to the resolution for reasons given in G. O. No. 1170, Finance, dated 30th November 1921, but have since carried out a complete revision of the rates in consultation with the Finance Committee.
14. Communal representation in the public services.	Do. ..	Instructions were issued in G. Os. No. 613, Public, dated 16th September 1921, and No. 658, Public, dated 15th August 1922.
15. Communal representation in the Secretariat.	Do. ..	Names of suitable non-Brahman candidates have been obtained and are considered as vacancies arise.
16. Increase of pay to village headmen.	6th August 1921.	Orders have issued in G. O. No. 1482, Revenue, dated 15th August 1922.
17. Appointment of a committee to suggest reforms in secondary and intermediate education.	1st September 1921.	A committee has been appointed—G. O. No. 1557, Education, dated 25th October 1921—*vide* paragraph 24 (5) *supra* for the action taken by the Government.
18. Admission of maximum number of students in colleges.	Do. ..	Orders have issued—*vide* G. Os. No. 694, Law (Education), dated 6th June 1922, and No. 713, Law (Education), dated 10th June 1922.
19. Raising the status of the Government Islamia School, Trichonopoly.	Do. ..	The question has been deferred pending the permanent transfer to the Government of the site and buildings.
20. Appointment of committee to reorganize the School of Arts.	2nd September 1921.	A committee was appointed in G. O. No. 1881 Development. dated 6th October 1921. The Government have issued orders on the committee's report ; *vide* paragraph 24 (8) *supra.*
21. Grant of Takkavi loans—Resolution recommending— (*i*) that the loans granted in famine-affected areas should be free of interest ; (*ii*) that the repayment of the first instalment should be postponed to January 1922 ; and (*iii*) that a portion of the principal up to one-half of the aggregate sum advanced should be remitted according to the circumstances of the debtors.	3rd September 1921.	The Board of Revenue has submitted a report on the financial loss involved in proposals (*i*) and (*ii*) and the Government have decided to proceed under the rules in the Takkavi Manual which are sufficiently elastic to meet hard cases. As regards proposal (*iii*), the Collectors concerned have been directed to submit half-yearly reports and recommendations.
22. Opening of telegraph offices at Pulivendla, Rayachoti and Badvel.	Do. ..	The Postmaster-General has been asked to take action.
23. Use of the term 'Achari' for members of the Viswakarma community.	14th October 1921.	Orders were issued in G. O. No. 1955, Law (General), dated 19th November 1921, in accordance with the undertaking given in the Council.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

II—SECOND YEAR—*contd.*

(1st August 1921 to 27th March 1922)—contd.

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
24. Provincial contribution to Central Government.	15th October 1921.	A deputation waited on His Excellency the Viceroy in February 1922 to represent the case of this Province.
25. Action taken by Government on the resolutions passed by the Legislative Council during each session.	Do. ..	Orders have issued in the sense desired—G.O. No. 264, Law (Legislative), dated 22nd November 1921.
26. Uniformity of text-books for schools under public management and other aided schools.	Do. ..	Requisite amendments to the Madras Educational Rules notified in G. O. No. 123, Law (Education), dated 30th January 1922.
27. Ceylon quarantine restrictions ..	Do. ..	A copy of the report of the debate was forwarded to the Ceylon Government with whom the question is still under discussion.
28. Appointment of a special officer to compile information regarding Presidency establishment on a communal basis.	Do. ..	Orders regarding the compilation of the information desired have issued in G. O. No. 658, Public, dated 15th August 1922.
29. Modification of rules relating to the levy of penalty for default in payment of income-tax.	16th November 1921.	A copy of the report of the debate was forwarded to the Government of India for consideration when rules under the new Income-tax Act were framed.
30. Curtailment of salaries of appointments on Rs. 500 and above.	17th November 1921.	The Council was informed of the reasons why effect could not be given to the resolution—*vide* paragraph 16 of the Hon'ble the Finance Member's speech, dated the 4th March 1922, made when presenting the budget for 1922-23.
31. Placing on the Council table orders creating new appointments on Rs. 500 and above.	13th December 1921.	Orders have issued in the sense desired—G. O. No. 42, Finance, dated 11th January 1922.
32. Location of the court of Special Deputy Collector, Chandragiri.	Do. ..	The court has since been abolished.
33. Introduction of permanent settlement of land revenue in the ryotwari holdings of the Presidency.	14th December 1921.	The Government of India have been addressed in the matter.
34. Honorifics for Oriya names ..	15th December 1921.	Orders were issued in G. O. No. 430, Law (General), dated 17th February 1922.
35. Issue of a vernacular manual of laws for the common people.	19th December 1922.	Action could not be taken owing to financial stringency.
36. Repeal of orders regarding collection of punitive tax from the people of Kamudi and neighbouring villages (Ramnad district).	21st January 1922.	The collection of the punitive tax has been discontinued and the force has been retained as part of the general strength of the district.
37. Changing of the name of Panchama or Paraiya into Adi-Dravida.	22nd January 1922.	Orders were issued in G. O. No. 817, Law (General), dated 25th March 1922, in accordance with the undertaking given in the Council.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

III.—THIRD YEAR.

August 1922 to April 1923.)

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Reduction of the price of each day's proceedings of the Council to two annas.	13th September 1922.	Price reduced—G. O. No. 242, Law (Legislative), dated 25th October 1922.
2. The British Empire Exhibition	14th September 1922.	All arrangements connected with the Exhibition have been entrusted to a general committee which has in its turn appointed an Executive Committee with the Director of Industries as Chairman. On this committee's advice, the proposal to hold a local exhibition has been abandoned. Arrangements for participation in the British Empire Exhibition are in progress. The Legislative Council has since voted 1½ lakhs for the purpose.
3. Withdrawal of the powers of the Agency Commissioner to deport individuals.	Do. ..	Accepted by Government. Draft Bill on the subject is pending the repeal of the State Prisoners' Regulation by the Central Legislature. The abolition of the post of Agency Commissioner is under consideration.
4. Appointment of Indians as Conservators of Forests, Deputy Inspectors-General of Police and Members of the Board of Revenue.	Do. ..	Resolution recorded by Government, pending the occurrence of vacancies which will give an opportunity of giving effect to it.
5. Increase in the number of certified public auditors.	Do. ..	A press communique has been issued explaining why effect could not be given to the resolution—G. O. No. 410, Law, dated 5th February 1923.
6. Construction of the Palghat-Manantoddy railway.	15th September 1922.	The preliminary survey of the Shoranur-Manantoddy line having been completed, the Railway Board sanctioned a detailed survey of the Shoranur-Nilambur section and have also accorded permission to land being notified for acquisition. The survey has recently been completed. The Government have under consideration the question of financing the project and are taking steps towards the early construction of the line.
7. Appointment of a Retrenchment Committee.	16th September 1922.	Orders have been issued in G. O. No. 796, Finance, dated 22nd September 1922; paragraph 24 (1) *supra*.
8. Postponement of resettlement proposals in respect of Anantapur and Bellary districts.	Do. ..	Resolution as amended was accepted by Government. Instructions issued accordingly.
9. Separation of judicial and executive functions.	22nd September 1922.	A special committee under the presidency of Mr. F. A. Coleridge, I.C.S., was appointed to consider the question. The committee has submitted a report which is now under the consideration of the Government; paragraph 24 (12) *supra*.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

III.—THIRD YEAR.

August 1922 to April 1923.)

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
10. Appointment of a committee in each district to investigate the grievances of ryots in respect of forest reserves lying within a mile of the village-site or of the cultivated area of a village.	6th February 1923.	Committee appointed for Chittoor district as a test case. Orders were issued in G. O. No. 742, Development, dated 23rd May 1923; paragraph 24 (14) *supra*.
11. Appointment of a committee to examine forest grievances in the Kurnool district.	26th February 1923.	Committee appointed for the Kurnool district. Orders were issued in G. O. No. 435, Development, dated 23rd March 1923, which has been placed on the Editors' Table; paragraph 24 (14) *supra*.
12. Addition of a section to the Presidency Administration Report relating to members of the depressed classes in Government service.	Do. ..	Motion was withdrawn by the mover but the suggestion has been accepted by the Government and orders issued directing the replacement of the paragraph in the Presidency Administration Report dealing with Muhammadans by a general paragraph dealing with the representation in the public service of all the main castes in the Presidency.
13. Repairs to the Srirangam temple	Do. ..	Action will be taken after personal inspection by the committee appointed—*vide* paragraph 24 (13) *supra*.

IV.—FOURTH YEAR.

(26th November 1923 to 3rd April 1924.)

1. Daily and mileage allowance to presidents of district boards.	11th December 1923.	The travelling allowance rules were accordingly altered—G. O. No. 1023, L. & M., dated 16th April 1924.
2. Postponement of resettlement of blacksoil taluks of Bellary and Anantapur.	Do. ..	The resolution was not accepted by the Government. They directed that the new rates sanctioned in G. O. No. 1332, Revenue, dated 21st July 1922, should be introduced at once in the black-soil taluks of Bellary and Anantapur districts, but that in view of the state of the season the difference between the resettlement and existing rates of assessment should be remitted in fasli 1333 (1923-24) on all lands except those that are irrigated by the Tungabhadra channels.
3. British Empire Exhibition ..	12th December 1923.	Accepted. The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Empire Exhibition has been instructed not to incur any further liability.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

IV.—FOURTH YEAR—*contd.*

(*26th November 1923 to 3rd April 1924*)—contd.

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
4. Steps to be taken for the improvement and extension of works of irrigation in the Nellore district.	12th December 1923.	In connexion with the general examination of irrigation possibilities in the Ceded districts, a preliminary report on the Vengalapuram project has been drawn up and the revenue aspects are being examined by the Board of Revenue. Gaugings are being taken for two other projects in the district—Pulikonda and Rallapad. The Tungabhadra project is being examined and revised with a view to ascertain whether it can be made financially possible. This provides for about 340,000 acres first crop and 60,000 acres second crop in the Nellore district.
5. Election of presidents of district boards.	13th December 1923.	Presidentships which fell vacant on or after 13th December 1923 were* thrown open to election except in two cases †. In these two cases the reasons which necessitated the retention of the power of nomination in the hands of Government were notified in the gazette.
6. Election of two members of the Legislative Council as members of the Local Advisory Committee of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.	6th February 1924.	Communicated to the Agent, Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, and the members concerned.
7. Cancellation of the levy of a fee for the inclusion of lands in the irrigable ayacut of the Kistna Eastern and Godavari Western deltas.	8th February 1924.	The question as to what action is to be taken on the recommendation of the Legislative Council is under consideration.
8. Stopping of further amalgamation of villages and restoration of old units of villages and village officers.	9th February 1924.	Special officer appointed. The matter is under consideration.

* Tanjore, Tinnevelly, South Arcot, Chingleput, Kistna and Salem.

† Guntur and Cuddapah.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

IV.—FOURTH YEAR—*concld*

(*26th November 1923 to 3rd April 1924*)—concld.

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
9. Reinstatement of the Ghat talaiyaris.	3rd April 1924.	The Government undertook to re-examine the question. The Inspector-General of Police and the Collectors of districts concerned have been requested to report whether the removal of Ghat talaiyaris has led to much greater insecurity in the case of travellers and whether any restoration is necessary.
10. Release of Mappilla prisoners convicted of certain offences.	Do. ..	No action has been taken on the resolution because independently of the resolution it had been decided that the judgments of Mappilla trials should be examined to see which convict could with safety be released. Mr. Hilton Brown was placed on special duty in connexion with this and as a result of his recommendation prisoners satisfying certain conditions were released.

V.—FIFTH YEAR.

(*18th August 1924 to 1st April 1925.*)

1. Release of M. P. Narayana Menon	22nd August 1924.	The question was reconsidered by Government who have decided not to release him.
2. No. 3 (269) Recommending to convey to the Government of India the opinion of the Council that the Lee Commission's recommendations regarding public services should not be given effect to in this province.	23rd August 1924.	Proceedings of the Council were forwarded to the Government of India (Letter No. 7463-1, Public, dated 29th August 1924).
3. Use of public roads, wells, etc., by members of the depressed classes.	25th August 1924.	The resolution was communicated to all local bodies and heads of departments for information and guidance. It was also published in the *Fort St. George Gazette.*
4. Recommending that the Board's Standing Orders should be so amended as to allow remission of assessment on part fields.	16th October 1924.	The Government were unable to accept the recommendation. They considered that it would be sufficient to take such steps on the occurrence of widespread calamities.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

V.—FIFTH YEAR—*contd.*

(*18th August 1924 to 1st April 1925.*)—contd.

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
5. Recommending—		
(i) that funds be provided to the districts affected by floods, etc., for affording relief to sufferers;	16th October 1924.	(i) His Excellency had already authorized an expenditure of Rs. 40,000 for the immediate relief of the distressed.
(ii) that steps be taken and funds provided for the reclamation of silted lands or for affording gratuitous relief to landholders for reclamation purposes or for undertaking silt clearance by Government themselves, and		(ii) In G. O. No. 1599, Revenue, dated 15th October 1924, the Government had offered loans at 6 per cent. interest for reclamation of silted lands to lend free of charge and pay the cost of transport of tramway plant available with Government and to have a survey made of the lands affected. In G. O. No. 1759, Revenue, dated 12th November 1924, the Government reduced the rate of interest to 4 per cent. for the first two years of the loan period.
(iii) that application be made to the Government of India for financial assistance in the shape of a special grant or of remission of Provincial contribution.		(iii) A sum of Rs. 1¼ lakhs was obtained from the Indian Peoples Famine Trust and placed at the disposal of the Central Flood Relief Committee for distribution in the flood-affected districts. An application was also made to the Government of India for a free grant but the Government of India did not sanction it.
6. Recommending that in Malabar and South Kanara districts, in regard to the single crop lands on which crops have been destroyed and in regard to double crop lands which, after the first crops have been destroyed, have become unfit for raising a second crop on account of floods, land revenue should be wholly remitted and that where a second crop has been grown after the destruction of the first crop remission should be given to the extent of three-fourths.	19th November 1924.	As regards South Kanara, the Government sanctioned remission of assessment in the case of single crop lands on which the wet crop completely failed and double crop lands on which the first crop was destroyed by floods and the second crop could not be raised owing to the deposit of sand or silt or also failed, provided that the area affected was not less than one acre. Lands rendered unfit for cultivation were also granted remission so long as they remained uncultivable. As regards Malabar, the ordinary remission rules in the Board's Standing Order and the concessions granted in G. Os. Nos. 1725, Revenue, dated 6th November 1924, and 1931, Revenue, dated 16th December 1924, were considered sufficient.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

V.—FIFTH YEAR—*concld.*

(*18th August 1924 to 1st April 1925*)—concld.

Serial number and subject of resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
7. Recommending the suspension of the revenue payable on lands affected by the floods for a period of thirty years from the current fasli.	6th December 1924.	The Government were unable to accept the resolution. Orders have however been issued directing— (*i*) that the holders of wet lands in the Nirarambam tract covered with sand to a depth of over one foot should be given the choice between having the land reclassified as dry for the period of resettlement to be introduced in fasli 1335 and retaining it as wet, and (ii) that if the lands were retained as wet, remission would be granted until the sand is removed.
8. Stoppage of emigration to Assam	Do.	The Government declined to give effect to the resolution—*vide* G. O. No. 619, dated 25th February 1925.
9. Recommending that in the resettlement of the five western taluks of the Bellary district the rates in the case of wet lands under Tungabhadra channels be raised by 12½ per cent. and that the rates in the case of other lands bearing an assessment of over 6 annas be enhanced by 6¼ per cent. during the period of resettlement.	Do.	The Government were not prepared to accept the recommendation of the Legislative Council. The orders actually passed were published in G. O. No. 373, Revenue, dated 6th March 1925, which was laid on the Editors' Table.
10. Appointment of a committee to inquire into the conditions of irrigation facilities in the Cuddapah district.	5th February 1925.	Orders appointing the committee were issued in G. O. No. 267-I., dated 25th June 1925. The Government order has been placed on Editors' Table.
11. Supply of green manure leaves from the reserved forests.	Do.	Orders of the Government on the resolution have issued in G. O. No. 652, Development, dated 2nd May 1925, which is placed on the Editors' Table.
12. Appointment of a committee of the Legislative Council to report on the working of the policy laid down in regard to communal representation and to suggest means for the removal of existing inequalities.	2nd March 1925.	Committee has been appointed in G. O. No. 733, Public, dated 3rd August 1925.
13. Opening of a paddy cultivation farm in South Malabar and in South Kanara.	1st April 1925.	Action is being taken to have a paddy-breeding station opened in Malabar alone during this year.
14. Appointment of a committee to inquire into the grievances of the non-gazetted officers.	Do.	The resolution was recorded by Government in view of the present financial condition of the province.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—contd.

VI.—SIXTH YEAR.

(*18th August 1925 to 17th September 1926.*)

Serial number and subject of the resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Suspension of the scheme of colonizing the Andamans with Mappillas.	25th August 1925.	The Government of India sent to the Andamans a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen to see for themselves the conditions in which the Mappilla settlers lived there :— (1) Muhammad Schamnad Sahib Bahadur, M.L.A. (2) Syed Murtaza Sahib Bahadur, M.L.A. (3) Mir Abbas Ali Sahib Bahadur, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C. (4) Dr. K. D. Mugaseth, L.M.S. Pending their report the transfer of long term Mapilla prisoners confined in the jails of this Presidency and of Mappilla women and children to the Andamans was stopped. The Government of India have since issued a resolution on the subject—Resolution No. F. 188/24—Jails, dated 4th October 1926.
2. Declaration of Maundy Thursday as a partial holiday for Roman Catholics and penultimate Saturday of every month to be a holiday for the Judicial Department in the mufassal.	Do	The Government in the Law (General) Department issued an order No. 3327, dated 3rd November 1925, accepting the resolution.
3. The appointment of a committee to investigate the problem of unemployment in this Presidency.	Do.	In pursuance of the resolution, a committee was appointed in G. O. No. 330, Law (General), dated 4th February 1926. The committee has recently submitted its report to Government.
4. Ellore to be made the district headquarters of the West Godavari district.	15th December 1925.	Ellore has been fixed as the district headquarters.
5. Reduction of tree tax	Do.	The reduction, not being justifiable in the public interests, was not made.

Statement of resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the action taken thereon by the Government—concld.

VI.—SIXTH YEAR—*contd.*

(*18th August 1925 to 17th September 1926*)—contd

Serial number and subject of the resolution.	When passed by the Council.	Nature of the action taken by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)
6. Total prohibition to be attained in a period of twenty years.	10th February 1926.	The Government have referred t othe Finance Committee the question of the possibility of securing adequate new sources of revenue to make up for the loss of revenue which would result from a policy of total prohibition.
7. That no shops for selling toddy, arrack or beer should be located in or within two furlongs from cheris or other localities inhabited by members of the depressed classes or factories.	Do.	The Government have issued orders that the principle underlying the resolution should be observed as far as possible and have directed that the standing orders should be suitably amended.
8. That the sex disqualification for election or nomination to the Legislative Council be removed in respect of all classes of women generally.	17th July1926.	The Government in the Law (Legislative) Department issued orders in G. O. No. 309, dated 5th August 1926, accepting the resolution.

63. *Nil.*

64. *Ballot for resolutions.*—Although Standing Order 5 (2) provides that the relative precedence of notices of Bills and resolutions given by non-official members shall be determined by ballot, the Council was content, until September 1921, to take up the motions in the order arranged by the Secretary. In September 1921, however, on the representation of the then leader of the House, Sir Lionel Davidson, the system of ballot for resolution was first introduced; this was extended to Bills on 20th January 1923, both Bills and resolutions contending together in one ballot. The low place obtained by Bills on this system—one result of which was that notices of two Bills of importance given by non-official members (a Malabar Tenancy Bill and a Local Option Bill) never came on the agenda at all, but lapsed by prorogation—led to steps being taken to amend the standing orders; and it is now provided by virtue of these amendments, (1) that non-official members' Bills and notices of resolutions should be ballotted for separately according to the names of members, no member being entitled to ballot for more than one Bill and one resolution in the same ballot; (2) that the priority determined by a ballot should hold good for thirty days only and that after thirty days a fresh ballot should be held, at which notices previously ballotted for but not already moved in the Council may compete for priority on renewal of the same; (3) that not less than fifteen notices of resolutions arranged in order

of priority should be placed on the agenda paper on each day available for this class of business; and (4) that all non-official members' Bills should be dealt with by the Council in the ballot order before any motions on matters of general public interest are taken up. These changes have relieved to some extent the congestion of business, not only in the Council, but also in the several departments of Government which till then had to work up cases on hundreds of resolutions that never came up for disposal.

Paragraph 4 (v). Miscellaneous.

65. Under this heading fall (*a*) motions for the adjournment of business on matters of urgent public importance, (*b*) motions not falling under any of the recognized categories of motions, (*c*) motions relating to the amendment of standing orders and (*d*) the extent to which experts have been nominated to the Council.

(*a*) The following is a list of motions for the adjournment of the business of the House for debates on matters of urgent public importance. Such debates, unless disallowed by the Governor under rule 22 (2), took place until December 1924 between 4 and 6-30 P. M. on the day on which such motion was made provided the leave of the House had been obtained. In December 1924 amendments were made to Standing Orders 22 and 23 (1) the effect of which was that the debate on the motion commenced at 2-30 P. M. on the same day on which the motion was made or at 2-30 P. M. the next day and terminated automatically at 5 P. M.

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT OF DEBATE.

Subject.	Reference to Council Proceedings.	Result.
(1) Arrest of the non-co-operator Yaqub Hasan.	Vol. I, pages 340—342 and 392 to 412.	Talked out.
(2) Shooting in Madras of persons concerned in labour riots.	Vol. II, pages 629—630.	Motion disallowed by His Excellency the Governor.
(3) Disturbances caused by labour troubles.	Vol. III, pages 962 and 1005—1032.	Talked out.
(4) Train tragedy resulting in the death from asphyxiation of 70 Mappilla prisoners.	Vol. IV, pages 1655—1656 and 1699—1725.	Talked out.
(5) Extension of Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1908.	Vol. IV, page 1795 ..	Leave of the House not granted.
(6) British Premier's speech referring to the position and prospects of the Indian Civil Service.	Vol. VIII, page 65 ..	Motion disallowed by His Excellency the Governor.
(7) Provincial contribution to the Central Government.	Vol. VIII, pages 389—390 and 431—435.	Motion put and carried.
(8) The issue of a whip by the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government in connexion with the no-confidence motion of Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi—5th February 1924.	Vol. XVI, pages 50, 90—119.	The motion was talked out.
(9) The effect on the present Reforms of the statements made by the Hon'ble Member for Finance at the meeting of the Legislative Council on 7th February 1924 that the bulk of the duties in relation to the public services are laid upon the Governor and that he must take the initiative in making appointments—4th March 1924.	Vol. XVII, pages 69, 94—123.	Do.

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT OF DEBATE—*contd.*

Subject.	Reference to Council Proceedings.	Result.
(10) The sending of a telegram by some Hon'ble Members of this Council to the Government of India supporting the maintenance of the salt duty at Rs. 2 per maund if the provincial contribution from Madras is to be reduced—18th March 1924.	Vol. XVII, pages 609—613.	The notice was ruled out of order by the Hon'ble the President.
(11) The situation arising out of the orders issued to prevent leading mirasidars like Messrs. Pantulu Ayyar and Marudavanam Pillai, from attending the Mirasidars' Conference at Mayavaram on the 20th March—28th March 1924.	Vol. XVIII, pages 18—20.	The motion was by leave withdrawn.
(12) Bifurcation of the Kistna district—31st March 1924.	Vol. XVIII, pages 124—129.	Disallowed by the Hon'ble the President.
(13) Requesting the Local Government to forward to the Government of India the opinion of the Madras Council for the grant of provincial autonomy to the Madras Presidency.	Vol. XIX, pages 85—86 and 120—137.	Put and carried.
(14) Treatment accorded to an Hon'ble Member of the Madras Council by a District Collector by his statement that some questions tabled in the Council were treated as allegations which were received with the incredulous contempt they deserved.	Vol. XIX, pages 795—800 and 839—858.	Do.
(15) Action of the Government of Madras in regard to the prosecution in the Imperial Bank Fraud case and more especially (1) the grounds on and the circumstances under which the Police decided to prosecute the accused in the case, (2) the grounds on and the circumstances under which the Government entrusted the prosecution of the case to the Counsel for the Bank, a private party in preference to the Law Officers of the Crown and permitting him to draw remuneration from the Bank and the Government, and (3) the conduct of the Police in the preparation and presentation of the case before the Court.	Vol. XX, pages 528—540.	Disallowed by His Excellency the Governor.
(16) Communal disturbances in Palghat Firka during the car festival at Kalpathi village on the 13th November 1924 in utter disregard to G. O. No. 2660, dated 25th September 1924, relating to the entry into public roads by the members of the depressed classes.	Vol. XXI, pages 381—384.	Disallowed by the Hon'ble the President.
(17) Withdrawal by the Government of the privilege of electing its Chairman by the Dindigal Municipal Council.	Vol. XXI, pages 751—753 and 785—813.	Talked out.
(18) Appointment of a third Member of the Executive Council from among persons who are Government officers.	Vol. XXII, pages 42—44 and 247.	Disallowed by His Excellency the Governor.

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT OF DEBATE—*contd.*

Subject.	Reference to Council Proceedings.	Result.
(19) That no part of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act shall be brought into force anywhere in the Madras Presidency, until the said Act is considered by His Majesty in Council under section 82 of the Government of India Act and unless and until it is amended in a manner indicated by His Excellency the Governor General and otherwise so as to rid it of all its objectionable features.	Vol. XXII, pages 227—230.	Disallowed by the Hon. the President.
(20) Situation created in Tanjore by the rigorous collection of enhanced land revenue, even from lands that have not been cultivated before any orders have been passed on the remission application and even in spite of the present famine-stricken condition of the district when a large extent of land is uncultivated and the yield of the cultivated land is very much below the normal.	Vol. XXII, pages 386—389 and 408—432.	Put and carried.
(21) Unsatisfactory report that has been recently made by the Reforms Enquiry Committee.	Vol. XXIII, pages 26—28 and 51—74.	Do.
(22) Situation created in the Madras Presidency by the action of the Legislative Assembly in accepting motions whereby the remission of the contribution of the Presidency has been placed in jeopardy, and the serious effect likely to be produced by such action on the finances of the province.	Vol. XXIII, pages 309—313 and 329—355.	Put and carried (as amended).
(23) Proposal to write off the loans given to the planters and the payment of Rs. 41,000 as compensation to the Pullengode Rubber Estate in Malabar.	Vol. XXIII, pages 965—969 and 988—1007.	Put and carried.
(24) Postponement of the bifurcation of the Kistna district until the amalgamation of Chingleput with Madras, and Nilgiris with Coimbatore.	Vol. XXIII, pages 1044—1047.	Disallowed by the Hon'ble the President.
(25) Unsatisfactory nature of the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords regarding Indian Reforms, especially with reference to this Presidency.	Vol. XXIV, pages 65—80.	Disallowed by His Excellency the Governor.
(26) Question of expunging from the published records the remarks made against and the reflections cast on an Hon'ble Member of the House in the report of Mr. Courtenay and the Government order thereon.	Vol. XXIV, pages 208—219 and 228 to 245.	Carried as amended.
(27) State of famine conditions in some parts of the Coimbatore district and the desirability of Government taking up some work immediately to give relief to the sufferers.	Vol. XXV, pages 93 and 103—121.	Carried.
(28) The improper and unconstitutional observations made by the Hon'ble the Minister for Education in the South Kanara Indian Civil League at Mangalore and the Mappilla Deputation at Tellicherry regarding the type of representatives to be sent by the electors to the Council.	Vol. XXV, pages 338—342 and 351—375.	Withdrawn.

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT OF DEBATE—*contd.*

Subject.	Reference to Council Proceedings.	Result.
(29) Growing tendency among public servants in Madras of taking part in political controversies and expressing their opinion on matters of an acutely controversial political character or on questions of administrative policy as illustrated, among others, by certain speeches of the Collectors of South Arcot and Ramnad, and administration report of the Commissioner of Police and the immediate necessity of Government taking effective steps to arrest such tendencies and prevent the recurrence of such activities.	Vol. XXV, pages 606—607 and 621—652.	Talked out.
(30) Nomination to the Council of the Corporation of Madras by the Government of Mr. O. Thanikachalam Chettiyar, a gentleman who was defeated at the previous elections, which is a fraud upon the power of nomination vested in the Government and which is calculated to bring the administration of Local Self-Government into contempt and ridicule.	Vol. XXVI, pages 45—47.	Disallowed by the Hon'ble the President.
(31) Policy of the Government underlying the order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code passed by the Divisional Magistrate of Palghat on the 13th November 1925 prohibiting Ezhuvas and others from entering the streets of the Brahman villages in and around Kalpathi during the local car-festival from the 13th to 15th November 1925.	Vol. XXVI, pages 47—48.	Do.
(32) Railway disaster at Puttukottai on the South Indian Railway and the desirability of appointing a committee of non-officials to enquire into and report on the matter.	Vol. XXVI, pages 185—186 and 295.	Disallowed by His Excellency the Governor.
(33) Hartal of all shop-keepers and merchants in Tadpatri on the 15th December 1925 brought about by oppressive taxation levied by the Chairman of the Municipal Council.	Vol. XXVI, page 494.	Withdrawn.
(34) The critical position of Indians in South Africa, a large number of whom belong to the Madras Presidency, brought about by the passing of the Colour Bar Bill and by the progress of the Areas Reservation Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill in the legislature there with a view to the Local Government representing to the Government of India the urgent and imperative need of their bringing pressure to bear on the South African Government to a Round Table Conference before these Bills are proceeded with further, and failing which to urge the Government of Great Britain to advise His Majesty the King to veto the Bill if they are finally passed.	Vol. XXVII, pages 66—67 and 83.	Disallowed by His Excellency the Governor.

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT OF DEBATE—*contd.*

Subject.	Reference to Council Proceedings.	Result.
(35) The order of the Government refusing to accept the recommendations of the Excise Licensing Board, Madras, to close one tavern, one arrack shop and one opium shop during the year 1927, the sales for which are to take place on 17th February 1926.	Vol. XXVII, pages 418—421 and 440—450.	Put and lost.
(36) Interference by Government servants, particularly, Mr. C. D. Nayagam, Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, contrary to rules and the notifications of Government, with the free exercise of franchise by Non-Muhammadan rural constituencies of the North Arcott district in connexion with the ensuing bye-election for that constituency.	Vol. XXVII, pages 589—595.	Withdrawn.
(37) Statements (especially that the Government do not propose to take any special action in the matter) made by the Hon'ble the Minister for Local Self-Government in answer to a question in the Council, dated 2nd March 1926, with regard to the death of a student who was refused admission in the General Hospital.	Vol. XXVIII, pages 38—40 and 56—88.	Lost.
(38) Critical situation created by the paralysis of several industries in the Presidency and the urgent necessity of Government taking immediate steps for the relief of the distress caused and devising measures for resuscitating the deserving industrial concerns that have closed or are closing.	Vol. XXIX, pages 851—852.	Disallowed by the Hon'ble the President.
(39) Pay to be drawn by and the recoveries to be made from unpassed clerks and the orders relating to their exemptions from examination rules.	Vol. XXX, pages 37—38 and 65—85.	Put and carried.
(40) Refusal of the Madras Government to remove the disqualification of Mr. Yaqub Hassan under sub-rule 2 of rule 5 of the Madras Electoral Rules.	Vol. XXX, pages 176 and 201—231.	Lost.
(41) Neglect of the Government to nominate an Indian Christian to the District Board of Trichinopoly when a suitable vacancy occurred.	Vol. XXXII, pages 19—20.	Disallowed by the Hon'ble the President.
(42) Refusal of the Government of India to accept the proposal of the Madras Government for giving the local legislature the power to fix by means of a Taxation Bill the money rates of assessment both at initial settlement and at resettlement and the failure of the Local Government to bring before the Legislative Council the required Revenue Settlement Bill.	Vol. XXXII, pages 149—150.	Do.

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT OF DEBATE—*concld.*

Subject.	Reference to Council Proceedings.	Result.
(43) Unconstitutional, autocratic and arbitrary procedure of the Local Government in carrying on Revenue Settlement without the authorization of a legislative enactment, notwithstanding the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee and repeated recommendations of the House and the constant assurance of Government in favour of an early legislation on the subject.	Vol. XXXII, pages 226—228.	Disallowed by the Hon'ble the President.
(44) Neglect of Government to make adequate provision for the segregation of the thousands of lepers that infest public roads and other public places and the absolute necessity of funds being provided at once or gradually for the adequate accommodation and proper treatment of lepers.	Vol. XXXI, pages 491—492.	Leave not given by the Council.
(45) Refusal of the Madras Government to remove the disqualification of Mr. B. Sambamurti, preventing him from standing for the Local Legislative Council.	Vol. XXXI, page 893	Do.

(*b*) Occasionally and quite exceptionally the President has granted leave for the discussion of a motion on a matter of public interest not involving a definite recommendation to the Local Government. Instances of this class of motions in the first Council were (1) a motion by Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiyar on the provincial contributions to the Central revenues, 15th October 1921 : (2) a motion by the same member to thank Mr. Montagu for his public services, 15th March 1922 and (3) a motion by Rao Bahadur P. C. Ethirajulu Nayudu regarding the *Swarajya* newspaper's action in impugning the impartiality of the Chair.

Instances of such motions in the 2nd Council were—

(1) A motion by the Hon'ble the Law Member on the 16th December 1925 regarding the acceptance by this Council of the principles of the Legislative Bodies Corrupt Practices Bill. An amendment proposed by Rao Bahadur C. V. S. Narasimha Raju was carried to the effect that a committee of the Legislative body concerned was to be appointed by means of the single transferable vote, of which the President and Deputy President should be ex-officio members and which should be constituted a Court of Record to try the offences mentioned in the Bill ; that the maximum punishment meted out should be an expulsion from the House and that with the previous sanction of the President.

(2) Another motion made by the Hon'ble the Law Member on the same day that this Council approves the proposal for the bifurcation of the Madras City Non-Muhammadan Constituency which was eventually lost.

(3) Another resolution moved by the Hon'ble the Member for Finance on the 1st March 1927 regarding appropriation in the next year of the unspent portion of amount sanctioned in the previous year's budget in the case of certain major works which had not been finished during that year and for which there was no provision made for the current budget year, which was also negatived by the Council.

A new feature of the first session of the second reformed Council was that the members took advantage of the provisions of Standing Order 70 to present addresses to His Excellency the Governor. To this category belonged a motion of no-confidence in the Ministry which was discussed on the 27th and 28th November 1923. Notices of three similar motions were subsequently received. One of these was disallowed by the Hon'ble the President and the members concerned did not actually bring the other two before the Council.

(*c*) Several important amendments to the Standing Orders have been carried out from time to time with the object of—

(1) relieving the congestion of business, to which end the procedure for ballotting for non-official members' Bills and notices of motions was revised, as stated in paragraph 64 above ; and time-limits of ten minutes in the case of speeches on resolutions and fifteen minutes in the case of speeches during an adjournment debate (subject to exceptions in favour of the first speech of the mover and of the Government Member answering him) were introduced into Standing Orders 23 (2) and 57; likewise, the provision already mentioned in paragraph 49 *supra* about sending notices of budget motions was introduced into Standing Order 53 ;

(2) giving opportunity to a member who has given notice of a question or a resolution to amend the same—Standing Orders 13 and 55 ;

(3) forming a house committee—Standing Order 80 ;

(4) giving the President discretion to delegate his powers under the Standing Orders to the Deputy President ;

(5) extending the interval necessary between the presentation of the report of a select committee on a Bill and its consideration from seven to fifteen days—Standing Order 44 (1) ;

(6) increasing the period of notice required for sending in amendments to Bills from six to ten days—Standing Order 46 (1) ;

(7) allowing in the case of Bills which are objected to at the final stage, an interval of three days between such objection and the final passing of the Bill—Standing Order 49 (3) ;

(8) providing for the election by secret ballot of the first elected President of the Council by the addition of a new paragraph to Standing Order 3. This addition was however subsequently cancelled as the Government of India made provision for this

contingency by the issue of rule 5-A of the Legislative Council Rules ;

(9) fixing the time of taking up an adjournment motion at " 2-30 P.M. the same day or 2-30 P.M. the next day at the discretion of the President " instead of at 4 o'clock—Standing Order 22 ;

(10) fixing 5 P.M. instead of 6-30 P.M. as the time at which the debate on an adjournment motion automatically terminates—Standing Order 23 (*1*) ; and

(11) restricting the number of members of every select committee, other than the Member of Government in charge, which is appointed to consider a Bill, to fifteen—Standing Order 40 (2).

(*d*) Advantage was taken of section 72-A (2), proviso (*b*) of the Government of India Act to nominate certain experts as additional members of the Council to help in the discussion of important measures in respect of which such assistance was necessary. These were—

(*i*) The Bills described in paragraphs 39 (2) and (3) and (40) (*c*) and (*d*) *supra*—Two Members of the Board of Revenue were appointed expert members in connexion with these Bills.

(*ii*) The State Aid to Industries Bill described in paragraph 41 (*a*) *supra.*

(*iii*) The Madras University Bill described in paragraph 41 (*b*) *supra*

(*iv*) A Bill to amend the Madras Port Trust Act, 1905, described in paragraph 37 (4) *supra.*

(*v*) The Hindu Religious Endowments Bill described in paragraph 41 (*c*) *supra.*

(*vi*) Two Bills to amend the District Municipalities and Local Boards Acts, 1920, described in paragraph 42 (8) and (9) *supra.*

(*vii*) The Tuticorin Port Trust Bill described in paragraph 42 (10).

(*viii*) The Madras Irrigation Bill described in paragraph 38 (*a*).

(*ix*) The Madras Pilferage Prevention Bill described in paragraph 42 (17).

(*x*) The Madras Nurses and Midwives Bill described in paragraph 42 (21).

(*xi*) The Malabar Tenancy Bill described in paragraph 46 (*d*).

(*xii*) The Andhra University Bill described in paragraph 41 (*e*).

(*xiii*) The Madras Borstal Bill described in paragraph 42 (12).

(*xiv*) A Bill to re-enact the Hindu Religious Endowments Act described in paragraph 41 (*c*).

The gentlemen who took part in the discussion of these measures as experts rendered much valuable assistance in that capacity.

Paragraph 5 (a). The extent to which the Council represents and reacts on public opinion.

66. The first Council fell into two fairly well-defined groups, one supporting the non-Brahman party styled the Justice party which provided the Ministry and the other forming an opposition homogenous at least in caste, for nearly all its members were Brahmans. The non-co-operation attitude which then affected the minds of the more nationalist Hindu groupings induced a boycott of the 1920 elections; this gave the organized non-Brahman party an easy victory at the elections. With the wane of the non-co-operation movement, however, this attitude changed; and at the election of 1923, non-Brahmans stood in opposition to the Ministerialist non-Brahmans, while Swarajists and varied-hued Independents contested many constituencies. The Ministerialists (Justice party) retained a majority and once more furnished the Ministers, but the opposition this time was of a very different composition. A vote of no-confidence in the Ministers was moved by a non-Brahman and found 33 non-Brahman supporters. The process continued, and the medley of progressive non-Brahmans, Swarajists and Independent Nationalists finally became under the name 'United Nationalists' an opposition with some claims to coherence and continued to fill that useful role till the Council expired in 1926. Its leader was Rao Bahadur C. V. S. Narasimha Raju, now President of the Council. Developments in the last months of 1925 showed further influencing of Council of groupings and action by outside opinion among the educated classes. The Swarajists organized themselves as a separate group within the opposition, chose their own leader and whip, took up a separate block in the Council Chamber and began their life as a separate unit, though in most matters they continued in association if not in alliance with the remaining opposition groups. The Cawnpore Congress of December 1925 accepted the Council programme of the Swarajya Party and from that date the Madras adherents of that group began to build up a close and efficient organization, working through the Andhra and Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committees and the Madras District Congress Committee. The Delhi "walkout" had its reflection in a similar exodus of the Congress groupings from the Madras Council when Mr. Narasimha Raju (not himself a member of the Swarajya party but accepted as a leader of the Congress groups in the Council) led 24 members forth after stating that they did not propose to remain and work in that Council. Their return to take part in debates on the Irrigation Bill and the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act (Amendment) Bill showed a further reaction to Delhi leading.

To complete the picture which this paragraph is designed to present, reference should be made to the 1926 elections and the Council that emerged from them. These elections bore testimony to the success of the Congress organization and propaganda and to the weakening of the adherents to the Justice Party. The professed adherents of that party dwindled to 20 out of 98 elected members, while the professed adherents of the Congress Party who were successful numbered 40. Excluding the Europeans and Muhammadans, the remainder of the elected members stood for election as adhering to no Party or as independents from amongst whom the present ministry was formed. In this Presidency the Hindu-Muhammadan question is not an acute one, and it may be said that the Muhammadan members of the Council have acted

until now in obedience to principles not inspired primarily by their creed or its professed danger or necessities ; though to this must be added the reservation that they received the joint electorate proposal with more doubt than favour, reproducing incidentally by so doing the average Moslem opinion of the Presidency.

In the foregoing or following paragraphs it must be understood that reference to ' parties ' has reference only to the educated and particularly the English educated sections of the community. Until education is on a far wider basis, political parties will represent in the true sense only the upper layers of the population.

Bearing in mind this caveat, it may be said that the only real lines of political cleavage are at the present moment (1) acceptance and working of dyarchy, and (2) permanent connexion with the British Empire. All Indian parties are nationalists and the difference between them is one of degree. The first of the cleavages mentioned has operated in this third Council (it operated, of course, in the second at the walk-out), where the present Ministry accepted office after the leader of the strongest party had declined. Yet that same leader accepted with the approval of his party the important post of President of the Council and has filled it with distinction and efficiency, though the post is one of considerable importance to the functioning of the Councils and of dyarchy. The second line has not so far found definite expression in the Council.

Where particular measures are concerned the Council has definitely represented advanced opinion in the country. Notably has this been illustrated in the regular tabling of motions for the separation of the judicial and executive, Indianization of services, removal of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Governor and attacks on Police administration. The tenancy agitation in Malabar was reflected in the private Bill introduced last year and private members have brought in measures affecting education and other matters of general as opposed to particular interest.

The Council represents strongly also the legal profession and the municipal and local boards administration of the presidency. At least 31 members are active lawyers and 26 are members of municipal councils or local boards and of these 26, 15 are chairmen or presidents or their deputies. Further, seven others are former members of some local body. These figures are not without significance which will be examined elsewhere ; they show a tendency of the Council to represent interests rather than people or causes.

In conclusion, it may be said that the degree to which the Council reflects educated opinion has increased with each Council.

The reaction of the Council on opinion is more difficult to define but may be declared a slower growth than that of the representation of opinion in it. A recent political event may be cited here. The non-Brahman Federation has very recently passed resolutions deciding to refuse to work dyarchy till provincial autonomy is granted and to allow its members to join the Congress. The professed reason for these decisions was to capture the Congress organization ; but it must be conceded that the successful formation of a Ministry from the independents and its continued functioning have also had their influence.

Paragraph 5 (b). How far and by what means relations have been maintained between members of the Council and their constituencies.

67. When the first elections were held and the first Council functioning, the non-Brahman (Justice) party was easily first in organization. It had no real competitors. It had decided to work the Reforms and prepared accordingly. Its chief opponents then boycotted the Council and individual Independents were elected mainly on personal grounds. Since the advent of the Swarajya Party as a separate unit and particularly since its policy of Council entry was accepted by the Congress, it has made great advances and the 1926 elections showed it as superior in efficient organization and in enthusiasm. The general method of keeping in touch with the constituencies is by the frequent conferences which both the main parties hold at important centres in the Presidency. The Congress Party has besides its permanent committees for each group of districts (*i.e.*, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, etc.), and for each district, frequently too in taluks and even villages. This organization existed, it is true, before the Reforms but the Swarajya Party have breathed new life into it and have made most efficient use of it for reaching the elector. Individual members of the Council are taking more to speech-making in their constituencies and many questions put in Council and petitions received by Government show an origin beyond the individual member who puts or forwards them. In some important matters that have come before the Council, such as the imposition of additional police in parts of Anantapur and the Malabar Tenancy Bill, a similar close connexion between interests or individuals concerned and the local representatives in the Council could be traced.

Paragraph 5 (c). The formation of political groups or parties within the Council and how far these coincide with, or traverse, purely communal lines of cleavage.

68. The real cleavage of political opinion has been described above in paragraph 66. The earlier Brahman-non-Brahman separation was not only sectarian : it answered in part to a contra and pro dyarchy severance. The superior organization of the Congress has however as noted above led many non-Brahmans to join that body. At present therefore the divisions in the Council follow ' All India ' lines : opinion dresses itself by decisions of such bodies as the All-India Congress Committee and moves in the local Council in accordance with the policy embodied in these decisions. It follows that the divisions of the Council parties now run counter to communal lines of cleavage. The Moslem element in the Madras Council is comparatively small and so far had fallen in with the wider national movements ; whether it will erect itself into a definite Muhammadan bloc cannot be foretold at present. Certainly Hindu-Moslem as a line of division finds no place as yet in the Madras Council.

The strongest party in the Council is now the Congress or Swarajya group. In 1926 the Provincial Congresses of the two main divisions of the Presidency, Tamil and Telugu, both passed resolutions advocating complete independence for India outside the Empire ; the resolution in the second case was carried by a huge majority , in the first, without a dissentient. A recent meeting of the Telugu body has reaffirmed this pronouncement. It cannot be said that these extreme pronouncements represent as yet the considered policy of the party or of the great majority of those who though not professed Swarajists are yet

Congress in sympathy; several prominent Congress men opposed the 1926 resolutions. A more accurate statement would perhaps be that the Madras Congress elements have not really weighed this problem of Imperial connexion so far and while the hotheads go forward boldly it is uncertain how numerous a body will follow them. The drift of most nationalist movements is to the left and extremism and it is not unlikely that while this drift may carry a section of the Madras Swarajists with it, the tendency evinced by the other section is towards a more moderate policy. So far, it may be said that the ultimate goal of all the parties or groups in the Council is the same, *i.e.*, self-government for India, and there has been little divergence on this account between the various groups. These tend to form an opposition for opposition's sake, as in the first Council particularly or in the third where the dispossessed non-Brahman (Justice) body opposes the Independent Ministry with acrimony and persistence. Groupings form in connexion with particular measures, *e.g.*, the Religious Endowments Bill and the Malabar Tenancy Bill, but it cannot be said that distinct parties diverging on regular fixed policies exist. Group discipline there is and adequate whipping, nevertheless. It is noteworthy that the one-time professed Swarajist policy of consistent and continuous obstruction within the Councils has practically never been pursued in Madras.

Paragraph 5 (d). The constitution of what may be broadly called conventions of procedure as between the legislature and the Executive Government or the Governor, e.g., the grounds for the disallowance of resolutions and questions; the appointment of commissions and committees and the scope of their enquiries; and within the Councils themselves, the institution of a parliamentary practice and tradition.

69. In laying down the conventions of procedure which lie outside the Act, rules and standing orders, but which rank next after these in value and importance and in regulting the relations between the Council and the Government, the lead is naturally taken by the President of the Council, as well as by the Governor, as the head of both the Council and the dyarchic Government. In the speeches addressed by His Excellency the Governor to the Council and in the rulings of the President from the chair a steady, if gradual, approach has been made towards the establishment of such conventions on a lasting basis. To illustrate this aspect of the matter and also to show how far the attempt to engraft parliamentary practice on the Council has been successful, a list of the principal rulings of the President during the last two Councils is included in the appendix. How far the policy of the Government can be made the subject of discussion when voting grants, whether the non-votable items in the budget can be discussed at all by the Council while criticizing the Government policy, whether the Government have an indefeasable right of reply after closure has been moved, what documents the Government should place on the table before using them in debates, how far the Council is at liberty to refer to the two halves of the Government in any discussion of the Government policy, these and many other points touching the relations between the Council and the local Government have formed the subject of rulings from the chair. In disallowing questions and resolutions, certain conventions are observed, by which the Government are enabled to bring to the notice of the President or of the Governor any defects or irregularities in the notices given by the members. How far the Government have a voice in the composition of committees of the

House properly so called, and how far they have proceeded in the constitution of standing and other advisory committees, composed largely of members of the House has been already mentioned in paragraphs 18 to 24 *supra*.

70. The growth within the Council of a body of precedents reproducing as far as possible parliamentary tradition and procedure is a matter which has steadily received attention, as will be evident from the numerous rulings of the President. To bring about a more rapid growth of such traditions, the Government with the concurrence of the Council, sent the Secretary to the Council on a prolonged deputation in 1922 to study parliamentary procedure in the House of Commons, and the President himself was on a visit to the House of Commons during part of the period; and since their return much has been done to assimilate the practice of the Council to the best traditions of the British Parliament. The facts that English is the prevailing language of the Council, that practically all speeches during the last three years have been delivered in that language, and that a substantial proportion of members are gentlemen who are familiar by first-hand knowledge with parliamentary institutions in the United Kingdom have helped a good deal to the same end. The annual Conference of Presidents and Deputy Presidents is of great value, in assisting the formation and growth of wholesome precedents and conventions in matters lying outside the Act, Rules and Standing Orders and intending to produce a common standard in the various Councils. The importance of an accessible and up-to-date library for the use of the members of the Council has been recognized and Government have allotted grants from year to year for the purchase of books to this end. These grants have been—

	Rs.		Rs.
1923-24	5,000	1925-26	3,000
1924-25	5,000	1926-27	3,000

Members have not been slow to make use of their growing library. They have also the privilege of consulting books in the Secretariat Library in Fort Saint George and use is made frequently of this source of information. Government have recently ordered for the use of members of the Council stock files to be prepared of orders and proceedings placed on the Editors' Table on various classes of subjects. It is hoped that these will be found of use.

It has been remarked already that the Madras Council has never been without an Opposition, whatever the principles—often not very profound—on which it was based.

71. Visitors to the Council have frequently commented on the creditable evel of debate which the Madras Council has reached and which on the whole it maintains. The majority of the members know English well and one or two are excellent speakers judged even by a standard set for Englishmen. Parliamentary institutions are becoming more familiar and even those to whom they come as something strange quickly adapt themselves to and follow them Divagations of enthusiasm and eloquence are kept within bounds by time limit strictly applied and against this salutary regulation no protest has been made the reasonableness of compelling orators to remember that time does exist, seems to be generally appreciated. It must be said that on the whole the Madras Council has adapted itself as well to the observance of parliamentary

decorum as to the assertion of parliamentary rights. Unparliamentary language is gratifyingly rare and in fact the debates suffer more often from lack than from excess of spirit. The forms at least of parliamentary government have found ready response in Madras.

Paragraph 5 (e). The institution, whether on the part of the Government or of parties within the Council, or any form of party organization, the issue of whips, etc.

72. It has been remarked that the Madras Council has always had a functioning Opposition, and a fairly well-defined Ministerialist party. Since the beginning of the second Council these bodies have had a distinct degree of organization, with leaders, deputy leaders, secretaries and whips. On nearly all important questions speeches and votes have been cast on party or group lines. Whips have been issued from time to time. Before each meeting of the Council, members of the party assemble and discuss the Agenda of the coming session and the attitude to be adopted towards the various items. In this way a high degree of concerted action is attained. Government have themselves recognized and consulted the leaders of the Opposition with reference to matters concerning the Council and in the election of Council committees, including Select Committees on Bills, it has become a recognized practice for party whips to give the names of their men whom the party desire to be on the committee. In the actual business and proceedings of the Council it has been customary for whips to give the names of their party spokesmen on various motions and amendments and so far as possible the President has been complying with these requests. In the allotment of seats in the Council the President has followed the wishes of the parties as expressed by their leaders.

Paragraph 5 (f). Prominent party leaders, their policies and adherents.

73. The late Diwan Bahadur Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar was, till his death in 1925, the leader of the non-Brahman party, from which the Ministry in the second Council was drawn. He was succeeded by the Rajah of Panagal who continues at the head of the non-Brahman opposition in the third Council.

The present Independent Ministry is led by Dr. P. Subbarayan who was, in the second Council, Secretary of the Opposition which formed itself under the title 'United Nationalist.' This Ministry has a fairly well-defined following and so far has received a certain amount of support from the Swarajist block for reasons best known to that group but possibly not so much because the Swarajist loves the Independent more as because he loves the Justice unit less. Acceptance of office postulates acceptance of dyarchy and the policy of the present Ministry may be termed a working of the Reformed Constitution with as strong a nationalist bent as is practicable.

The leader of the Swarajist party is Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti and his deputies are Messrs. Satyamurti and Venkataramana Ayyangar. So far this body has not used its numbers in any form of organized obstruction of the work of the Council and has on occasion by its votes or abstention from voting, saved the Ministry from defeat. Its policy has been to refuse to recognize dyarchy by acceptance of office under that regime and to demand steadily complete emancipation of India from British control. This party brought up the Indianization of various services and posts at the March 1927

meeting of the Council and this form of development is one to which it is particularly attached. It has to be remembered that the most important Congress leaders, *e.g.*, Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, are not in the Council, and that to a considerable extent the Swarajist party there follows the mandate given by its leaders outside.

74. When the Council was first formed in January 1921 there was no recognised leader of the Opposition. Spontaneously the lead, whenever an expression of the views or the co-operation of the Opposition was called for in response to general usage, was taken by Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, C.I.E., late Advocate-General; and when he cut himself adrift by adopting the principles of non-co-operation, the mantle of leader of the Opposition as spontaneously fell on Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, whose position in the pre-Reform Council, combined with his extensive knowledge of English politics, eminently qualified him for leadership. He associated himself with other prominent politicians such as Messrs. Govindaraghava Ayyar, Krishna Rao, Venkataramana Ayyangar and Narasimha Raju, and a fairly regular Front Opposition Bench grew up. The development of an Opposition has been dealt with in previous paragraphs, particularly 66.

C.—The Constituencies and the Public.

Paragraph 6 (i). The ascertained percentage of enfranchised persons to the total population, and the percentage of votes recorded in general or bye-elections to the total number of voters on the register.

75. The following statements give the information required for the elections held in 1920. It has not been possible to give exact figures for the total population comprised in certain special constituencies, groups 50 to 61, but it may be presumed from the nature of the cases that the populations in those constituencies (*e.g.*, Madras Planters, Madras University graduates, Nagarattars' Association, etc.), are identical with the numbers of voters. On the whole 3 per cent. of the total population (including females and children) prossessed a vote for the general elections and 24·9 per cent. of the registered voters went to the poll.

Constituency.	Population.	Number of voters.	Percentage.	Number that polled.	Percentage.	Number of seats.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
			I.—Non-Muhammadan—Urban.			
1. Madras City ..	419,612	16,553	3·9	8,700	52	4
2. Madura City ..	121,264	6,583	5·5	3,110	48	1
3. Trichnopoly and Srirangam.	111,319	4,507	4·1	1,961	43·5	1
4. Cocanada City ..	49,232	1,287	2·1	..	..	1
5. Vizagapatam City	40,311	992	2·4	717	72	1
6. Tinnevelly *cum* Palamcottah.	75,353	3,156	4·2	2,258	71	1

Constituency.	Population.	Number of voters.	Percentage.	Number that polled.	Percentage.	Number of seats.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		Non-Muhammadan—Rural.				
7. Anantapur ..	865,987	23,199	2·6	10,588	45·6	2
8. North Arcot ..	1,901,230	58,686	3·05	7,747	13	3
9. South Arcot ..	2,187,370	58,970	2·7	13,782	23	3
10. Bellary ..	771,439	27,676	3·5	14,087	50·09	2
11. Chingleput ..	1,427,071	43,426	3·4	22,872	52·6	2
12. Chittoor ..	1,197,865	39,897	3·3	11,522	29	2
13. Coimbatore ..	2,145,506	57,075	2·6	13,257	23	3
14. Cuddapah ..	755,765	25,156	3·3	9,293	37	2
15. Ganjam ..	1,828,422	65,761	3·6	14,975	22·7	3
16. Godavari ..	1,384,081	44,281	3·2	9,950	22	2
17. Guntur ..	1,525,346	83,014	5·4	9,594	11·5	3
18. South Kanara ..	989,254	21,139	2·1	4,360	20·6	2
19. Kistna ..	1,967,474	87,669	4·1	12,214	13·9	4
20. Kurnool ..	738,694	27,665	3·7	12,110	43·7	2
21. Madura (district)	1,741,595	65,489	3·7	9,956	15	3
22. Malabar & Anjengo	2,041,676	26,901	1·3	15,906	59	2
23. Nellore ..	1,243,875	51,795	4·1	8,688	16·7	2
24. Ramnad ..	1,520,579	46,689	3·07	12,581	26·9	2
25. Salem	2,049,484	59,323	2·4	9,811	16·5	2
26. Tanjore ..	2,106,054	54,733	2·5	14,279	26	3
27. Tinnevelly (district)	1,524,632	44,110	2·9	10,614	24	2
28. Trichinop ly ..	1,635,861	45,445	2·8	7,286	16	2
29. Vizagapatam ..	2,166,247	70,628	3·2	12,846	18·2	2
30. The Nilgiris ..	99,577	1,291	1·2	1,059	82	1
		Muhammadan—Urban.				
31. Madras City ..	53,163	2,839	5·3	..	..	1
32. Madura and Trichinopoly *cum* Srirangam.	25,784	1,197	4·6	101	8·4	1
		Muhammadan—Rural.				
33. Northern Circars	127,318	3,529	2·7	267	7·56	1
34. East Coast ..	284,776	6,156	2·1	211	3·4	1
35. Ceded districts .	401,371	6,715	1·6	1,635	24·3	1
36. North Arcot *cum* Chingleput.	151,801	4,125	2·6	..	..	1
37. Central district ..	167,034	4,118	2·5	505	12·2	1
38. Tanjore ..	130,653	4,054	3·1	835	20·5	1
39. Madura *cum* Trichinepoly.	142,853	3,441	2·4	..	..	1
40. Ramnad *cum* Tinnevelly.	225,217	5,426	2·4	..	..	
41. Malabar *cum* Anjengo.	1,004,546	12,055	1·2	..	..	2
42. South Kanara ..	151,756	1,772	1·1	..	..	1
		Christians.				
43. Northern districts	383,284	3,848	1·1	1,328	34·5	1
44. Central districts	254,544	3,014	1·1	1,994	65·8	1
45. West Coast ..	218,458	2,607	1·2	1,666	63·9	1
46. Tanjore, Trichinopoly *cum* Madura.	243,780	4,386	1·8	1,726	39·3	1
47. Ramnad and Tinnevelly.	277,149	5,544	·2	3,018	54·5	1
48. European ..	10,788	1,489	13·8	132	8·9	1
49. Anglo-Indian ..	23,481	1,399	5·9	..	..	1

Constituency.	Population.	Number of voters.	Percentage.	Number that polled.	Percentage.	Number of seats.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		Landholders.				
50. Northern Landholders, Group I.	..	86	..	..	..	1
51. Northern Landholders, Group II.	..	66	..	29	43·9	1
52. North Central Landholders.	..	95	..	57	60	1
53. South Central Landholders.	..	55	..	48	72·7	1
54. Southern Landholders.	..	56	..	..	..	1
55. West Coast Landholders.	..	200	..	144	72	1
		University.				
56. Madras University	..	5,463	..	3,612	66·1	1
		Planting.				
57. Madras Planters	..	349	..	..	..	1
		Commerce and Industry.				
58. Madras Chamber of Commerce.	..	95	..	..	..	2
59. Madras Trades' Association.	..	26	..	..	..	1
60. South Indian Chamber of Commerce.	..	235	..	142	60·4	1
61. Nattukkottai Nagarattars' Association.	..	619	..	..	..	1
Total ..	40,931,431	1,248,156	3·05	..	..	98
Uncontested ..	..	33,575	..	..	..	..
Balance ..	..	1,214,581	3·05	303,558	24·9	..

II.—Statement showing the percentages of voters who attended the poll at by-elections since 1921.

Names of members who succeeded at the by-elections.	Total number of voters.	Number that polled.	Percentage.
Rao Mahadur C. Natesa Mudaliyar ..	16,553	4,657	28
Mr. M. Appalanarasayya Nayudu ..	992	673	68
Mr. K. A. Kandaswami Kandar ..	59,323	2,533	4
Mr. T. Somasundara Mudaliyar ..	54,733	43,247	79
Mr. V. Pakkiriswami Pillai	54,733	43,247	79
Rao Bahadur V. Appaswami Vandayar	54,733	43,247	79
Mr. K. Sitarama Reddi	58,970	16,977	29
Diwan Bahadur T. N. Sivagnanam Pillai	3,156	2,135	67

75-A. The corresponding statistics for the elections of 1923 are tabulated in the statement below. As in the preceding election, it may be presumed that

the population figures in the constituencies Nos. 50 to 61 are identical with the number of voters. On the whole, in the recent elections, 3·13 per cent. of the total population including females and children, possessed a vote for the general elections and 36·26 per cent. of the registered voters exercised the right of voting. In the elections in 1923, women were entitled to vote.

Constituency.	Population.	Number of voters.	Percentage.	Number that polled.	Percentage.	Number of seats.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
I.—Non-Muhammadan—Urban.						
1. Madras City ..	429,212	21,887	5·1	12,874	58·8	4
2. Madura City ..	121,264	10,070	8·3	5,881	58	1
3. Trichinopoly and Srirangam.	111,319	6,635	5·9	3,861	58	1
4. Cocanada City ..	49,232	1,423	2·89	..	..	1
5. Vizagapatam City	40,311	1,401	3·5	983	70·16	1
6. Tinnevelly *cum* Palamcottah.	75,353	3,596	4·7	2,768	77	1
Non-Muhammadan—Rural.						
7. Anantapur ..	865,987	23,101	2·6	9,469	44	2
8. North Arcot ..	1,901,230	62,002	3·26	17,229	28	3
9. South Arcot ..	2,187,370	71,594	3·27	23,004	32	3
10. Bellary ..	771,439	31,931	4	14,509	46	2
11. Chingleput ..	1,427,071	47,839	3·4	20,103	42·4	2
12. Chittoor ..	1,197,365	45,320	3·7	19,599	43	2
13. Coimbatore ..	2,145,506	58,744	4·2	20,091	35	3
14. Cuddapah ..	755,765	26,180	3·5	9,432	36·22	2
15. Ganjam ..	1,828,422	66,015	3·6	16,857	25·53	3
16. Godavari ..	1,384,081	45,743	3·2	20,879	45·6	2
17. Guntur ..	1,525,346	61,237	4	21,153	35	3
18. South Kanara ..	989,254	24,507	2·47	8,605	35	2
19. Kistna	1,967,474	86,527	4·4	31,238	36·1	4
20. Kurnool ..	738,694	28,475	3·8	..	..	2
21. Madura (district)	1,741,595	58,223	3·3	16,229	28	3
22. Malabar and Anjengo.	2,041,676	34,180	1·6	20,742	61	2
23. Nellore ..	1,243,875	50,623	4·06	15,390	30·4	2
24. Ramnad ..	1,520,579	50,933	3·34	..	..	2
25. Salem	2,049,484	53,994	2·6	13,515	25	2
26. Tanjore ..	2,106,054	61,248	2·9	20,924	34	3
27. Tinnevelly (district)	1,524,632	42,303	2·7	18,772	44	2
28. Trichinopoly ..	1,635,861	43,133	2·6	8,061	18·6	2
29. Vizagapatam ..	2,166,247	67,558	3·1	15,008	22·22	2
30. The Nilgris ..	99,577	1,620	1·6	1,244	76·79	1
Muhammadan—Urban.						
31. Madras City ..	53,163	3,341	6·28	1,770	52·9	1
32. Madura and Trichinopoly *cum* Srirangam	25,784	1,804	7	1,293	71·6	1
Muhammadan—Rural.						
33. Northern Circars..	127,318	3,627	2·8	1,907	54·3	1
34. East Coast ..	284,776	5,006	1·75	..	..	1
35. Ceded districts ..	401,371	6,885	1·7	3,739	54	1
36. North Arcot *cum* Chingleput.	151,801	4,217	2·7	2,086	49·4	1
37. Central districts ..	167,034	4,623	2·7	2,649	57	1

Constituency. (1)	Population. (2)	Number of voters. (3)	Percentage. (4)	Number that polled. (5)	Percentage. (6)	Number of seats. (7)
		Muhammadan Rural—contd.				
38. Tanjore ..	130,653	4,896	3·7	..	..	1
39. Madura *cum* Trichinopoly. ..	142,853	3,635	2·5	1,989	55	1
40. Ramnad *cum* Tinnevelly.	225,217	5,379	2·3	..	..	1
41. Malabar *cum* Anjengo	1,004,546	13,909	1·38	7,051	51	2
42. South Kanara ..	151,756	2,139	1·4	..	..	1
		Christians.				
43. Nothern Circars ..	383,284	3,496	·9	1,776	50·9	1
44. Central districts	254,544	3,833	1·5	2,373	61·9	1
45. West Coast ..	218,458	3,395	1·5	2,288	67	1
46. Tanjore, Trichinopoly *cum* Madura.	243,780	4,849	1·95	..	..	1
47. Ramnad and Tinnevelly.	277,149	6,341	2·28	3,678	58	1
48. European ..	10,788	2,327	21·5	..	..	1
49. Anglo-Indian ..	23,481	2,409	10·25	..	..	1
		Landholders.				
50. Northern Landholders, Group I.	..	47	..	28	59·56	1
51. Northern Landholders, Group II.	..	76	..	..	..	1
52. North Central Landholders.	..	78	..	64	82	1
53. South Central Landholders.	..	53	..	42	79	1
54. Southern Landholders.	..	58	..	..	..	1
55. West Coast Landholders.	..	239	..	167	69·8	1
		University.				
56. Madras University	..	7,840	..	4,386	55·8	1
		Planting.				
57. Madras Planters	..	454	..	..	..	1
		Commerce and Industry.				
58. Madras Chamber of Commerce.	..	53	..	..	..	2
59. Madras Trades' Association.	..	23	..	..	..	1
60. South Indian Chamber of Commerce.	..	234	..	214	91·4	1
61. Nattukkottai Nagrattars' Association.	..	515	..	..	..	1
Total ..	40,931,431	1,288,923	3·13	425,983	..	98
Uncontested	..	109,115	..	..	..	..
Balance ..	..	1,174,808	..	425,983	36·26	..

II.—Statement showing the percentages of voters who attended the poll at by-election.

Name of member who succeeded at the by-election.	Total number of voters.	Number that polled.	Percentage.
Sriman Sasi Bushan Rath Mahasayo ..	66,015	10,765	16·30

75-B. The statistics for the general elections held in 1926 are tabulated in the statement below. As in the previous election, it may be presumed that the population figures in the case of constituencies Nos. 51—62 are identical with the number of voters. On the whole, in the recent elections, 3·36 per cent. of the total population including women possessed a vote for the election and 48 per cent. of the registered voters exercised their franchise. In the elections held in 1926, women were allowed to stand as candidates. Two ladies stood as candidates at the election and neither of them was returned to the Council.

The district of Kistna was bifurcated into the districts of Kistna and West Godavari. The four seats allotted to the old Kistna district was distributed between the two newly formed districts.

Constituency.	Population.	Number of voters.	Percentage.	Number that polled.	Percentage.	Number of seats.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
			I.—Non-Muhammadan—Urban.			
1. Madras City ..	429,212	22,534	5·3	15,939	70·7	4
2. Madura City ..	121,264	11,534	9·5	8,208	71·2	1
3. Trichinopoly and Srirangam.	111,319	6,915	6·2	4,415	63·8	1
4. Cocanada City ..	49,232	1,850	3·8	1,402	75·2	1
5. Vizagapatam City	40,311	1,929	4·8	1,187	61·5	1
6. Tinnevelly *cum* Palamcottah.	75,353	4,643	6·2	3,280	70·6	1
			Non-Muhammadan—Rural.			
7. Anantapur ..	865,987	25,370	2·9	12,050	47·5	2
8. North Arcot ..	1,901,230	62,299	3·3	21,372	34·3	3
9. South Arcot ..	2,187,370	73,886	3·4	27,397	37·1	3
10. Bellary ..	771,439	38,562	4·9	16,939	43·9	2
11. Chingleput ..	1,427,071	51,107	3·6	29,402	57·5	2
12. Chittoor ..	1,197,865	47,961	4·0	22,474	46·9	2
13. Coimbatore ..	2,145,506	62,121	2·9	26,292	42·3	3
14. Cuddapah ..	765,765	26,302	3·4	13,938	52·9	2
15. Ganjam ..	1,828,422	71,585	3·9	28,886	40·4	3
16. Godavari East	*1,384,081	*84,563	6·1	25,118	53·1	2
17. Godavari West				21,283	57·2	2
18. Guntur ..	1,525,346	73,775	4·8	32,717	44·4	3
19. South Kanara ..	989,254	24,652	2·0	9,855	35·9	2
20. Kistna	1,967,474	60,615	3·0	38,431	63·4	2
21. Kurnool ..	738,694	29,599	4·0	15,625	52·8	2
22. Madura (district)	1,741,595	56,854	3·3	23,934	42·1	3
23. Malabar ..	2,041,676	38,341	1·8	20,589	53·7	2
24. Nellore ..	1,243,875	56,788	4·6	29,521	51·9	2
25. Ramnad ..	1,520,579	49,239	3·2	†	†	2
26. Salem ..	2,049,484	52,628	2·5	21,413	40·7	2
27. Tanjore ..	2,106,054	71,192	3·4	38,729	54·4	3
28. Tinnevelly (district)	1,524,632	50,322	3·3	28,897	57·4	2
29. Trichinopoly ..	1,635,861	45,961	2·8	†	†	2

*Total population of the old Godavari district before bifurcation of Kistna district.

† In these cases the candidates were returned unopposed.

Constituency.	Population.	Number of voters.	Percentage.	Number that polled.	Percentage.	Number of seats.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Non-Muhammadan—Rural—concld.						
30. Vizagapatam ..	2,166,247	66,407	3·1	20,225	30·5	2
31. The Nilgiris ..	99,577	1,758	1·8	†	†	1
Muhammadan—Urban.						
32. Madras City ..	53,163	2,762	5·2	2,057	74·5	1
33. Madura and Trichinopoly *cum* Srirangam.	25,784	2,285	8·9	516	22·6	1
Muhammadan—Rural.						
34. Northern Circars	127,318	4,086	3·2	2,685	65·7	1
35. East Coast ..	284,776	5,254	1·8	2,416	45·9	1
36. Ceded districts ..	401,371	7,276	1·8	4,073	55·9	1
37. North Arcot *cum* Chingleput.	151,801	4,273	2·8	2,443	57·2	1
38. Central districts ..	167,034	4,849	2·9	2,348	48·4	1
39. Tanjore	130,653	5,766	4·4	†	†	1
40. Madura *cum* Trichinopoly.	142,853	3,788	2·7	2,722	71·9	1
41. Ramnad *cum* Tinnevelly.	225,217	5,714	2·5	†	†	1
42. Malabar ..	1,004,546	15,529	1·5	†	†	2
43. South Kanara ..	151,756	2,043	1·3	†	†	1
Christians.						
44. Nothern districts	383,284	3,506	0·9	2,395	68·3	1
45. Central districts	254,544	5,108	2·0	3,774	73·9	1
46. West Coast ..	218,458	4,121	1·9	2,728	66·2	1
47. Tanjore, Trichinopoly *cum* Madura.	243,780	5,350	2·2	3,657	68·4	1
48. Ramnad and Tinnevelly.	277,149	6,775	2·4	4,666	68·9	1
49. European ..	10,788	2,768	25·8	..	..	1
50. Anglo-Indian ..	23,481	2,816	11·9	..	..	1
Landholders.						
51. Northern Landholders, Group I.	..	53	..	49	92·5	1
52. Northern Landholders, Group II.	..	82	..	75	91·5	1
53. North Central, Landholders.	..	89	..	87	97·8	1
54. South Central, Landholders.	..	47	..	46	97·9	1
55. Southern Landholders.	..	67	..	†	†	1
56. West Coast Landholders.	..	260	..	†	†	1
University.						
57. Madras University	..	9,662	..	†	†	1
Planting.						
58. Madras Planters	..	550	..	†	†	1

†In these cases the candidates were returned unopposed.

Constituency.	Population.	Number of voters.	Percentage.	Number that polled.	Percentage.	Number of seats.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		Commerce and Industry.				
59. Madras Chamber of Commerce.	..	96	*	*	*	2
60. Madras Trades' Association.	..	16	..	*	*	1
61. South Indian Chamber of Commerce.	..	185	..	181	97·8	1
62. Nattukottai Nagrattars' Association.	..	938	..	*	*	1
Total ..	40,931,431	1,377,466	3·36	..	..	98
Uncontested ..	..	140,427	..	..	..	..
Balance ..	..	1,237,039	3·36	598,360	48·0	..

* In these cases the candidates were returned unopposed.

Paragraph 6 (ii). The interest evinced by the constituencies and the public in the work of the Council.

76. The work of the Council is followed closely by the literate and particularly by the English educated population. The Press gives much space to reports of debates and its correspondence columns frequently contain letters demanding, or suggesting, or complaining of action by the Council. Members of the Council on occasion contribute to such correspondence, thus recognizing that by this means they may secure a wider hearing. The Visitors' Gallery is well patronized and indeed is uncomfortably crowded during important debates such as that on the University Bill, or the Religious Endowments Bill. Such measures produce a large crop of newspaper leaders. Important resolutions, *e.g.*, that in favour of the enfranchisement of women, those for adjournment of the House, the more sensational Budget motions, arouse much interest. That interest is keener in Madras than in the mufassal but even in the districts meetings to support or condemn decisions of the legislative body are not unknown and the resolutions of such meetings are on occasion forwarded to Government. It must be repeated, however, that until literacy is much wider spread and of a higher degree, the Councils will always be functioning above the head of the average voter.

Paragraph 6 (iii). The extent to which political groups or parties in the Council are reproduced in, or derived from, the constituencies.

77. This has been already dealt with in paragraphs 66 and 76 *supra*.

Paragraph 6(iv). Electoral organization in the constituencies, political programmes, parties and party funds and machinery.

78. The most prominent and by far the most efficient electoral organization in the constituencies is provided by the Congress units that exist in every district and large town and taluk of the Presidency. These were used support of the

Swarajist party campaign for the third Council and contributed largely to that party's success at the polls. By means of these "cells" the party's propaganda and canvassing were carried right down to the voter. The large proportion of professional lawyers and of members of local boards show the extent to which membership of that profession or of such bodies assists in getting a candidate known and in furnishing opportunities for canvassing and persuasion. The importance of close and individual canvassing was realized to the full only by the Swarajya party. In its favour vakils influenced their clientele, women canvassed the inaccessible women voters, motor-cars bearing prominent legends covered most of the roads thus bringing the Swarajist cause to the knowledge of the most rustic voter. The large amount of 'plumping' for all the Congress candidates, *e.g.*, in Tanjore, shows skilful, electioneering. All these candidates were successful. Compare with this a case from Vizagapatam where of 17,000 voters in Jeypore estate little over 1,000 went to the poll. Swarajists were elected for Vizagapatam too but it is probable that had any attempt been made to work up the Jeypore vote one at least might have had to give way to a candidate of more moderate persuasion. In the collection of funds too the Swarajya Party is far in advance of its opponents. It has realized the value of regular small contributions and does not hesitate to tap wealthy interests that may be apprehensive of projected legislation, *e.g.*, at any resettlement, opposition to the enhanced rates is invariable and the Swarajists will as a rule receive contributions to their funds as a return for their championship of the interests in danger. This form of resource is likely to be more employed in the future.

Both the Swarajya and the Justice parties have realized the growth in the Presidency of a class sentiment among labour units. The tendency is for the labour view to demand first hand expression and regard with suspicion their entanglement with any particular party. Both parties are therefore courting Labour: the former press affiliation with the Congress, the latter were advocating the formation of a separate Labour entity. It is impossible to say at present what developments will be but the position is of interest. The Labour unions and groups are controlled in the main by outsiders but such men as Mr. Singaravelu Chetti have shown no sign of any desire to attach Labour to the wheels of the Congress or any other chariot.

The weakest part of party organization in the constituencies is the lack of interest taken in the accuracy of the electoral rolls. This is in notable contrast with the practice in Great Britain where the parties are the chief agents in keeping these rolls up to date and complete.

The organization of the non-Brahman (Justice) party is the South Indian Liberal Federation. The success that attended the efforts of this organization at the earlier elections appears to have led to a general relaxation of effort. The recent decision of the party to enter the Congress is coupled however with the condition that their organization is not to lose its individuality; and possibly attempts will now be made to infuse more life and system into it.

Programmes among an electorate of such low average educational development and consequent poor capacity for intelligent criticism must always be inferior in importance to such measures as canvassing and street corner oratory,

and personal influence. The non-Brahman party published regular programmes advocating equal opportunity in all directions for all castes, increased control over religious endowments, and developments of industries, and achieved a definite degree of progress towards these objects; they did not, however, put their programmes into the language of the village and bring it in that form to the voter's ear to the extent that might have been done. There has been a stirring in the Federation and its branches as a result of the last elections and it is possible that the party may, if it retains its individuality, despite its slide towards the Congress, improve its organization and increase the number and widen the distribution of its workers.

79. *Nil.*

Paragraph 6 (v). The influence of the press on politics and public opinion.

80. (1) The influence of the press on politics has not been so great as might be expected, chiefly because of the comparatively limited reading public. The English daily *Justice* is the outspoken organ of the non-Brahman party and the party being in opposition has served to make it even more bitterly anti-Brahman. The *New India* which represented the Moderate party ceased publication in the Presidency from 16th March 1927. The *Hindu* is a professed Congress organ possessing, however, a certain balance and facility in exposition which are lacking in *Swarajya* another prominent Congress daily. The *Swarajya* was a strong advocate of non-co-operation and has criticised the Madras Swarajists for giving support to the Independent Ministry in violation of the election pledges and the Gauhati resolution. The *Madras Mail* and the *Daily Express* may be considered independent papers so far as the Indian parties in the Councils are concerned, and the former especially seeks to express the European point of view. They have influence on both sides of the House except when they advocate obviously sectional points of view.

(2) The number of newspapers has considerably increased since the repeal of the Press Act, but the majority of the new additions to the strength of the press possess little or no influence on public opinion and have a very limited circulation except the *Swarajya* and certain vernacular papers which profess the non-co-operation creed. The popularity of the *Swarajya* appears to be on the wane; it has influence only among the Congressmen and Swarajists. A tendency has been observed for the circulation of the English papers—except the *Hindu* whose circulation remains constant—to fall while a rise in some vernacular papers' circulation has been marked.

D.—Political agitation and Parties outside the Reform Scheme.

Paragraph 7. Non-co-operation and Khilafat.

81. The activities of the non-co-operation and Khilafat parties certainly constituted a grave embarrassment to the working of the first Council, especially in 1921 and the early part of 1922. These activities were of course mainly outside the Council but they led to a considerable loss of public revenue and also to a very serious disregard for constituted authority and naturally called for strong action on the part of the Government; and, as has been suggested in paragraph 66 above, the Opposition party in the Council, though openly disavowing the non-co-operation creed, were certainly affected to a considerable extent by its sentiments. The fact that the supporters of the movement,

actually decided at the elections to the first Council to boycott the Council probably had very little effect on the course of the elections themselves. Few of them were likely to have gained seats in the Council had they stood for election; the majority of the political leaders of the Presidency dissociated themselves from the movement from the outset and the number of those in professed sympathy with the movement who found seats in the Council was too small to influence its decisions to any great extent. It was rather the general effect of the movement on the political atmosphere and on the financial situation that created the difficulties referred to above—and the situation certainly was a difficult one for any popularly elected assembly to face, much more for a nascent assembly like the reformed Legislative Council.

82. In the early part of 1921 the energies of the malcontents were directed chiefly to the fomenting of labour troubles, in which they achieved considerable success. The unrest then aroused developed along unlooked for lines and culminated in intercommunal riots, attended with arson and loss of life and spread over several months, in Madras City. The most important event of the year, however, was the Mappilla rebellion, which was due directly to Khilafat and non-co-operation preaching, and was not suppressed till well on into 1922. In other parts of the Presidency there were manifestations of lawlessness, less serious than this, but sufficiently serious in themselves; riots leading to bloodshed at Kumbakonam in the Tanjore district, at Karur in the Trichinopoly district and at Pentapadu in the Kistna district, besides minor disturbances of the peace in many other localities, following on attempts to interfere with the liberties of the people or to overawe the authorities. At the beginning of 1922 there was the unseemly display of hooliganism in Madras at the time of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the no-tax campaign in Guntur and to a lesser extent in Godavari. In regard to the riots in Madras there was some difference of opinion; but in dealing with the other disturbances and demonstrations against authority, the Government received a great measure of support from the Council and found themselves able to rely on the Ministerial party. Throughout the Malabar rebellion there was a gratifying disinclination to embarrass the Government, for which credit must be largely ascribed to the influence of the late Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar and the Ministers. Early in the life of the Council, when the District Magistrate of Malabar, with the approval of the Government, found it necessary in February 1921 to restrain the agitator Yaqub Hasan, leave was obtained to move the adjournment of the Council to discuss his action, but in the course of discussion it became clear that the balance of opinion was opposed to any censure. Again, when in December 1921 leave was sought for an adjournment to discuss the application to the Presidency of Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, the mover was unable to obtain any support. Later a resolution recommending that a committee should be appointed to examine the records of cases in which non-co-operators had been convicted was defeated after strong speeches had been made in opposition to it on the ministerial side; and a similar fate would no doubt have befallen a resolution recommending special treatment of non-co-operation prisoners in jails, if the discussion had not been put an end to by a motion that the Council should pass on to the next item of business. There was latterly perhaps a tendency to grasp at the idea that the non-co-operation movement was dead and that precautions against further disturbances might be

relaxed. It is probable however that this was due more to a desire for retrenchment than to any real wish to weaken the position of the Government; and though dissatisfaction was expressed at the size of the police budget, the Council, led again by Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar, accepted the demands of the executive, including a provision for the initiation of a small but highly disciplined striking force on the East Coast.

83. Since 1924 the non-co-operation and Khilafat activities have been little in evidence and the latter movement has for all practical purposes ceased to exist. The loudly vocal element of the Congress party in this Presidency was in favour of capturing the Council and accordingly at the elections to the second council the non-co-operators participated both as voters and as candidates and returned 9 Swarajists to the Legislative Council. These few members made themselves conspicuous in the Council. A new party styled the "United Nationalists Party" consisting of Swarajists, Independents and Anti-Ministerialists was formed in 1924 to work in unison and make a common cause in the Council. On the 16th March 1926 the Swarajists and many Nationalists walked out of the Council as, in pursuance of the policy and programme laid down by the Congress, the Congress Party in the Council did not propose to work in the legislature any longer. However, they were permitted by the All-India Congress Special Committee to attend the July session of the Council and participated in the discussions of the Malabar Tenancy Bill and the Hindu Religious Endowments Act (Amendment) Bill. As the Congress which met at Cawnpore in December 1925 had decided that it should thenceforth function in accordance with the policy of the Swarajya Party, the Swarajists renewed their activities to capture the legislatures. The Party's organization was most efficient; and it was able to capture a large number of seats and is now the largest party numerically in the Council. Although the Swarajists secured a majority over any other party, they adhered to their policy of non-acceptance of office and declined to form a Ministry. But they have so far given a qualified support to the Independent Ministry possibly in order to prevent the formation of Justice Ministry. They refused to vote on a no-confidence motion brought by the Justice Party against the Ministry in March 1927, and this has exposed them to attacks from all sides, even from Congressmen. They are accused of having broken their election pledges and set at nought the Gauhati resolution.

Their latest endeavour seems to be to capture for the Congress the growing power of purely Labour movements, particularly in Madras City.

Paragraph 7—continued—Activities of the non-co-operators on local bodies.

84. On 3rd October 1920 (two days after the coming into force of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920) six out of the twelve councillors of the Narasaraopet municipality resigned their seats on the Council on account of the non-co-operation movement. No special action was considered necessary, as the resignations were not likely to cause any inconvenience to the administration of the municipality. The Collector of Guntur and the Chairman of the Municipal Council were, however, asked to make arrangements for reconstituting the municipal council under section 366 (*a*) of the District Municipalities Act, 1920, at the earliest possible date: and this was accordingly done.

85. In Repalle, which was constituted a municipality from 1st September 1920, with a strength of twelve councillors nominated by the Government, eight councillors sent in January 1921 a requisition to the *ex-officio* chairman to consider the following matters :—

(1) the abolition of the municipality ;

(2) the suspension of the collection of municipal taxes pending the receipt of orders on the memorials submitted to His Excellency for the abolition of the municipality.

The requisition of the eight councillors was mainly due to the influence of non-co-operators from outside, especially from Guntur and Tenali. The chairman did not convene the meeting asked for. The cart-drivers and jutkawallahs were made to strike and people refused to receive tax notices. The chairman suggested that all the municipal councillors might be removed from office and fresh councillors appointed. This suggestion was not feasible, any more than the abolition of the municipality. The Government wished to watch the effect of municipal administration and of the proposed location of a district munsif's court at Repalle. They ordered, however, that no municipal tax should be levied on lands used solely for agricultural purposes, and that farm cattle should be exempt from tolls and taxes. The Hon'ble the Minister for Local Self-Government visited the place in September 1921, and found that it remained rural in character with no indication of early development into a town ; and as the location of a district munsif's court had not materialized, the abolition of the municipality was decided on.

86. In Chirala, which was constituted a municipality in November 1919, there was no trouble till September 1920, when the town received the attentions of the non-co-operators who took advantage of the natural reluctance of the people to pay additional taxes and led an organized agitation against the continuance of the municipality. Ten out of the twelve councillors resigned and the municipal administration was brought to a standstill. The Hon'ble the Minister for Local Self-Government visited the place, and after discussing the situation with the leading residents offered to exempt agricultural cattle and land from municipal taxation, but, presumably under the influence of the agitators, the offer was rejected. After a careful examination of the situation, the Hon'ble the Minister came to the conclusion that the agitation for the abolition was bolstered up by a few political agitators backed by the merchants and money-lenders and that the town should, in the interests of public health, continue to be a municipality. The Government therefore superseded the council for a period of one year from 1st April 1921 and appointed a paid officer to discharge the duties of the council and its chairman. A resolution moved in the Legislative Council in November 1921 by M. R. Ry. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar Avargal, recommending the abolition of the Chirala municipality was lost. On the expiry of the period of supersession the municipal council was reconstituted under section 41 (4) of the District Municipalities Act.

87. So far as regards non-co-operation in particular places. As regards the effect of the movement on local bodies in general, it has been ascertained that out of an approximate total of 4,048 elected members throughout the Presidency, 358, or less than 9 per cent. are professed non-co-operators, of

whom 35 were members elected within the last six months. These figures indicate that any attempts on the part of non-co-operators to capture the elected seats on local bodies have been in the majority of cases unsuccessful.

88. The activities of the non-co-operators on local bodies were mainly confined to (1) getting resolutions passed on subjects such as the prohibition of liquor, picketing, applauding the services of those who went to jail on account of non-co-operation, changing the old names of streets and re-naming them after Tilak and Gandhi, (2) voting and presenting addresses of welcome to such prominent leaders of the movement as Gandhi and the Ali brothers and to the members of the Civil Disobedience Committee, and (3) presenting oil paintings of prominent non-co-operators to the councils. Rajahmundry, Guntur and Salem were among the important municipal councils by which such resolutions were endorsed. In Salem it may be mentioned that the municipal council passed resolutions sanctioning the picketing of liquor shops and weaving of *khaddar* cloth. This council in addition sanctioned an advance of Rs. 1,000 to the president of the Municipal Employees Co-operative Society for the purchase and supply of *khaddar* cloth to the municipal establishment during the Dipavali festival. The same municipal council also passed resolutions suggesting that students and teachers in municipal schools and at the college as well as the municipal councillors should wear *khaddar*. The resolutions were, however, cancelled by Government.

Resolutions voting addresses to Gandhi and others were passed by several local bodies, *e.g.*, the municipal councils of Adoni, Hospet, Bellary, Trichinopoly, Srirangam, Vellore, Tadpatri, the union board of Devakotta and the taluk board of Erode. The Government refused to sanction any expenditure from the funds of local bodies on this account. In cases where local bodies did not approach Government for sanction for such expenditure, no action was considered necessary. In order, however, that any resolution of a local body which signified non-co-operation or was politically objectionable might be known to Government, Collectors and presidents of district boards were requested in July 1921, to watch the resolutions passed by local bodies, through the copies of the proceedings submitted under rule 10 of Schedule III of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, and rule 10 (2) (*a*) of Schedule II of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920 and to bring those that were objectionable at once to the notice of Government.

In March 1927, the Government informed local bodies that they have no objection to their presenting addresses to Mr. Gandhi but that the expenditure connected with the address should be met by contributions made by the members of the local bodies or by other private or public subscriptions and not from the funds of the local bodies.

89. As attempts were made by some local bodies to introduce national education of the type approved by non-co-operators, the Government issued orders to the effect that the funds of local bodies should not be applied to the maintenance or in aid of educational institutions which were not recognized or approved by the Government, by the district education council, or by some other authority duly authorized by the Government in this behalf.

90. In order to eliminate from local bodies extreme non-co-operators who were not prepared publicly to declare their allegiance to the Crown, Act II

of 1922 requiring every member of a local body to make an oalte or affirmation of allegiance to the Crown was brought into force on 21st February 1922. Under sections 3 and 5 of this Act every person who was a member of a local body on that date had to make an oath or affirmation before 21st May 1922 at a meeting of the local body. Members who failed to make the oath before that date have automatically vacated their seats; but the great majority of these have asked to be reinstated, alleging illness or absence from the station as the reason why they did not make the oath or affirmation on the prescribed date. The number of those who abstained from motives of disloyalty is believed to be exceedingly small.

110153

APPENDIX.

RULINGS OF THE HON'BLE THE PRESIDENT (*vide* paragraph 69 supra of the letter).

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BOMBAY.

Letter no. 4206-C., dated the 19th July 1927.

From—The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to reply to your letter no. F.-181/27-Public of 26th March 1927, in which the Government of India ask for a report on the lines of that submitted in 1923, on the working of the reformed constitution up to the end of the life-time of the last Council. The present report therefore is a continuation of that of 1923. Many of the facts and opinions which find a place in the letter have not been repeated though they are still correct and applicable. Where changes have taken place or corrections are required they have been specifically mentioned.

2. I am also to refer to the report submitted in Mr. Chatfield's letter no. 3116 of 2nd July 1924 in connection with the inquiry then in progress into the working of the constitution by the Reforms Inquiry Committee. This report dealt with various aspects of the history of the early part of the 2nd Council under the reforms and to make the present report complete it has been necessary to cover in it some of the same ground. In some instances where parts of that report are relevant and appropriate they have therefore been embodied in the present letter.

The divisions and sub-divisions indicated in the original letter no. D.-917 of 23rd April 1923 have been generally followed.

A.—The Executive Government.

3. (*i*) The constitution of the Executive Government on the reserved and transferred sides was fixed on the introduction of the reforms scheme at four Members of the Executive Council and three Ministers. This has remained unchanged up to the present.

There were various changes in the personnel of the Members of Council which it is unnecessary to detail, but the three Ministers whose names and constituencies are given below continued in office during the whole of the period :—

Names.	*Constituencies.*
(1) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatallah, Kt., B.A., LL.B., J.P.	Hyderabad District Muhammadan Rural Constituency.
(2) The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Jadhav, M.A., LL.B., J.P.	Satara District Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituency.
(3) The Hon'ble Mr. Ali Muhammad Khan Dehlavi, Bar-at-Law, J.P.	N. D. Muhammadan Rural Constituency.

His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Leslie Orme Wilson was Governor of the Presidency during and after the life-time of the 2nd Council.

(*ii*) *Allocation of funds to reserved and transferred subjects.*—The harmonious relations which prevailed in this matter between the two sides of Government in the first three years of the reforms continued in the years now

under review, and though the period was marked and over-shadowed by financial stringency, there has never been any dispute and seldom any serious difficulty as to the apportionment of funds between the reserved and transferred departments. The practice followed has been for each department to submit its " administratively approved " demands in full. These are consolidated into a draft budget by the Finance Department and the result is invariably a considerable deficit. New items have then been weeded out by departmental conversations ; and a final draft is put before Government. If there is still a deficit, as there has hitherto always been, the amount of permissible deficit, if any (*i.e.*, the extent to which balances are to be drawn on) is determined; and the departments have then been rationed on the proportionate basis of the previous years' expenditure. The rule has been relaxed to the extent that obligatory expenditure (expenditure to which Government is finally committed) has been permitted to be added to the previous year's expenditure in order to arrive at the ' datum line ' for the proportionate allotment. Usually also, a certain grace has been allowed to those transferred departments which have found it difficult to get down to the rationed figure. This procedure has been loyally accepted alike by Executive Members of Council and by the Ministers, and agreement has been reached in all cases in spite of the financial stringency on the one hand and the pressing demands for increased expenditure on the other.

The confidence expressed by the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee that the problem could " readily be solved by the simple process of common sense and reasonable give-and-take " has thus been justified.

(*iii*) *Re-inforcement or re-adjustment of Secretariat and other Headquarters Establishment due to the Reforms.*—No changes of importance took place in the Secretariat establishment except that in 1925 certain of the Superior appointments, which had been temporary until then, were with the sanction of the Secretary of State made permanent. Towards the end of the life-time of the Council the necessity for economy led to a proposal for the replacement of certain Deputy Secretaries by Under Secretaries and the Secretary of State has been addressed in the matter.

When the first reformed Council started work, the Assistant Legal Remembrancer was appointed Secretary to the Legislative Council and was given a Council establishment under him, which, for Council purposes, was under the control of the President of the Council, but remained part of the Legal Department of the Secretariat. In May 1922 this arrangement was altered and the Council office was separated from the Legal Department of the Secretariat, the Assistant Legal Remembrancer continuing to work as Council Secretary. This arrangement was found to be unsatisfactory. The Council work suffered from insufficiency of staff during the pressure of Council meetings, while at other times the existing staff was more than sufficient for ordinary work. A good deal of the work done in the Legal Department is very closely related to Council work. It was, therefore, decided to convert the Council office into a sub-branch of the Legal Department. It was also decided, on grounds of retrenchment, to do away with the post of Assistant Legal Remembrancer and to combine the post of Secretary of the Council with that of the Deputy Secretary in the Legal Department. The arrangement

has been tried for a little over two years and has worked on the whole satisfactorily, but is now almost on the point of breaking down on account of the considerable increase of work both in the Council office and in the Legal Department proper, especially in the latter. In spite of the fact that the Council office staff has been permanently increased, the Council office has not been able to spare any of its men for work in the Legal Department during the periods intervening between sessions ; and the branch of the Legal Department concerned has always been so heavily worked that it has never been found possible to send men from the Legal Department to work in the Council office during the sessions. The fault is stated to be due not to the amalgamation of the offices, but to the fact that both offices are undermanned. Proposals for increasing the establishment in the Legal Department are at present under preparation.

(*iv*) *Co-operation between the Executive Government and the Legislature with special reference to permanent and special Committees of the latter.*—The general election of 1923 resulted in the rout of the Moderate party. Its disappearance necessitated a change in the Ministry. As the Swarajists, who were numerically the strongest party in the House, were pledged not to take office, the new Ministers were necessarily selected from the smaller groups or parties into which the remainder of the House was divided. These were the Muhammadans of Sind, the Muhammadans of the Presidency proper and the Non-Brahmin Party. Of the three Ministers newly appointed only one had held office in the previous Council. The general attitude of the Legislative Council towards the Government was, as in the previous Council, one of criticism. The Swarajist party played the part of a constitutional opposition with intervals of silence up to the Budget session of 1926 when they walked out in obedience to instructions from quarters outside the Presidency. After that the opposition party was considerably weakened on account of their absence. The episode and its results are described at length later in this report.

There are two important permanent committees of the Legislative Council—the Public Accounts Committee and the Finance Committee and two minor committees, on housing and the library. The Public Accounts Committee is a statutory committee and deals mainly with the audit and appropriation accounts of the Presidency and specially with the reports of the Accountant General and the Auditor General on these. It consists of 8 members elected by the non-official members of the Council by proportionate representation by means of the single transferable vote and 4 members nominated by the Governor.

The Finance Committee is constituted under Resolution of the Legislative Council which is proposed annually by the Finance Member. It consists of 12 elected members and four members nominated by Government together with the Members of the Executive Council and the Ministers. The Committee is not a statutory body and in this province it has never attained the position of the Estimates Committee of the House of Commons, as the similar Committee of the Legislative Assembly appears to have done. Partly on account of geographical difficulties and partly on account of a decision of the Legislative Council itself the Finance Committee has remained purely a consultatve body. The President of the Legislative Council has held that the Council had no authority to delegate any of its functions, and the resolution in which it was

once proposed to give it some small powers, such as passing nominal re-appropriations, was therefore dropped. The Committee is in practice used for ascertaining the feeling of the Legislative Council on new financial proposals; and before it are put all new items which are included in the draft budget. In this way Government have been informed of the probable views of the Legislative Council on its proposals while at the same time important members of that body have had these put before and explained to them more fully and in more detail than is possible on paper or in a public discussion. To this extent the Committee has therefore served a useful purpose.

The Public Accounts Committee, as it has gained in experience, has begun to do valuable work. At times perhaps it is too insistent on the letter of the law and is unwilling to make sufficient concession to the need for giving some discretion to administrative officers. The apprehension of being pilloried in public must tend, and is tending, to lessen the sense of initiative and to make for the avoidance of responsibility by executive officers in financial matters. Such a result is not likely to be an unmixed blessing. But apart from this, so long as the relations between the Finance Department and the Public Accounts Committee continue to be cordial, the Committee can be of the greatest help to the Finance Department in the enforcement of proper financial principles.

There has been a steady demand on the part of the Legislative Council for special Committees to deal with special problems or grievances. The following were appointed as a result of resolutions passed in the Council :—

(1) The Land Revenue-Assessment Committee ;

(2) The Anna Valuation Committee ;

(3) The Fallow Rules Committee ;

(4) The Forest Grievances Committee ;

(5) The Excise Taxation Committee ;

(6) The Primary Teachers Pay Committee ;

(7) The Sea Encroachments Committee.

The influence of the Council was also felt in the appointment of two Advisory Committees on the Back Bay Reclamation.

In all cases the Committees were appointed by Government and had a mixed composition of officials and non-officials with a majority of the latter. In the case of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee the Council Resolution stipulated that the members of the Committee should be elected by the Council, but Government did not give effect to this stipulation. The reports of the first four committees are under the consideration of Government. The report of the fifth committee is being printed.

These Committees undoubtedly have an educative effect and tend to make criticism on the matters investigated more informed and more weighty both on the part of the members of the Committee and of other members who make use of the material forthcoming from reports. They are also in many cases helpful to Government even though their conclusions cannot always be

given effect to. An excessive number of such Committees may serve to obscure their value but they are a natural and useful method of associating the legislative body with the administration.

The Advisory Committees on the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme have been mentioned above and any review of the three years would be incomplete unless it referred to events in connection with the scheme.

It has long occupied a prominent place in the public mind, but early in 1925 this prominence began to savour of notoriety. A Member of the Legislative Council made direct charges of corruption and his honesty against the Department. These were challenged by Government to the extent of offering the Member an enquiry by an officer of the Judicial Department, provided he gave such information as would, without necessarily implicating any individual, give a definite direction to the enquiry. He was also offered an examination of all relevant documents and the privilege of cross-examining witnesses. This challenge was not accepted.

In the meantime the public mind had been much agitated by the Report of the Special Advisory Committee whose conclusion was that the scheme was destined to be a financial failure. The Government of Bombay appointed a local committee under Sir Joseph Kay to investigate the financial prospects of the Scheme and the Government of India also set up, under their statutory powers of superintendence, direction and control and at the request of the Government of Bombay, a Committee of Enquiry presided over by Sir Grimwood Mears, Chief Justice of the High Court of Allahabad. The conduct of the enquiry aroused the greatest excitement in the City of Bombay.

After the proceedings in Bombay were complete the Committee proceeded to London where considerably more evidence was recorded than in Bombay. The Local Government were represented neither on the committee nor at the enquiry in London and were therefore not in a position to rebut or modify by cross-examination of witnesses or by tendering further evidence on their own behalf, evidence which gave an unfair view of the facts or position. The Report of the Committee and the action taken on it do not fall within the period covered by this report.

(*v*) *The Reforms and Local Self-Government: Relations between Government and Local Bodies.*—The general recognition of the failure of the Non-Co-operation Movement as a political force—which has been growing since 1924—has had a noticeable effect on the relations between Government and the Local Bodies. During the first three years after the introduction of the Reforms, a fairly large number of the bigger Municipalities such as Surat and Ahmedabad were frankly defiant of any Government interference, and endeavoured to carry on their affairs without any Government assistance in the shape of grants in aid for education or for other objects. While this phase lasted the relations of Government with these bodies were naturally strained, and in one or two cases Municipalities were suspended. Since 1924 there has been a marked change. No Local Body in the Presidency now objects to taking Government grants in aid. In Ahmedabad the leading Swarajist Councillors have been ready to seek the advice of the Commissioner and

Collector. The course which Local politics have taken in these Swarajist centres may be described roughly as follows :—

(1) Prior to 1923 hostility to Government and its officers engendered by political propaganda, leading in some cases, *e.g.*, Ahmedabad and Surat, to repudiation of support.

(2) *1923-24.*—A period of administration during which the conduct of municipal affairs was influenced by one principal motive, *viz.*, a desire to exhibit to the general public a determination to attempt to improve upon the British system of conducting affairs.

(3) *1925.*—The gradual acceptance of the fact that Non-co-operation with Government and Officials was unworkable, and a realisation of the growing dangers of inter-communal tension.

(4) *1926.*—A reversion—undoubtedly with a good deal of reluctance—to co-operation with Government mainly with a view to secure financial assistance, and maintenance of this co-operation to the minimum extent necessary to secure this assistance.

The above record applies to a limited number of big Municipalities only. The bulk of the smaller Municipalities and most of District Local Boards—though they may have contained a percentage of non-co-operators among their councillors and members—were never prepared to go to extremes, and have generally maintained friendly relations with Government and their officials.

Effects of Communalism on Local Self-Government and on the progress of Primary Education.

During the past three years the growth of Brahmin and non-Brahmin strife in the Deccan and Karnatic Districts and of Hindu-Muhammadan tension in certain parts of Sind has had a serious effect on the administration of the Local Self-Governing Bodies. It has resulted in loss of efficiency owing to—

(1) the tendency to make appointments on communal grounds only, irrespective of the merits of the candidates ;

(2) increase of corruption among the establishment due to slack supervision and reluctance to dismiss or prosecute defaulters who may be of the same caste or creed as the majority of the Councillors ;

(3) hostility of the leaders of the same caste—due to personal rivalry ;

(4) efforts to secure special consideration for one section of the public only.

The statements* appended to the report contain facts and figures in support of the remarks made in sub-paragraphs (1) to (4). In statements A, B and C figures are given up to the year 1924-25 only, as the audit reports for the year 1925-26 are not yet available. Statements D, E and F relate particularly to the ill-effects of communalism on the progress of Primary Education. In nearly all the districts of Sind the School Boards elected under the Primary Education Act of 1923 consist mainly of Muhammadans and many of the members have little education or administrative experience. The appointments of administrative officers so far have been made entirely on communal grounds.

A similar state of things exists in this respect in the Deccan and Karnatic districts, where the Marathas and Lingayats predominate respectively, and have celebrated their accession to power by discarding most of the experienced Government staff, and substituting for them inexperienced and often ill-qualified members of their own castes. Gujarat communalism has not hitherto been so rampant but certain boards have refused to take over control of the schools under the Primary Education Act, owing to differences of opinion about certain rules, with consequent stagnation.

Work of Local Self-Governing Bodies in connection with Medicine and Public Health.

A general desire has been displayed for increasing the activities of the Local Self-Governing bodies in connection with Medicine and Public Health. A Committee appointed by Government consisting of representatives of the Local Bodies and Members of the Legislative Council recommended that the Local Bodies should take over the control of all Government dispensaries in all districts, provided Government undertook to bear two-thirds of the expenditure which the Boards would have to meet if this recommendation was accepted.

The Ahmedabad Municipality offered to take over control of the Civil Hospital and Medical School at Ahmedabad provided Government undertook to give the Municipality grants up to the existing Provincial expenditure on this Hospital and School. Owing to a legal difficulty due to a Trust in connection with the School and the doubt whether the Municipality would be competent to control it Government were unable to agree to the transfer.

There has been a gratifying tendency on the part of certain Municipalities to push on with water supply and drainage schemes, without waiting for grants in aid from Government. Comparatively small municipalities like Jalgaon, Nandarbar and Bijapur have applied for loans from Government to the full amount required for their water supply works, and these loans are being granted as funds are available. In cases where the works are to be done by the Public Works Department Government are giving grants in aid to cover the cost of establishment, tools and plant. The larger municipalities like Ahmedabad and Karachi are financing big water supply and drainage works by means of loans in the open market, which they are able to raise at 5% without any difficulty.

On the whole the Local Bodies have shown a commendable interest in Public Health activities including the Baby Week and Child Welfare movements. The main difficulty in the development of medical and public health measures is *finance* especially in the case of the District Local Boards. In the rural areas this is due partly to the unwillingness of the people to submit to any additional taxation, and partly to the difficulty of finding sources for taxation, apart from the Local Fund cess, which will bring in any appreciable revenue.

How far has there been a growth of interest in Local Self-Government and of political and civic sense among the people.

As a result of the Local Boards Act of 1923 and the City Municipalities Act of 1925, and of amendments of the old District Municipal Act the elective element in the Local Boards has been raised to three-fourths and in the Municipalities to four-fifths of the total number of members of these bodies. Under

the City Municipalities Act women have also been given the vote and can stand for election, and special representation has been given to the depressed classes.

Hitherto this increase in the electorate has not led to any marked change in the constitution of the Local Bodies, the members of which consist mainly of the local leaders of the predominating castes, lawyers and fluent politicians. Wealth is of minor importance. It not infrequently happens that the wealthiest men in any given electorate do not stand, or, if they do stand, are not elected. The tendency of those who have the biggest stake in the country to stand aloof from local politics is in some places a regrettable sign of the times.

The electorate is apt to be capricious. An elected member who has given a perfectly good account of himself during his term of office will readily be cast aside if opposed by a more vocal candidate, especially if he has shown any tendency to favour an increase of taxation. Votes are frequently given from personal motives and not from any sense of conviction. The offer of a drive in a smart motor-car will swing votes from one candidate to another. A case has been known in which a certain candidate secured nearly 25 votes by the simple process of persuading a friend to delay betrothing his daughter to a prospective suitor until the suitor's friends and caste agreed to vote solidly for him. Direct purchasing of votes is probably too dangerous to be a common practice, but inducements such as those mentioned above, coupled with the influence of caste, more often decide an election than the actual merits of the candidates.

It is seldom that candidates belonging to the same sub-caste stand in opposition to one another. Two Brahmins may oppose each other, but it will generally be found that they belong to different sub-castes. Among Muhammadans this freakishness in choice of candidates is not so apparent as it is among the Hindus. As a rule the influential Muhammadans in a constituency carefully select their candidate and the rank and file of the community follow them. Private jealousies sometimes come into play and upset the leaders' calculations but generally there is cohesion in the ranks of the Muhammadan voters and this is likely to continue until there is an increase of literacy among them.

So far there has been little or no sign of a growth of political party feeling in the Local Bodies. Members as a rule are divided into communal groups, and vote on communal grounds. Sometimes individual interests may bring members of different groups on to one side, as when landlords combine to oppose an increase in the housetax, or traders to oppose an increase in the octroi duties. There is, however, as a rule, little sign of definite lines of policy developing among them. The general cry is "No increase in taxation". On this all groups and parties are agreed except in the case of demands for education. It is gratifying to find that all the districts in Sind and a considerable number of the districts in the Presidency outside Gujarat have agreed to an increase in the Local Fund cess in order to provide for the expansion of primary education. Allowing for this, however, the incidence of taxation per head of population in the District Local Board areas does not exceed Re. 0-5-1. In the Municipalities the incidence of taxation per head has risen from Rs. 2-12-6 in 1916-17 to Rs. 5-7-6 in 1924-25. This increase in taxation has been necessitated mainly by the rise in the cost of establishments, especially in connection with education, and to a less extent by the provision of water supply and drainage works.

Despite the difficulties caused by Communalism, there exists undoubtedly a growing interest in local politics among the population. This is evidenced by the success which attended the Local Self-Government Conference held last year under the Presidency of the Honourable Minister, Local Self-Government, and the steps then taken to start the Local Self-Government Institute the main objects of which are to conduct propaganda among the people with a view to teach them the real meaning of Local Self-Government and what should be its aims and objects. It is proposed also to conduct classes to train candidates for employment under the Local Self-Government bodies. The Institute appears to be making fair headway, and is to hold a second General Conference during the current year.

In a number of districts there are also to be found individuals of experience and good standing who are ready to devote their time and labour to local affairs. These gentlemen generally exercise a moderating influence over the contending parties in the Local Boards and Municipal Councils and often manage to secure a predominating position in them. Where such men exist and are able to secure the Presidential Chair, it is generally found that the local administration is carried on successfully. It may be taken as a rule that in Local Self-Government, in this Presidency, at any rate, the influence of one man for good or bad in the local Councils is the deciding factor between good and bad administration. This applies as much to the Swarajists as to the Loyalists. In Ahmedabad City, the Swarajists regimé of the present President has been admittedly successful, and has won the encomiums of the Collector and the Commissioner. Other cities such as Karachi, Sholapur and Dhulia have been singularly fortunate in having for their Presidents men of experience and sound common-sense. The District Local Boards have, perhaps, been even more fortunate in this respect till quite recently, when the influence of communalism has driven from office some of the best men.

To sum up it may be said that—

(1) there are signs of a growing interest in Local Self-Government among the people;

(2) this interest is apt to be warped by communal influences;

(3) there are few signs of any development of party Government on definite lines in the Local Bodies;

(4) the electorate is freakish and apt to vote from personal and caste motives rather than on principle;

(5) the success or failure of the Local Self-Government Bodies is more often than not dependent on the presence on the Councils of one man of outstanding influence.

B.—Legislature.

(*i*) *Government Legislation.*—During the three years from July 1923 to the end of 1926, 50 Government Bills were introduced of which 42 were passed into law. Of these a considerable number were small amending bills and there was practically no opposition to or lengthy discussion of them in Council. Apart from these the number of Government measures and the work done by the

Council in dealing with them was considerable. Some of the more important are referred to below and a list* of the Government Bills passed is appended.

Speaking generally, in dealing with both Government and private bills the Council has always shown a very strong desire to avoid any increase of existing taxation or any imposition of new taxation. In 1924 the taxation bill (court-fees) brought in by Government was lost at the first reading. In 1925 one taxation bill (Stamp Bill) was lost at the first reading, and the other was withdrawn by Government in view of the feeling of the Council in the matter and in 1926 two taxation bills were passed after considerable opposition.

The Council is also generally inclined to reduce penalties wherever possible and to provide for additional appeals to the courts. There has also been a persistent endeavour on the part of the Council to force Government to earmark the proceeds of particular taxation for a specific purpose, generally education. Amendments to this effect were brought to almost every taxation Bill introduced by Government, including the Entertainments Duty Bill and the Totalizator Betting Tax Bill.

Attention may also be drawn to the fact that in 1924 three bills were passed, two private and one Government, which permitted of interference by the Legislative Council, in one case with executive functions, and in the other two cases with the rule-making powers of the executive Government which have hitherto been their prerogative under all Acts of the Legislature. In the Bombay Children's Act, the Major Municipalities Act of 1924 and the Co-operative Societies Act, provision has been made which allows the Legislative Council by a resolution during the sessions immediately following the promulgation of the rules under the Acts, to cancel or modify these rules ; and in the other case—Mr. Surve's amendment of section 25 of the District Police Act—permits the Legislative Council by a resolution in the next session of the Council to modify any direction given by Government as to the payment of cost of additional police.

This latter Act was assented to by the Government of India after very considerable hesitation and with grave misgiving, while the provisions in the former Acts have also been objected to by the Government of India on the ground that under Rule 23 of the Bombay Legislative Council Rules a resolution is merely a recommendation which does not bind Government.

Another case deserving special mention is that of the Co-operative Societies Bill. This Bill marks a great advance in the history of the co-operative movement in this Presidency. It was well received at the time of its introduction and first reading, but subsequently, when the report of the Select Committee came before the Council, it had a chequered career on account of the veiled opposition of the Swarajists. The non-Swarajists however co-operated with Government and ultimately the Bill was passed and became law. The history of Bill No. II of 1924, a Bill further to amend the Land Revenue Code, is also of importance. Its contentious feature was a proposed new section, which was intended to secure to Governmtent the right of access to lands containing minerals. As there was considerable and strong opposition to the reservation of this right, and as Government were not convinced of the absolute necessity of the measure, the Bill was dropped.

In various of the other bills referred to below it will be seen that the proposals of Government have been modified in important points or supplementary legislation introduced in deference to the wishes of the Council.

In one case—a Bill further to amend the Bombay Town Planning Act, 1915, with a view to enabling town planning schemes to be made in respect of villages where Panchayats had been established—leave to introduce the Bill was refused by the Council.

The more important of the Government Bills passed were :—

Act XI of 1923, an Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to prostitution in the City of Bombay.

The Act was introduced in order to give effect to certain recommendations of a committee which had been appointed to consider means for remedying the evils of prostitution in Bombay and to combine in one enactment the law relating to prostitution in the city of Bombay in a form which would admit of easy extension to other areas in the Presidency to which it may be considered advisable to extend it. The Act made soliciting and procuring penal, and provided penalties for permitting prostitutes or persons of notoriously bad character to meet or remain in places of public amusement. The Act was well received by all parties in the Council.

Act XII of 1924, an Act to determine the Salary of the President of the Bombay Legislative Council.

In connection with this Act, it may be noted that the Bill as originally brought by Government had proposed to make the office of President a full time one. The Council was against this proposal and the Act as passed left it open to the President to do any other work. After the experience of three years, this question is coming up for reconsideration as a Bill has now been introduced into the Council by a non-official member, Rao Bahadur Kale, to make the office of President a full time one.

Act XIII of 1924, an Act to make further provisions for the custody and protection of children and young persons and for the custody trial and punishment of youthful offenders and for the amendment of the Reformatory Schools Act, 1879, in its application to the Presidency of Bombay.

The Act made provision for the custody, trial and punishment of youthful offenders under the age of 16 and for the moral improvement of children and young persons who have no one to look after them or are neglected by their parents and guardians or are living in immoral surroundings. Power has been given to the courts to send such children to an industrial school. The Act also provides for cases in which children and young persons suffer ill-treatment from persons who have charge of them. Such acts which do not come within the scope of the Indian Penal Code are made punishable by this Act. Provision has also been made for the establishment of industrial schools by Government or under Government supervision for children and youthful offenders of both sexes. This Act was also very well received in the Council and a considerable section of it wished to go much further than Government were at first prepared to go. To meet the wishes of this part of the Council, Government subsequently

brought in an amending Act, based largely on English legislation, imposing penalties for being drunk while in charge of a child, for giving intoxicating liquor or selling tobacco to a child, for inciting a child or young person to bet or borrow, and for taking pawn from a child or young person.

Act No. XVI of 1925, an Act to transfer the powers and duties of the trustees for the improvement of the City of Bombay to and to vest the property and rights vested in the said trustees in the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay.

This Act was brought in to meet a desire which had been expressed for some time that the powers and duties, and the property and rights of the trustees for the improvement of the City of Bombay should be transferred to the Municipal Corporation. The Act transferred the property of the Board of Trustees to the Corporation, not absolutely for the general purposes of the Corporation, but specially for the purpose of the improvement of the City. The Special Tribunal of Appeal created by the City of Bombay Improvement Act of 1898 for the hearing of land acquisition cases was abolished, the land acquisition work going to the High Court under the ordinary law.

Act No. XVIII of 1925, an Act to give wider powers in the management of municipal affairs in certain cities.

The main features of the Act are :—

(1) The franchise has been widened by the lowering of the electoral qualifications.

(2) The elective element has been raised to a minimum of four-fifths of the total strength. Also a provision has been embodied to make Municipalities wholly elected.

(3) Officials are disqualified from holding the offices of President and Vice-President.

(4) Representation has been given to the depressed classes.

(5) Women have been not only enfranchised but also held eligible for a seat on the local body.

(6) The disqualification not merely of all political offenders but of all convicts after expiry of their sentences, has been removed.

(7) Municipalities have been invested with much wider powers which greatly enlarge the scope of their activities.

(8) To accelerate the disposal of business certain powers have been given by statute to a Committee known as the Standing Committee : also the Chief Officer has been invested with certain powers.

Like every other important Bill the Bill was referred to a Select Committee, which did not change its spirit. The amendments suggested by the Select Committee were, after lengthy discussion and strong opposition chiefly against the communal representation of Muhammadans on local bodies, mostly approved subject to some slight modification.

Other measures connected with Local Self-Government—in which sphere legislative action was most prominent—secured the representation of Indian

commercial interests on the Port Authority of Karachi; removed sex disqualifications in respect of municipal elections; dealt with the adulteration of food stuffs provided for (1) the co-option of councillors, (2) voting by ballot and (3) an improved system of appointing committees and (4) certain delegation of powers by the Standing Committee to cognate committees in the Bombay City Municipality; removed disqualifications for Municipal membership owing to criminal convictions, dismissal from Government service or withdrawal of the sanads of pleaders, and similar disqualifications from which political offenders had suffered in regard to village Panchayat and local board elections.

In regard to this group of bills the general attitude of the Council was distinctly favourable and, though criticism was considerable on details, the measures were accepted without serious opposition.

(*ii*) *Private Legislation.*—During the same period, July 1923 to the end of 1926, 25 non-official Bills were introduced, of which six were passed into law, nine were withdrawn, five lapsed and five were lost on first reading. In five other cases leave to introduce was refused by the Council, in four cases it was not asked for, in one the first reading was not moved and one was ruled out of order.

A list* of the private Bills which were introduced but were either withdrawn or thrown out is appended. A noticeable feature of this period is the very considerable increas in private legislation, as compared with the preceding triennium. Non-official members appear to have realised to a greater extent than they had done before the power which they have of controlling the policy and actions of Government by legislation.

Twenty-three private Bills dealt with the subject of municipal and local board administration, five with the subject of watans, four with the subject of police, and four with the subject of the Land Revenue Code.

The private Bills dealing with the subject of municipal and local board administration generally aimed at widening the franchise of or giving greater powers to local bodies. Two Bills dealing with the Bombay City Municipality aimed at giving increased representation to the backward and depressed classes.

The six private Bills which were passed were :—

(1) Act No. X of 1923, an Act further to amend the Bombay Hereditary Offices Act, 1886, introduced by Rao Bahadur S. T. Kambli.

(2) Act No. XIV of 1924, an Act further to amend the Bombay City Improvement Act, 1898, introduced by Mr. Hoosenally M. Rahimtoola.

This Act substituted voting by ballot for open voting.

(3) Act No. IX of 1925, an Act further to amend Bombay Act VIII of 1867, being an Act for the regulation of the village police in the Presidency of Bombay introduced by Rao Saheb D. R. Patil.

(4) Act No. XI of 1925, an Act further to amend the Bombay Hereditary Offices Act of 1874, introduced by Rao Saheb D. R. Patil.

(5) Act XIX of 1925, an Act further to amend the Bombay District Police Act, 1890, introduced by Mr. A. N. Surve.

(6) Act No. XI of 1926, an Act to amend the law relating to the emoluments claimable by hereditary watandar Hindu priests, introduced by Mr. S. K. Bole.

The only private Bills which raised questions of a communal or religious character were :—

(1) Mr. Bole's Bill to amend the law relating to the emoluments claimable by hereditary watandar Hindu priests, which was passed into law as Bombay Act No. XI of 1926. The Act takes away the right hitherto enjoyed by the hereditary villages' priest of claiming emoluments from the villagers for the performance of religious services whether those services were required or not. As introduced, the Bill, which was identical in terms with Mr. Lathe's Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1922 but subsequently rejected by the Government of India, sought to take away certain rights of the priest without relieving him of the corresponding duties. Partly for this reason, and partly because of the somewhat bitter speeches made by the supporters of the Bill, there was strong opposition to it in the Council, though most members sympathised with the principle of the proposal. Ultimately an amendment enabling a priest to resign his responsibilities as priest was accepted, and the Bill was passed. Government adopted a neutral attitude on this Bill. The bitter and lengthy debate which took place on it bears testimony to the intensity of the feeling between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in this Presidency.

(2) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, introduced by Mr. Noor Mahomed. The Bill sought to provide for the compulsory registration of marriages—an unobjectionable object —but the details were so unworkable that the Bill was objected to by almost all district officials and had very little chance of passing. It was, on the face of it, not of a communal nature ; but it was very strongly opposed by some of the Hindu members on the ground that it prejudicially affected the position of the Hindus in Sind by indirectly facilitating the conversion of Hindu women. The Bill was withdrawn after it had passed the first reading.

(3) A Bill to enable the Hindus of the Province of Sind to restrict themselves to monogamous marriages, which was introduced by Mr. D. B. Advani, was strongly opposed by some of the Mahomedan members on the ground that it interfered with the rights of Mahomedan converts from Hinduism. The Bill passed the first reading but was not afterwards moved, and it lapsed in due course.

A passing mention may be made of two interesting Bills amongst those which failed to pass into law, one brought forward by Mr. A. N. Surve to secure adequate representation on the Bombay Municipal Corporation of the labouring

and depressed classes directly and by election, and the other brought forward by Mr. J. C. Swaminarayan classing the offer of a drive in a vehicle, whether public or private, during municipal elections as corrupt gratification. In the case of the former Bill the motion for its first reading was lost, while leave to introduce the latter was granted only at the last session.

Several non-official Bills which had been introduced fell through because the movers belonged to the Swaraj Party and abstained in general from taking part in the proceedings of the Council from the end of the July session of 1925 onwards, that is, for one whole session and parts of three others.

The majority of private Bills were small Acts amending existing legislation. The increasing tendency on the part of private members to bring in legislation would have resulted in a larger number of private Bills being passed, had it not been for the fact that, according to the rules of procedure, private legislation requires a longer time to get through than official legislation because of the extra stage of leave to introduce. Unless a private member can get special indulgence from the President or from the Council, it takes him three sessions ordinarily to put his Bill through, and, owing to the fact that very little private work can be done in the budget session, it sometimes happens that it takes four sessions for a Bill to go through all its stages.

(*iii*) *Financial Business.*—It has been the invariable practice in this Presidency for twelve days to be allotted by His Excellency the Governor, under Rule 29, during the budget session for the discussion of the demands for grants. This is the full time allowed by the rule. Nevertheless, there has not been a single budget session when a considerable portion of the demands (more than one-third) has not had to be passed without discussion owing to the time limit having been reached. The fluid nature of the parties and the laxity of party discipline are responsible for the fact that very little attempt is made to restrict the discussion so as to secure adequate consideration of all the demands.

The attitude of the Council towards Bills which involve any increase in taxation has already been described. It has been largely coloured by the feeling that the province has been unjustly treated in regard to the Meston Settlement but in the end Government have generally succeeded in persuading the Legislative Council to pass such taxation bills as have been brought forward. The Council has realised their necessity and that the province would retrogress without the revenues they afforded. With the exception, however, of the Totalizator Act and the Transfer of Property Act the Council has refused to give permanence to the Acts in question and they require to be reconsidered annually. The fact that the two Acts mentioned affect headquarters cities only is of interest in illustration of the power of the mofussil members in the Council.

On the attitude of the Legislative Council in general towards financial questions, a tendency of the Council to interfere too much with the details of the executive Government has been referred to in a previous report. This attitude is almost inevitable in the beginning of a system of popular control, and experience alone can cure it. It has been too often combined with attacks on the provision made for the Reserved half of Government. This is an unfor-

tunate but almost inevitable concomitant of divided or incomplete responsibility, the belief being apparently that Government in those subjects for which it is not responsible to the Council must have been less economical in administration than in the Transferred branches. Ignorance of the details of administration also leads to insufficient recognition of the efforts made by Government towards economy. Though this attitude probably cannot be entirely eradicated under the present scheme of Government it may be modified by the experience of the Finance Committees.

Apart from this, it must be admitted that the Council has shown a genuine desire to enforce economy ; and most of the cuts which have been carried in the last two years may be said to be due to this desire to prevent what appeared to its members to be extravagance. None of the grants omitted or reduced by the Council has been restored by the Governor. The grant for the establishment of the Director of Information (cut out in March 1924) was actually voted by the Legislative Council when it was put before it again in the July session. This case raised a constitutional issue and is of sufficient importance to require more detailed treatment.

In paragraph B (*iii*) of Mr. Chatfield's letter No. 73-F., dated the 21st July 1923, it was stated that not infrequently the House was disposed to resent the restriction against reducing non-votable items by proposing reductions in, or rejection of, the budget provision for the pay of their establishment which were votable, but that the recent ruling of the first President, the late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, had put a stop to this practice. This ruling was based on the practice in the House of Commons on the point and the legal maxim that—

> " whatever is prohibited by law to be done directly, cannot legally be effected by an indirect and circuitous contrivance."—Broom's Legal Maxims, 8th Edition, page 374.

This ruling was reversed during the budget session of 1924 by the President, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, on a discussion with regard to the proposed deletion of the amount provided for establishments for non-votable appointments under the head " 35—Industries " when the salary of the Director—an I. C. S. officer—was non-votable. The President's ruling was not based on any legal argument but on observations as to the transitional stage in which the constitution now is and as to what the intention of the legislature is to be assumed to have been. This ruling in the wide form in which it was given renders it possible for the appointments of officers, whose salaries are non-votable, to be made nugatory by motions for omissions of their establishments, which it would not be possible to restore by certification, except in an emergency, in the case of the Transferred Departments. The ruling effects therefore a wide extension of the powers of the Legislative Council but has been accepted by Government. One of the first motions to come under the President's new ruling was one for the total reduction of the votable provision of Rs. 40,000 for the establishment and contin gencies, etc., in the Budget of the Director of Information under " 37—Miscellaneous ". The debate was on political lines. The motion was carried by 44 to 41. The provision was not submitted for certification by the Governor under the provisions of section 72 (*d*) of the Government of India Act but, in accordance with the precedents in the House, a demand in the form of a supplementary grant was made in the July session

of the Council for a reappropriation of Rs. 20,000 for the stablishment of the Director of Information. The reduction of Rs. 20,000 involved was only possible by amalgamating the establishment with that of the Oriental Translator to Government and reducing certain activities of the Director of Information, details of which were furnished to each member of the House in an explanatory statement which was laid on the Council Table. At the outset a point of order was raised that the demand was not covered by Rule 32 which only allowed a motion for a supplementary or additional grant to be brought up when the amount voted in the budget was found insufficient. The Honourable the President intimated that he would have ruled the action out of order but for the fact (according to newspapers) that the Government of India had, by Gazette Extraordinary, notified an additional rule permitting an estimate to be presented for an additional or supplementary grant in respect of any demand to which the Council had previously refused its assent or the amount of which the Council had refused either by reduction of the whole or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed. In the course of the debate, the member from Bombay City South gave notice for leave to move an adjournment of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the new rules notified by the Government of India. The mover of the original motion in March frankly admitted that what he was dissatisfied with was the topheaviness of the Directorate, the major portion of the expenditure going towards the salary of the Director, and hinted that if Government appointed an officer on a much smaller salary, say Rs. 6,000 a year, they would be prepared to agree to the continuance of the Directorate. The demand was eventually sanctioned by 52 votes to 34.

As regards the motion for adjournment referred to above, it may merely be necessary to state that the main ground of protest from its mover and the leader of the Swaraj Party was that the rule referred to promulgated by the Government of India was retrograde in that it ran counter to the whole trend of the Reforms which was stated to be towards obliterating the distinction between the Transferred and the Reserved subjects and making over more and more finality and power into the hands of the people. The Leader of the House was able to show that the rule promulgated by the Government of India did not introduce any innovation but merely confirmed and regularised power already inherent in the Government of India Act and supported by precedents not only in the Bombay Legislative Council, but the Legislative Councils of the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa.

The motion for adjournment was defeated by 43 votes to 31.

The cases in which demands for grants have been rejected by the Legislative Council are shown in a statement* forwarded herewith. There was been no case up to date of the restoration by His Excellency of a grant which had been rejected by the Council.

(iv) (a) Resolutions.—The number of resolutions received during the duration of the Legislative Council was in all 1,505. In this total are included 27 disallowed by the Honourable the President and 24 by His Excellency the Governor. In the first Council only 619 were received. One hundred and five resolutions were actually discussed. While the constitutional position is plain that resolutions passed by the Legislative Council are not binding on

*I.

Government it will be seen from the account which follows that Government attach weight and have given every consideration to them, and that in many and important cases action has been taken to carry out their recommendations. The Legislative Council would seem to have fully realised the value of the constitutional means of influencing policy and action which the moving of resolutions provides.

Between 150 and 200 resolutions are generally received each session and in one instance the number rose to 270. It has become the practice for several members to give notice of the same resolution when it happens to deal with an important subject, so that the resolution may be assured of discussion, and this accounts for some portion of the increase in numbers. Resolutions too are repeated at successive meetings of the Council and in some instances are similar in effect though differently worded. Eliminating actual and virtual repetitions and resolutions which were disallowed the number of independent and effective resolutions on the agenda paper would appear to be in the neighbourhood of one-third of the total received.

The same group of members appears in the list of each session as a rule, some of them sending in between 30 and 40 resolutions each. The tabling of resolutions is very often, it is understood, merely a method of advertising as the member is well aware that under no circumstances can he possibly get a chance of moving all the 30 or 40 resolutions which he has sent in.

As members have become better acquainted with the rules and standing orders, the number of resolutions which have had to be disallowed has been steadily diminishing.

By an amendment of standing order X, 5, which was made in August 1925, a member can, with the permission of the President, authorise another member to move the resolutions standing in his name.

Resolutions are frequently sent in asking for the appointment of committees of official and non-official members of the Council to report on particular matters, and as has been mentioned in an earlier part of this report several committees have been appointed as the result of such resolutions.

The resolutions generally deal with forest grievances, land revenue matters— especially revision settlements, agriculture, village officers and inams—excise matters—especially prohibition—irrigation questions, roads, tolls, the position of the Mohammadans and the backward and depressed classes in the Government services, education and unemployment.

Several members have during the last few sessions sent in resolutions asking Government to place before the Council a statement showing the action taken by Government on the resolutions passed during each session and this request is being complied with.

A number of the resolutions were carried against Government or were carried in a form to which Government were unable to agree. Amongst these may be mentioned the resolution for the appointment of the committee to consider the question of bringing the powers of revising land revenue assessment under closer regulation by Statute. Here Government accepted the proposal for a committee but not amendments that its members should be elected by the Council and that " no revision work should be proceeded with or no new

rates under any revised settlement should be introduced " pending legislation. The resolution with the amendments was however passed. The committee was appointed but the amendments were not given effect to by Government. Similarly a resolution to withdraw a settlement recently introduced and in force was carried against Government but not given effect to.

On the other hand important resolutions on the subject of takavi loans for the sinking of wells, for the cancellation of a notification dividing the Surat district into three protected areas under clause 3 of the Cotton Transport Act, and for the total abolition of all alcoholic drink in ten (amended to twenty) years, which were carried against Government have been substantially accepted ; in the last of these cases the report of an Excise Committee which has been appointed during the previous Council was already under the consideration of Government but the Council refused to postpone the matter. The requisite orders have been issued in connection with the Excise Committee's report and prohibition as the ultimate goal is now the accepted policy of Government.

A committee under the Presidency of Sir Joseph Kay was appointed to consider the financial aspects and probable results of a policy of Prohibition and to suggest sources of revenue to meet the deficit anticipated. Its report reached Government after dissolution of the Council and is under consideration.

It may be stated now that unless ways and means are found to make up, the heavy deficit in the excise revenue and to meet the increasing expenditure on the growing preventive staff this Government will find it extremely difficult to attain the desired goal.

Amongst resolutions moved on behalf of Government three which gave rise to considerable discussion may be mentioned. On the first which related to the appointment of a special officer for the investigation of minor irrigation works and village water supplies objection was taken on the ground that the officer to be appointed was not an Indian. This was withdrawn when it was explained that a suitable Indian officer was not available. Two resolutions relating to the appointment of Major Pogson as Water Diviner met with bitter opposition, chiefly from the Swarajists. The opposition was based on a distrust of the possibilities of water divination and of Major Pogson's abilities, and on the scale of pay proposed. The task of convincing the Council of the merits of the proposal was difficult, but ultimately the resolutions were carried.

In accordance with other resolutions of the Council, orders, fixing the pay of Presidency Magistrates other than the Chief Presidency Magistrate, giving compensation to families of informants who suffered injury at the hands of dacoits, abolishing the totalizator in the third enclosure of the Bombay race-course, handing over to the Muhammadan community certain mosques used for secular purposes and giving facilities for " Id " prayers have issued, while the proper authorities have been moved to give due consideration to recommendations for giving further opportunities to Mahars to enlist in the Indian Army, and for readjusting the territorial jurisdiction of Sub-Judges Courts.

A large number of resolutions related to education. In these the non Brahman point of view was not so much in evidence as in previous years, apparently because the Honourable the Minister of Education for the greater portion of the period under report was himself a non-Brahmin and he could

therefore be expected to safeguard adequately the interests on non-Brahmins. There were a few resolutions moved by Muhammadan members which contained demands for special concessions to their co-religionists in the matter of admission to colleges, special schools and appointments.

Only twleve resolutions on educational subjects were actually moved in the Council : six of them were passed, the remaining six being either withdrawn or lost.

Of the six resolutions which were carried one was in favour of rescinding orders which had then been recently issued modifying the practice of allowing one-third provincial grant-in-aid to aided institutions and abolishing the system of giving supplementary grants under the Grant-in-Aid Code. The resolution was given effect to and the old practice restored. (This resolution belonged to the July sessions of 1923 but was not included in the previous report).

The second, third, fourth and fifth resolutions related to various proposals regarding education in Muhammadan institutions or for Muhammadan students—the opening of Urdu schools, the establishment of chairs for Arabic or lectureships in the same language and in Urdu and the question of the proposed transfer of the Ismail College. On the last of these Government have accepted the recommendation of the Council but the financial stringency has made it impossible to give effect to most of the other proposals. Another resolution recommended that there should be in each division of this Presidency at least one Muhammadan Head Master, one Deputy Educational Inspector (in addition to one Urdu Deputy) and three Assistant Deputy Educational Inspectors. With regard to this Resolution Government have issued orders that although they cannot act upon the letter of the resolution they accept the spirit underlying it and that Muhammadans will be appointed as Head Masters, etc., in each division to the extent recommended in the resolution, provided that suitable and qualified Muhammadan candidates are available.

The sixth resolution which was passed in July 1926 recommended that primary school teachers should be paid according to the Sathe-Paranjpye scheme with effect from March 1923. Incidentally it may be observed that this was one of the resolutions of which repeated notice was given by many members of the Legislative Council at successive sessions. The persistence with which this resolution was pressed—though privately members would freely admit that they quite realised the financial difficulties if Government accepted it, and the unfairness it would give rise to between the masters recruited before the local Authorities had taken over control, and those recruited after that date —revealed the strong political influence wielded by the primary school masters who number about 26,000. Before the resolution was passed the Honourable the Minister of Education made it clear that Government could not take any action on it until the Council voted the extra funds required and empowered Government to force local bodies to give their teachers the increased rates of pay.

Of important resolutions of general interest first place must be given to that which recommended that the untouchable classes be allowed to use all public watering places, wells and dharmshalas built and maintained out of public funds or administered by bodies appointed by Government or created by statute,

as well as public schools, courts, offices and dispensaries. A Government resolution was issued directing all heads of offices to give effect to the resolution passed by the Council so far as it related to public places and institutions belonging to and maintained by Government. The Collectors were also requested to advise the local public bodies within their jurisdiction to consider the desirability of accepting the recommendation made in the resolution so far as it related to them. The Chairmen, Bombay and Karachi Port Trusts, the Chairman, City of Bombay Improvement Trust, and the Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay were requested to take similar steps with the consent of their Trustees and the Corporation to give effect to the resolution with regard to the places controlled by them. The response of the local bodies in this connection has so far been lukewarm. Recently the action of the untouchables in using a public tank at Mahad in Kolaba District under the guidance of a Member of the Legislative Council led to a fracas and some broken heads. On this occasion the local Muhammadans appear to have sided with the untouchables. Mr. Bole's resolution mentioned later was intended to bring pressure on all local bodies in this connection by withholding grants if they failed to give reasonable facilities to the untouchables.

A resolution moved in March 1924 in favour of remitting the remaining period of supersession of the Surat Municipality resulted in the re-establishment of the Municipality with effect from the 15th February 1925 : by another a comprehensive scheme of sanitation and medical relief was to be drawn up and placed before the Council having for its object the reduction of the heavy mortality from plague, cholera, malaria, and other epidemic diseases in the Presidency. Since the passing of the resolution budget provision has been passed by the Council for some schemes of sanitation and medical relief, *e.g.*, expansion of the J. J. Hospital in connection with the Bombay Medical Relief Scheme, Lady Wilson's Village Baby Week Scheme, General Hooton's Scheme for Village Medical Relief, etc. One resolution contained a recommendation that Government should not purchase coal or any other article which is the produce of that part of South Africa which accords unfair treatment to Indians. With regard to this resolution Government have passed a resolution directing all Heads of Departments not to tender for or purchase South African Coal without the previous sanction of Government.

The last resolution which was carried was moved in July 1926 by Mr. S. K. Bole and passed as amended by Dr. Paranjpye. It recommended that Government should reduce any discretionary grants paid to municipalities and local boards in the case of those local bodies which refuse to give effect to the resolution passed by the Council on the subject of permitting members of the depressed classes to use wells, tanks, water taps and dharamshalas, dispensaries and schools built and maintained out of public funds or administered by bodies appointed by Government or created by statute. Government have issued a circular asking the Commissioners of Divisions to draw the attention of the local bodies within their jurisdiction to this resolution and in Ratnagiri District, where a report was received that children of the untouchable class were not being admitted to the Local Board schools and substantiated, a warning has been given that if the authorities concerned persist in excluding them, Government will be obliged to withdraw their usual grant-in-aid.

(*b*) QUESTIONS.

Members again availed themselves very freely of their right of asking questions and the number received steadily increased. Against 4,124 in the three years of the first Council, 7,891 have been received in the time of the second Council. Several members have sent in more than 1,000 questions each in a single session. One member had 37 questions on the agenda for one day and another had one question divided into 21 heads with, in ten of them, two, three or four subheads. Some were genuine requests for information but a very large number were directed to exploring some local or individual grievance or to exposing alleged short-comings of the administration. One important result has been a large increase in labour both in the Secretariat and in the local administrative and executive offices in connection with the replies to them. The time and labour taken up has interfered with more urgent legitimate work to an extent which in some departments has become serious.

Among questions of local interest some have been useful and have led to the issue of orders remedying grievances thus brought to notice or have given Government an opportunity of explaining or rebutting allegations current outside the Council, but a very large number have been trivial and of some the object has with difficulty been discernible, while the results in the aggregate have been incommensurate with the labour expended.

The procedure in dealing with questions has been explained in the report of 1923 and the rules for dealing with them follow those of the House of Commons and are interpreted in accordance with Parliamentary procedure.

The grounds for rejection by the President have been mostly that the questions are suggestions for action, that they ask for opinion, or that they relate to central subjects, *e.g.*, Railways.

In the years 1921-23 practically 25 per cent. of the questions sent in were disallowed, the figures being 1,014 out of 4,124. In the second Council from 1924—1926 only 307 questions or less than 4 per cent. were disallowed out of the total of 7,891 submitted. The figures show an increase in skill in the framing of questions or a less strict standard in rejection or both. One question was disallowed by His Excellency the Governor and the remaining 306 by the President.

The subject matter of the questions was much the same as in the previous Council, and the following rough classification of the questions in two departments is probably fairly representative :—

	Revenue.	General.
Services	185	334
Of local interest	824	1,035
Miscellaneous	394	579
Communal and racial	..	245*
	1,403	2,193

As compared with the first Council there was a falling off in the relative number relating to the services. Questions of a racial character (*e.g.*, regarding the

*Mostly on educational matters.

appointment of Europeans) decreased, especially after the failure of the non-co-operation movement. The questions of local interest related mainly to grievances and shortcomings under the heads of land revenue, forests, excise—especially the location and auctioning of shops—education, local self-government, medical and sanitary. Questions classed as communal include many relating to the claims of Muhammadans and non-Brahmins in respect of Government appointments. On the whole, however, this class of questions did not increase as much as might have been expected in view of the recent growth of communal tension.

As has been pointed out before, while the professed—and real—policy of the Council continued to be economy, the questions, whether dealing with the cases of individuals or of the lower grades of classes of Government servants, generally asked for more pay for them.

Under the head of miscellaneous questions, the very large number (91) relating to inams, watans, etc., deserves special notice. These were for the most part asked by one member and entailed the collection of information for the whole Presidency for a number of years. In 21 instances information had to be refused on the ground that its collection would involve an amount of time and trouble incommensurate with the purpose likely to be served thereby. Government however answered the rest of the questions at the cost of considerable trouble to district officers. This type of question is really an abuse of the privilege of asking questions. As regards the rest of these questions, many were of a useful nature and revealed a general interest in matters of public importance. In a few cases the members were referred to the published reports of Government in which the information was available.

In a number of cases members were not satisfied with the answers given and supplementary questions were put. There were instances in which 15 or 20 supplementary questions were asked and at times the President had to stop the unending stream of supplementary questions.

One question served the useful purpose of bringing to notice an instance of the abuse of his position by a Swarajist member of the Legislature who had issued a confidential circular to the Indian members of the Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate Forest Services requesting them to furnish him confidentially with information regarding the constitution and working of the Forest Department, and in particular with instances in which racial bias was alleged to have been shown.

(v) Motions to adjourn the House.—In all ten motions to adjourn the House were brought forward. Of these two were disallowed by His Excellency the Governor on the ground that they related to matters which were not primarily the concern of the Local Government, one was disallowed by the President, and in one leave to move the motion was refused by the Council, four were carried and the House adjourned, one was lost and one talked out.

The motions which were carried dealt with the statement made by Lord Olivier, then Secretary of State for India referred to later, to Bombay's Provincial contribution, to the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, and to the grave situation in the Bombay Cotton Trade. The motion which was lost has already been referred to, and that talked out related to a

cotton mill strike in Bombay. The two motions disallowed by His Excellency the Governor dealt with the report of the Currency Commission and with a statement made in the House of Lords by Lord Birkenhead. The remaining two motions referred to an alleged interference by officials with the free exercise of the right of voting and to a report of the Second Advisory Committee on the Bombay Reclamation. Leave to move the first was refused by the Council while the President ruled out the second.

A question has arisen more than once as to what is an urgent matter within the meaning of rule 11. The practice generally followed by the President has been to treat as urgent anything which has happened less than fifteen days before the commencement of the session and on which therefore notice of a resolution in the ordinary way could not have been sent.

(*vi*) *Amendments to Standing Orders.*—There have been nine amendments to the Standing Orders. The principal of these are set forth below :—

(1) Amendments in Chapter IV.—" Arrangement of Business " which *inter alia*, provide that " Statutory motions " which may be made by non-official members shall be treated as Government business.

(2) Amendment in Standing Order IV, 4(1), which, in respect of resolutions, makes the same provision for adjournment, as in respect of motions regarding Bills and Standing Orders.

(3) Amendment in Standing Order IV, 6—which provides that during voting of demands of the annual budget half an hour only shall be allowed for the asking and answering of questions.

(4) New Chapter VIII-A—which prescribes a special procedure regarding statutory motions. (Rules proposed to be made under the Cotton Transport Act, the Bombay Children Act, the Co-operative Societies Act, are subject to a resolution of the Council. Such a resolution is a statutory motion under Chapter VIII of the Standing Orders. It is an important privilege which is kept free of the restrictions which apply to ordinary resolutions under the Rules and Standing Orders. Such resolutions are binding on Government while the ordinary resolutions are only recommendatory.)

(5) Amendment in Standing Order IX, 3—which requires that in addition to the other members a member of Government and, in case of non-official amendments, the member in charge shall also be members of the Select Committee on motions to amend Standing Orders.

(*vii*) *Changes arising out of the Reforms Enquiry Committee Report.*—A statement " J " is appended showing the extent to which the Muddiman Committee's recommendations applicable to this Province have been given effect to in it. Most of these relate to the legislature. Special mention may be made of the removal of the sex disqualification of women for election or nomination to the Provincial Legislative Council, the modification of the disqualification for being a member of the Bombay Legislative Council on account of conviction by a criminal court, the representation of the depressed classes and factory

labourers in the Provincial Legislative Council, and the rule enabling a motion expressing want of confidence in a Minister of disapproving the policy of a Minister in a particular respect to be moved with the consent of the President and subject to certain restrictions.

General remarks on the Legislature.

(*i*) *Extent to which it represented and reacted on public opinion.*—Some slight modification is necessary of the views on this subject in Mr. Chatfield's letter of 1923 in view of the fact that a very large section of the electorate which boycotted the first elections under the Reforms identified itself with the views of the Swaraj Party, which was thereby able to secure 23 seats in the second council. Furthermore, the No-Changers actively assisted the Swarajists during the elections and the latter may therefore be said to have represented them, especially after the Gandhi-Das-Nehru Pact had been signed at Calcutta in 1924, which permitted work in the Legislatures to be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress as an integral part of its organization. The Khilfatists were represented by two Muhammadans in the Council, one of whom was the president of the Sind Provincial Khilafat Committee. The second Legislative Council, therefore, represented a wider public than the first and the fact that the elections were much keener and that there was greater competition suggests that those elected were more representative of the constituencies than those returned in the 1921 elections.

As to the extent to which the Council reacted on public opinion outside, actual participation in and experience of the working of the Council finally confirmed a large majority of the Swarajists in the Council, and through them their following outside, of the futility of continuous and consistent obstruction and the need for modifying their attitude to one of responsive co-operation. So far as Sind is concerned the success of the Muhammadan zamindars in the Council in securing (*a*) postponement of settlements, (*b*) the experiments with deep silt clearance, (*c*) appointment of the Fallow Rules Committee, has aroused a certain degree of interest amongst the zamindars and made them realize to some extent the power of their representatives, and so, indirectly of themselves. In the Central Division, which has a very good press, the Council is beginning to represent such public opinion as exists. Public interest in politics there is of a parochial character, local questions being the only ones that count. Members of the Council certainly showed great activity in bringing before the Council matters of interest to their constituents.

(2) *Extent to which and by what means relations were maintained between members and their constituencies.*—There is nothing to add to the views expressed in 1923 except that, if putting questions and supplementary questions is any indication of close touch with the constituencies, the Swarajists claimed that in the budget session of 1924 they and the Independents between them were reponsible for two-thirds of the total number of questions asked. The non-Brahmins, Liberals and Independents had no local organisation and did not worry very much about one even during election time depending, as they did, on purely personal influence. On the other hand, the Swarajists had the local District and Provincial Congress Committees, through whom they were more or less in close touch with their constituencies. In addition they had a very

good press ; as a matter of fact, a large majority of the more important organs supported the Swarajist-cum-Responsivist views.

(3) *Formation on political lines of parties or groups within the Council, and how far these coincided with or traversed purely communal lines of cleavage.*—The second Council showed signs of much more definite grouping on party lines than did the old House. The Swaraj Party was a well-organised body voting solidly together on practically every question. The non-Brahmins also were much more unified, possibly as the result of their having a non-Brahmin Minister.

(4) *Conventions and Procedure.*—The proceedings of the Council have been orderly. Unquestioned obedience to the chair is the rule and a satisfactory standard of Parliamentary procedure has been maintained in the business of the Council. In these respects the Council has been fortunate in the personality of its Presidents.

The convention against the reading of speeches, which the first President (the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar) had tried to enforce, has been gradually allowed to weaken and several members now read their speeches.

In the last Council there were only three members from the Presidency proper who did not know English and who spoke in the Council in the vernaculars. There were five or six Muhammadan members from Sind who did not speak English. The latter, however, rarely spoke in the Council at all.

The period of office of the nominated President of the Legislative Council expired at the end of 1924. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, who had been nominated as President on the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, was nominated as a member of the Legislative Council in 1925 and was then unanimously elected President by the Council.

In connection with legislation a point worth notice is the practice which has grown up regarding amendments to Bills which relate to or affect central subjects. According to the view of the Government of India and of the Government of Bombay when a Bill is introduced which regulates or affects a central subject or which on any of the other grounds mentioned in section 80 A(3) required the previous sanction of the Governor General, and such sanction has been obtained, every amendment to such a Bill also required the previous sanction of the Governor General and cannot be considered by the Council until such sanction has been obtained. It was however ruled by the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in 1923 that this would be unduly restricting the powers of the Council and that the Council has the power to consider such amendments even though no sanction has been obtained for them. If the amendments so carried are objectionable it is open to the Governor General to withhold his sanction. This ruling has been since repeatedly followed and the practice might now be regarded as having been established that such amendment can be dealt with by the Council without previous sanction.

A convention which may be said to have been established though it has not become absolutely rigid, is that no opposition should be offered to a Bill when leave to introduce it is asked for, as it would not be fair to throw out a Bill which the members have not had the opportunity of seeing or studying. Bills which are on the face of them unreasonable or impossible or which had been

once introduced and thrown out by the Council are considered as exceptions to this convention. The introduction of Mr. Joshi's Bill to amend the Local Boards Act was opposed by Government on this ground in the July session of 1925.

(5) *Arrangement of Business.*—The practice has been for His Excellency to allot a certain number of days for non-official business a few days before the session meets. In the budget sessions only two days have been allotted since 1925. The average number of days allotted for non-official business during each non-budget session for the last three years has been six, the highest was nine in the July 1925 session.

The days allotted for private business have been invariably given at the end of the session. The suggestion that such days should be spread over the whole session was at one time considered but was not accepted. On Government days, Government arrange their business in such order as they deem fit. Days allotted for private business are not separately distributed between Bills and Resolutions. According to the provision of Standing Order IV, 1(2) on private days Bills have precedence over motions to amend Standing Orders, and motions to amend Standing Orders over resolutions.

There were three sessions of the Council each year, one in February-March, one in July-August, and one in September-October, except in 1926 when, owing to the dissolution of the Council, there was no third session. The first session generally lasts five weeks and the other two about three weeks each. A desire was at one time expressed by some members of the Council that there should be a fourth session in Bombay in December, but the matter has not been pressed. The holding of a fourth session in December in Bombay has been objected to by Government on the ground that it would be extremely inconvenient for some of the private members, especially those from Sind, to attend at that time of the year and at a very short interval after the October session, and also on the ground that it would interfere with the heavy work thrown on the Members of Government and the Secretariat staff by the budget.

(6) *Party Leaders, their policy and adherents.*—Mr. Mukund Ramrao Jayakar (Leader of the Opposition), Leader of the Swaraj Party, was a notable figure in the House. His position was a somewhat unhappy one. By culture and education he was widely separated from most of his party. He was a moderate and obviously found it difficult at times to reach that standard which his followers appeared to deem necessary in the advancement of the Swaraj cause. As stated elsewhere with his resignation of his seat in the Legislative Council the party organization and discipline deteriorated rapidly. Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, hitherto Secretary and Chief Whip of the Party, became the nominal leader of the Swarajist-cum-Responsivist group but, as a matter of fact, he did not take his place on the front opposition benches but sat beside Mr. K. F. Nariman, the die-hard Swarajist, to whose views he was diametrically opposed, in an inconspicuous place in the back benches and failed to exercise any close control and discipline over the party as a whole.

The non-Brahmins had no elected leader but up till the October session of 1925 the nominal leader was Mr. A. N. Surve.

C.—*The Constituencies and the Public.*

(1) *The Elections and Electorate.*—The general election of 1923 was marked by keen contests in all except the European constituencies. In some of the Bombay City constituencies there were as many as 11 and 12 candidates. This resulted in the splitting of the votes and was one cause of the route of the Moderate party. The Swarajists, who possessed superior organisation and discipline and were in a position to present a more popular programme, defeated their representatives almost everywhere, and few even of the Leaders of the Moderates retained their seats in the Legislative Council. The electors showed a reasonable interest in the election and the proportion of those who voted was far higher than in 1920, chiefly owing to the split in the Non-Co-operation Party and the decision of the Swarajists to stand for election. The percentage of electors who recorded their votes was as shown below :—

	Bombay Legislative Council.	Legislative Assembly.
Percentage of voters to total population.	4·03	·98
Percentage of votes recorded to total number of voters on electoral roll.	69·84	70·97

(2) *Parties, Party Tactics, Organisation, Policies and Adherents.*—The elections resulted in the return of 23 Swarajists with 11 associate members, 13 non-Brahmins, 6 Independents (Moderates), 27 Muhammadans and 6 Europeans. Among the elected Hindus, 23 were pleaders, 1 a non-practising Barrister, 5 merchants, 4 doctors, 3 agriculturists, 5 land owners, and 1 editor, while among the elected Muhammadans there were 3 pleaders, 17 landowners, 1 a doctor, 4 merchants and 2 barristers.

The second Legislative Council was of a distinctly poorer quality than the first. This was due to the route of the Moderates by the Swarajists. The Moderates were, many of them, men who had experience in the pre-Reform councils or had served on local boards and municipalities where they had acquired some knowledge of administration. Few of the Swarajists had any such training or experience. The result was a lowering of the tone of the Council and a loss of business ability. The personality of the President helped to keep things going.

The methods of the non-Brahmins showed that they had still much to learn of politics. They had no obvious policy outside that of securing their share in the public services and they failed to achieve any internal unity in their party. Of course there is a good deal to be said for their view that it is only by getting their community into the public services, beginning with the lower ranks which is all that many of them can hope for at present, that they could aspire to attain the social freedom at which they aim.

The Swarajists were the only non-official party in the House united by bonds other than communal. They had a recognised leader, a definite programme, organisation and discipline. The party was the strongest in the

Legislative Council but did not command a majority. It professed not to co-operate with Government but showed signs of relaxing the rigour of this policy inasmuch as several of the members of the Party consented to serve on Committees. The three Ministerial groups, which have already been alluded to were of about equal size and, taken together, commanded about as many votes as the Swarajists and their supporters. Their organisation, however, was still very imperfect.

The Council was divided roughly into there equal portions, the Government Party, the Swarajists Opposition, and the remainder comprising the Ministerial groups and a few Independents. As the first two groups were opposed in practically every division they more or less neutralised one another and the decision generally lay with the Ministerial groups. Each of these groups was communal and was strongly interested in a few questions affecting the interests of their electorate ; but beyond the circle of these interests, which differed in every group, their attitude as regards voting frequently could not be foreseen. This uncertainty as to voting of so large a proportion of the House caused much embarrassment to Government though never a deadlock. There were however questions upon which every member of the House had a decided opinion, and upon such questions the vote of the House was truly representative. For example, when the Court Fees Amendment Act was thrown out in the budget session of 1924 by 57 votes to 35, this result undoubtedly represented the determination of an overwhelming majority of non-officials that taxation should not be increased. The loss of 18 lakhs of revenue, expected from the Act, was certainly embarrassing to Government; but the vote represented the popular will and was accepted by Government.

The above summing up of the position applies only to the year 1924, to the budget session of 1925 and part of the July session of the same year, to part of the budget session of 1926 and to the greater part of the July session of 1926. During the sessions when the Swarajists maintained their " vow of silence " and after their walk-out in the Budget session of 1926, which are referred to later, an opposition party as such practically ceased to exist, and the proceedings in consequence lacked much of their interest and educative value.

The difficulties and defects of the Council were summarised in the report of 1924. The Executive Government was enabled to carry on the business of government in spite of a well-organised opposition, mainly because a majority of the House was determined that the opposition should not bring Government to a deadlock. The Government could not, however, reckon on the support of a majority even in matters concerning transferred departments because the Ministers had not an assured following in the House. This weakness of the position of the Ministers was due partly to the refusal of the strongest party to take office, partly to the want of organization and of mutual support which characterised the smaller groups from which they were drawn but mainly to the financial stringency which hampered their efforts to present a popular party programme. The result of these conditions was that the decisions of the House were truly representative of its real wishes only upon matters in which the communal groups were especially interested and were often irresponsible upon other questions of importance. To put it otherwise a large

section of the House was parochial in its outlook and as in the balance of parties the decision of the House depended upon the votes of this section, it was apt to be fortuitous in matters which were beyond the parochial outlook. Advance in Parliamentary Government and the development of popular control over the transferred departments were retarded by this unsatisfactory position of the Ministers. Some progress had however been made. In the first Council there were no parties and no sustained efforts at party organization. In the last House there was a well-organized party in opposition and Ministerial groups, which though small in number and communal in interests, had succeeded partially in organising themselves and making their weight as a party felt in the House. A fuller discussion of the subject will be found in the report of 1924 from which the above summary is taken.

In the budget session of 1924, the Swarajists secured two early successes. The first was in connection with the introduction by Government of a Bill for the Protection of Children. An Independent Muhammadan member from Sind discovered in the provisions of the Bill a hidden menace to his religion and moved an amendment for adjournment which, backed by the Swarajists and Independents, was carried by the casting vote of the President given on the ground of supporting the *status quo*. It may be stated here that an adjournment motion was moved by Mr. Lalji Naranji to consider the statements made by Lord Olivier in his speech in the House of Lords on the 25th February 1924, one of which was to the effect that "moderate and non-controversial Bills like the Protection of Children's Bill in Bombay are thrown out by the Swarajist party." The motion was carried *nem con* and as a result the President telegraphed to the Secretary of State through His Excellency the Governor to the effect that the Legislative Council, Bombay, wished to bring to His Lordship's notice that the Bombay Children's Bill was not thrown out by the Council, but that its consideration had merely been postponed to the next session which meant at the most a delay of about three months. The Bill was again introduced by Government on the 21st July 1924 and was ultimately passed in October as Act XIII of 1924. The second success, though here, as stated before, the voting truly represented the overwhelming majority of non-officials, was the rejection by a clear majority of the Bill to provide for the continuance of the Court Fees Act for a further period of two years. This defeat of Government resulted in the conversion of the budget surplus to a deficit, but Government's action in promptly reducing their demands by 15 lakhs distributed *pro rata* under the major heads, had the effect of securing a more reasonable consideration of the demands for grants put forward thereafter.

In the first Council the non-Brahmins worked in coalition with the Moderates but they refused to continue the coalition at the time of the 1923 elections, as they considered that the Moderates had been playing for their own hand and reaping the full benefits of the coalition without doing anything in the interests of the non-Brahmins. Though the non-Brahmin Party in the second Council only numbered 13 members it nevertheless held the balance of voting power between the Government block—consisting of the officials, the Sind and some of the Presidency Muhammadans and the European members—on the one hand and the Swarajists and others on the other, each of which could generally muster a vote of about 40 odd in the Council.

They (the non-Brahmins) began to show greater cohesion probably because they found they had to stand on their own feet and because of a growing sense of responsibility to their representatives in the Ministry, and partly with the growing realisation that they could only through cohesion utilise to the full, especially for bargaining, their important position as holders of the balance of voting power in the Council. The Swarajists could not depend upon any success unless they were able to secure a certain measure of non-Brahmin supports, while the non-Brahmins could always depend on the support of the Swarajists' Party to any measure opposed by the Government benches. The Swarajists, left with nothing to bargain with, owing to their policy of consistent and continuous opposition to Government, found the position to which they were relegated, though the strongest party in the Council, more and more galling with the passage of time, especially when comparisons were made between their achievements and those of the Swarajists in the Central Provinces and Bengal Legislative Councils. In the " Report on the work of the Swarajya Party in the Bombay Legislative Council, 1924," issued by the Party, it is stated that the Swarajists made several overtures to the non-Brahmin Party to share each other's deliberations on important questions during the Council session with a view to removing misunderstandings and securing joint action, but that the non-Brahmin Party steadily resisted such overtures. The publications referred to, besides booming the work of the Swarajya Party during the three Council sessions of 1924, which, as it boasted, " made it abundantly clear that this small party, in a measure not justified by its numerical strength, holds the destinies of the Presidency in the hollow of its hands," contained attack on the attitude and policy of the non-Brahmin Party which resulted in a bitter controversy in the press between the two parties and served to accentuate the difference between them. Almost on the beginning of the July session of 1925 it became clear that these parties were out to oppose each other on every issue. On the 5th day for non-official business immediately after the motion of Mr. Joshi, a Swarajist, for leave to introduce his Bill further to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act was refused at the instance of the non-Brahmin Party, the matter being pressed to a division, there was a consultation between the leader and several members of the Swaraj Party. In the meantime, Mr. Bhopatkar, a Swarajist, was granted leave to introduce his Bill further to amend the Bombay Land Revenue Code, but Mr. Joshi, whose turn came next, refused to move two Bills standing in his name. When Mr. Bole, a non-Brahmin, moved for permission to introduce his Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, Mr. Jayakar, the Leader of the Swarajist Party in the Council, intimated that the Swarajist Party would oppose the introduction. He explained that, although he was one of those who were anxious to establish a convention in the House that leave for the introduction of any Bill should not be refused, in view of the treatment accorded to Mr. Joshi's Bill, the Swaraj Party was compelled to assert themselves by opposing the Bill, which they did. Permission was however granted to the introduction of the Bill and the Swaraj Party participated in the debates and voted on the three following Bills which were moved on that day. On the next day, the 14th, the Swaraj Party issued a statement intimating their decision to take no further part in the deliberations of the House. In accordance with this decision they declined to put the questions

or move the motions or resolutions standing in their names and took no part in any of the debates during the sessions. In their manifesto, a copy of which is attached, Government, the non-Brahmin Party and the Sind Moslems are all attacked. Nothing need be said in regard to the charge that Government, by fair means or foul, defeated the Bombay Swaraj Party in the Council on every occasion by utilising the non-Brahmin and Sind Moslem votes which it had captured by pampering to these groups. But the charge of Government defeating the Swarajists with the help of these two parties came strangely amiss from a party whose declared policy and boast was that they were out to offer continual and consistent opposition to Government in the Council. It is clear that their real grievance was against the non-Brahmin Party and the Sind Moslem group for not slavishly supporting them in all the measures brought forward by them, if only in gratitude for the support they could not help giving to these two groups whenever one or other of them or both were in opposition to Government. It will be seen from the manifesto that the party waited for a " suitable " opportunity to make their position clear " an opportunity sufficiently important to the public estimation and sufficiently indicative of the unworthy intention of Government," and that they found this opportunity in their refusal of the House to allow Mr. Joshi to move his Bill. They could not have chosen a weaker case on which to base their decision for non-co-operating with the Legislative Council. The main object of Mr. Joshi's Bill to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act was to enfranchise certain classes, graduates, etc., who paid no taxes to the Local Boards. It was pointed out in a letter of the Director of Information dated the 19th August 1925 to the Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, that Government did not generally oppose the introduction of private Bills and that there were numerous instances on record to prove this, including Mr. Bhopatkar's Bill to amend the Land Revenue Code, which was introduced without opposition immediately after the refusal to Mr. Joshi to introduce his Bill to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act. This general practice could scarcely be held to apply to the particular action taken in respect of this latter Bill. What Mr. Joshi sought to introduce was the radical reversal of the policy " no representation without taxation " deliberately adopted after full debate and without challenge to a division at the time of passing the Bombay Local Boards Act in December 1922. Mr. Joshi had already once before in July 1924 sought to reverse this policy, but the proposal was then rejected by a large majority. The Bombay Municipal Corporation shortly before had also refused to consider a similar measure. The object of Mr. Joshi's Bill was well known and needed no prolonged explanation. The necessity of a reversal of the policy from the point of view of the Swaraj Party had moreover been made perfectly plain by the results of the elections held just shortly before to the Local Boards. Mr. Joshi's second attempt therefore during the July-August session to reverse that policy met immediately and inevitably with the full force of the opposition of the non-Brahmin and other parties, and as that policy was the deliberately declared policy of the Minister of Local Self-Government, the opposition quite properly received the unreseved support of Government.

As a consequence of the Swarajist attitude, the Council ended three days earlier than was anticipated. When the October session came round, it was found that many of the Swarajist members had sent in questions and resolutions

and those of them concerned participated in the meetings of the various Select Committees. They apparently met in Poona the day before the opening of the session and decided to continue their non-participation tactics. The occurrence of one or two seemingly excellent opportunities to down the Government led to another meeting—a heated one—but the " silence" section won again and made the non-participation policy " definite, final and comprehensive."

The Swarajists continued their vow of silence in the October session of 1925 but in the Budget session of 1926, they once again took part in the proceedings, chiefly because it *was* the budget session and Government intended to move taxation Bills moved and thrown out in previous budget sessions. That served for an ostensible reason, but the real one was their realisation of the futility and, to quote one of their own leaders, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, M.L.A., " childishness " of their vow of silence, which could have no other but a damping effect on their chances in the coming elections at the end of the year.

Another cause that probably operated in the breaking of " the vow of silence " was the initiation of the " Responsivist " Party which most of the members of the Bombay Legislative Council Swarajya Party joined. But whatever their motive, the mere fact that they took part once again in the proceedings of the Legislative Council rather stultified their whole previous case, which had forced them, as they alleged, to a vow of silence and induced them during the October sessions to confirm this decision by endorsing it as " definite, final and comprehensive ". There had been no " change of heart " on the part of either the non-Brahmins or the Sind Moslem group nor any overtures from the Government benches. The Leader of the House took the first opportunity to welcome their participation once more in the proceedings of the Council.

It is not necessary to follow in detail the growth of the decision to form a Responsivist party. It may be sufficient to state that the policy of " responsive co-operation "—a slogan which at once appealed to his following in Maharashtra—originated with Mr. Tilak at the time of the Amritsar National Congress of 1919 and that the Maharashtra group of politicians, who ostensibly identified themselves with the non-co-operation movement and later on with the Swaraj Party, were at heart opposed to non-violent non-co-operation and again to continuous and consistent obstruction in the Councils. It is more than probable that it was the realisation during the Council sessions of 1925 of the limitations of continuous and consistent obstruction and chiefly the fact that such policy left them with nothing to bargain with if they desired to induce one or the other parties in the Legislative Council to coalesce with them, which finally induced them to send a joint communication, either during the October session or very shortly afterwards, to the executive council of the Swaraj Party, which was to meet at Nagpur on the 1st of November, raising the question whether the time had not come for the Swaraj Party to revise its programme so as to lay down clear principles in favour of the acceptance of office and the adoption of a policy of responsible co-operation. From their experience of the Bombay Legislative Council and of the Bombay Government, they were of opinion that the time had come for such a change of policy, an opinion which was endorsed in the same communication by several Independents of the Bombay Legislative Council who considered that the policy of non-acceptance of office by Swarajists had only given more influence, power and

patronage to their opponents and had thereby strengthened their future election prospects. Mr. M. R. Jayakar and Mr. N. C. Kelkar, when the Nagpur meeting proved abortive immediately resigned their membership of the Executive Council of the Swaraj Party in order not to embarrass their colleagues on that Council and to secure for themselves liberty of action in propagating the tenets of the Responsive Co-operation Party, and they subsequently, for the same reasons, resigned their seats in the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly respectively. The initiation of the Responsive Co-operation Party and the fact that a large majority of the Swaraj Party in the Legislative Council joined it, did not affect the tactics of the Swaraj Party in the Council, for the Responsivists in the Council felt that they were still bound by their election pledge of continuous and consistent opposition. In accordance with this decision they took part in the all-India Swaraj Party "Walk-out" demonstration from the Legislatures. They did not however walk out on the 8th March, but on the 10th ; but they absented themselves from the Legislative Council on the 8th and 9th. The facts regarding the delay in walking out are rather obscure, but it appears to have been due to the lack of response to their telegram to the General Secretary of the Party on the 5th which expressed readiness to obey the mandate of the Party but asked for permission to return to the Legislative Council on the 9th to participate in the proceedings in regard to the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Taxation Bills. Permission to do the latter was granted but the telegram was vague as to whether the walk-out should take place at once or after the discussions on the Back Bay Development Scheme and the Taxation Bills. Shortly before the Council proceedings commenced on the 8th they held a meeting to consider whether they should participate in the all-India demonstration on that day, but they decided instead to send a further telegram to the General Secretary of the Swaraj Party to clear up the point. The associate members of the Party numbering about 12 attended the Legislative Council as they were in any case exempt from taking part in the walk-out. When no reply was received on the 10th to their second telegram, the Party met and decided to walk out at once and abstained from all further sittings of the Council. They were far from unanimous. The Bombay group and some other members were anxious to attend on the days the Development Budget came before the House in order to oppose and reject it. They considered that a walk-out, after defeating Government, would make an excellent electioneering stunt, and, even if they themselves were defeated, such a defeat would at any rate give them the sympathies of their electors. The Responsivists, it was generally believed, were against the walk-out altogether, believing that they would only make themselves ridiculous, but apparently with their eyes on the coming elections, they agreed to defer to the wishes of their colleagues, so that they could then say that they had not betrayed the Party and the cause of the country. Only 15 members participated in the final decision which was carried by one vote. After question time, Mr. Bhopatkar, who had succeeded Mr. M. R. Jayakar as the leader of the Swaraj Party in the House, made a statement with the permission of the President, a copy of which accompanies (Appendix K), and walked out with his following without waiting to hear the reply of the Leader of the House who, while expressing regret at their decision, pointed out that in view of the small numbers who left, the House would remain perfectly competent to discharge its duties. On the night of the 10th, they received a telegram

from Mr. Motilal Nehru directing them to walk-out if the Development Scheme and the Taxation Bills were not on the agenda, and permitting them to come back when these came up for sanction. These subjects actually came up for discussion after the demonstration but the Party, having already come to a decision not to participate in the debates and having walked out, considered it derogatory to walk in again. In a speech in Poona Mr. Bhopatkar expressed his disapproval of the walk out, but said that he had done so in obedience to his Party's mandate. So far as the Indian press commented on the demonstration, outside the orthodox Swarajist section, none of them expressed approval or support but regarded the move as " a sordid piece of selfish manœuvring " to secure votes at the elections.

On the 26th July 1926 the final session of the second Reformed Council commenced. Owing to he appearance of two Bills on the agenda :

(1) Mr. Noor Mahomed's Bill making registration of marriages in the records of the Local Boards under the Local Boards Act of 1923 compulsory, and

(2) Mr. Bole's Bill to amend the law relating to emoluments claimable by watandar Hindu priests,

Mr. Bhopatkar applied for and obtained permission from the Special Committee of the Congress to re-enter the Council to oppose these Bills. He considered that the passage of Mr. Noor Mahomed's Bill would prove a fruitful source of irritation between the Hindus and Muhammadans in Sind and the presidency, and that Mr. Bole's Bill which, in his opinion, aimed at doing way with the attendance of Brahmin priests at non-Brahmin marriage ceremonies was deliberately aimed at the Brahmin community in Maharashtra. He added that several of his party had even given him to understand that they would deliberately attend, permission or no permission, as they held the claims of religion to be superior to party considerations. It was noticeable that while he selected as one of the reasons for the party attending the Council Mr. Noor Mahomed's Bill (a Bill which merely aimed at doing in respect of Local Boards what had already been incorporated, at the instance of Mr. Surve, the non-Brahmin leader, in the recent Major Municipalities Act in respect of municipalities but in which his party, responding to promptings from Sind, saw a sinister move to facilitate proof of marriage of Muhammadans who abducted Hindu women) he did not include Mr. Advani's Bill, which was also on the Council agenda, to enable the Hindus of the Province of Sind to restrict themselves to monogamous marriages, although he was aware that there was strong feeling among the Muhammadans that the clause extending penalties to the Hindu re-marrying during the lifetime of his wife after conversion to another religion was aimed directly at Hindu converts to Muhammadanism. It is also interesting to note that both Mr. Noor Mahomed and Mr. Advani were Swarajists. As it turned out, Mr. Advani, although present in Poona, did not attend to move the second reading of his Bill, and Mr. Noor Mahomed withdrew his Bill.

Mr. Bole's Bill passed all three readings after acrimonious discussion. It aimed at doing away with the obligations to utilise the services of watandar priests and to pay them even when their services were not required ; Government added a clause in the Select Committee removing the obligation upon the

watandar priest to perform religious rites when called upon. The Swarajists took part in the remaining debates of the session, although they had not received the sanction of the Special Committee of the Congress to do so.

The absence of Mr. Jayakar and the division between the Swarajists and the Responsivists affected the Party's organisation, discipline and mutual understanding on the floor of the House. The non-Brahmins had also discarded the leadership of Mr. Surve during the October session of 1925, as they considered that he had been too often inclined to give in to the Swarajists. No one took his place, with the result that they were leaderless and rudderless during the two last sessions of the Council. There was some talk among the Muhammadan members of the Council about forming a united Muhammadan Party but both this and the proposal to form a Nationalist Party with a platform sufficiently broad to attract moderate Swarajists who had not got in on the Swarajist ticket, the Liberals, the Independents and some of the Muhammadans, petered out owing to jealousy aroused in each case over the question of leadership.

(3) *Political agitation and parties outside the Reforms.*—The National Congress Party, Swarajists and No-Changers, and the Khilafatists were directly represented in the House and therefore, in actual fact there remained no parties outside the Reforms.

The following resolutions were moved during the lifetime of the last Legislative Council (1924-26) in regard to persons convicted for offences in connection with political movements. The Resolutions recommended—

(1) the release of Hasrat Mohani ;

(2) the release of Mr. R. R. Divakar ;

(3) the removal of restrictions imposed on Mr. V. D. Savarkar at the time of his conditional release.

(1) As a concession to the Mussalman feeling then prevailing, and having regard to the abnormal temperament of the prisoner in question, the Resolution, which was carried, was partially given effect to by Government.

(2) Mr. Divakar had been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine for printing a seditious book. The resolution was opposed by Government but they eventually accepted it with an amendment. Mr. Divakar refused to accept any conditions, and consequently no steps were taken to release him before the expiry of his sentence.

(3) Mr. Savarkar took part in the revolutionary activities in the year 1907 resulting, *inter alia*, in the murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson. He was sentenced to transportation for life and forfeiture of property by the Special Tribunal in 1910. He was released on conditions in 1924. The Resolution recommended the withdrawal or relaxation of the restrictions then placed on him. It was not carried.

In the Budget session of 1924 a Swarajist member moved a Resolution recommending that the ban against the entry of Mr. Horniman, who had been deported from British India under the Defence of India Act of 1916 and had since been refused a passport to India, be removed. The speakers in support of the Resolution were all prominent Swarajists or Associate Swarajists. The motion was lost by six votes—43 to 37.

Conclusion.

In conclusion I am to refer again to what has been by far the greatest hindrance to the success, or at least to a fair trial, of the reforms in this Province, *viz.*, its financial difficulties and the consequenet inability of its ministers to embark on any large schemes of social or educational advance. The effects of the Meston Settlement on the affairs of the Bombay Presidency have been set forth repeatedly and I am not to do more now than to emphasize its consequences on constitutional development. With reasonable funds the history of the working of the reforms scheme in this Presidency might have been very different from that presented.

On the other hand the Legislative Council has a large record of useful legislation to its credit. Its influence on both sides of the administration has been constant and considerable and its attitude on financial and general matters has on the whole not been unreasonable. If—as there is reason to think—there has been deterioration in some aspects of local self-government this has not been unexpected or unnatural and in other directions there has been an increase in non-official interest and co-operation in this important sphere of public work. The political atmosphere has improved and, though communal differences exist, and sporadic disturbances have arisen from their evil influence, the tension is much less acute here than in Northern India. It does constitute however one of the dangers and difficulties in further advance. It has been unfortunate from the point of view of the value of the scheme as an experiment that the party having the largest following in the last Council refused to take office while their effectiveness as a constitutional opposition was much hampered by changing and irregular lines of action arising out of outside political influences.

A.

Statement showing the number of cases of embezzlement of Local Funds with both Municipal and District Local Boards.

1916-17	3
1917-18	5
1918-19	15
1919-20	19
1920-21	30
1921-22	16
1922-23	38
1923-24	40
1924-25	51

Arrears of collections of Revenue in Municipalities in the Presidency including Sind.

Year.	Arrears.	Number of Municipalities with a bad record in matter of arrears.
	Rs.	
1916-17	2,96,555	7
1917-18	4,30,882	6
1918-19	4,06,590	7
1919-20	3,73,371	16
1920-21	5,04,741	19
1921-22	8,72,575	34
1922-23	10,89,825	36
1923-24	10,58,068	37
1924-25	11,37,500	64

Total number of Municipalities in existence—155.

Similar information not available in case of District Local Boards as all revenue except perhaps in the case of new toll bars is collected by the revenue authorities.

Prior to the year 1923-24 information as to the number of Municipalities in which Councillors were found to be in arrears is not available. For the years 1923-24 and 1924-25, the figures are as follows :—

Year.	Number of Municipalities in which some Councillors refused to pay taxes or evaded payments.
1923-24	10
1924-25	27

Average percentage of attendance of all Members (elected and nominated) at each meeting of the Municipalities.

1916-17	63·79
1917-18	58·51
1918-19	57·34
1919-20	57·94
1920-21	58·31
1921-22	67·30
1922-23	58·20
1923-24	56·31
1924-25	56·79

Cases in which School Boards and Local Authorities have come into conflict owing to communal or personal friction.

(1) Surat Municipality—

Cause of conflict primarily political. The Chairman of the School Board holds moderate views while the President of the Municipality is a Swarajist. The conflict between these two schools of thought has been so intense that the working of the School Board has been interfered with seriously, both parties resorting to a pinpricking policy.

(2) In the case of Broach Municipality the Swarajists are in a majority on the School Board while the Local Authority are not prepared to go so far as they are.

Actual clash occurred over the question of introduction of two text books into the school curriculum. The Swarajists approved and introduced these text books. The Local Authority required the cancellation of this order and enforced their demand by withholding supplies.

(3) Belgaum District Local Board—

The friction is due chiefly to personal rivalry between two members of the non-Brahmin party. The matter has been referred to the Civil Courts by way of an election petition. Meanwhile educational affairs are in a bad way.

Sholapur District Local Board—

Friction between the Chairman of the School Board and President, District Local Board—both of whom are Marathas—representing different schools of thought. The Administrative Officer, an experienced Government servant, whose services were lent to the Local Authority, was forced to take leave preparatory to retirement to escape from an impossible position.

The District Local Board administration in this district has deteriorated so much owing to the incompetence of the President, quarrels of the members and employment of inefficient and unqualified subordinates, that the Collector is recommending the suspension of the Board and appointment of a small nominated Committee to carry on its duties.

The Collector of Nasik reports as follows regarding the District Local Board, Nasik :

The District Local Board, Nasik, is an utterly hopeless body. The President does not know English, was elected solely for party reasons and is incapable of discharging the duties of his office. Nothing is ever done and letters from the Collector and other officers remain unanswered for months together.

Cases of tendency to make appointments under School Boards on Communal lines.

1. District Local Board, East Khandesh.
2. District Local Board, Sholapur.
3. District Local Board, Ahmednagar.
4. District Local Board, Dharwar.
5. District Local Board, Ratnagiri.
6. District Local Board, Karachi.
7. District Local Board, Hyderabad.
8. District Local Board, Larkana.
9. District Local Board, Sukkur.
10. District Local Board, Upper Sind.
11. District Local Board, Poona.

Where the non-Brahmins have had a majority, they have almost in every case attempted to oust the Brahmins regardless of all considerations of efficiency. The attempt in Poona was to attempt to instal a Brahmin permanently, that is, for a period longer than the usual period of appointment, *viz.*, three years.

N. B.—District Local Boards in Gujarat have refused to take over control of schools.

Instances in which efforts have been made to secure special considerations for a section of the public.

(1) Persistent demand for scholarships, hostels, schools, colleges, on communal lines; even separate messing arrangements in hostels demanded.

(2) Attempt to throw open free studentships in such a manner that the bulk of the Marathas of the three Konkan Districts would be benefited, the process being definition of the term poor so as to include almost the entire Maratha population in these three districts.

List of Government Bills which were passed between July 1923 and December 1926.

(1) *Bombay IX of 1923.*—A Bill further to amend the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1890 (Bill no. I of 1923).

(2) *Bombay XI of 1923.*—A Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to prostitution in the City of Bombay (Bill no. IV of 1923).

(3) *Bombay VII of 1924.*—A Bill further to amend the Prince of Wales Museum Act, 1909 (Bill no. XIII of 1924).

(4) *Bombay I of 1924.*—A Bill to amend the Bombay Village Panchayats Act, 1920.

(5) *Bombay II of 1924.*—A Bill to amend the Bombay Public Conveyances Act, 1920.

(6) *Bombay III of 1924.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions) Act, 1918 and the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions no. 2) Act, 1918.

(7) *Bombay IV of 1924.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901.

(8) *Bombay V of 1924.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Port Trust Act, 1879.

(9) *Bombay VI of 1924.*—A Bill further to amend the Karachi Port Trust Act, 1886.

(10) *Bombay VIII of 1924.*—The Sir Chinubhai Madhavlal Ranchhodlal Baronetcy Bill.

(11) *Bombay IX of 1924.*—A Bill further to amend the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871.

(12) *Bombay X of 1924.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Smoke Nuisances Act, 1912.

(13) *Bombay XI of 1924.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Public Conveyances Act, 1920.

(14) *Bombay XII of 1924.*—A Bill to determine the salary of the President of the Bombay Legislative Council.

(15) *Bombay XIII of 1924.*—A Bill to make further provision for the custody and protection of children and young persons and for the custody, trial and punishment of youthful offenders and for the amendment of the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897, in its application to the Presidency of Bombay.

(16) *Bombay I of 1925.*—A Bill to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888.

17) *Bombay II of 1925.*—A Bill to amend the Local Boards Act, 1923.

(18) *Bombay III of 1925.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions) Act, 1918 and the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions no. 2) Act, 1918.

(19) *Bombay IV of 1925.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Abkari Act, 1878.

(20) *Bombay V of 1925.*—A Bill to make better provision in the City of Bombay and elsewhere in the Presidency of Bombay to prevent the adulteration of articles of food and the sale of such adulterated articles.

(21) *Bombay VI of 1925.*—A Bill to impose a tax on the totalizator betting.

(22) *Bombay VII of 1925.*—A Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the co-operative societies in the Presidency of Bombay.

(23) *Bombay VIII of 1925.*—A Bill to regulate and control certain contracts for the purchase and sale of securities in the City of Bombay.

(24) *Bombay X of 1925.*—A Bill to amend the Bombay Children Act, 1924.

(25) *Bombay XII of 1925.*—A Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888.

(26) *Bombay XIII of 1925.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923.

(27) *Bombay XIV of 1925.*—A Bill to amend the Bombay Village Panchayats Act, 1920.

(28) *Bombay XV of 1925.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901.

(29) *Bombay XVI of 1925.*—A Bill to transfer the powers and duties of the Trustees for the Improvement of the City of Bombay to, and to vest the property and rights vested in the said Trustees in the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay.

(30) *Bombay XVII of 1925.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Port Trust Act, 1879.

(31) *Bombay XVIII of 1925.*—A Bill to give wider powers in the management of municipal affairs in certain Cities.

(32) *Bombay I of 1926.*—A Bill to amend the Indian Stamp (Bombay Amendment) Act, 1922.

(33) *Bombay II of 1926.*—A Bill further to amend the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, in its application to the Presidency of Bombay.

(34) *Bombay III of 1926.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Court Fees Act, 1870.

(35) *Bombay IV of 1926.*—A Bill further to amend the Cattle-trespass Act, 1871 ; in its application to the Presidency of Bombay.

(36) *Bombay V of 1926.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Prevention of Gambling Act, 1887.

(37) *Bombay VI of 1926.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Civil Courts Act, 1869.

(38) *Bombay VII of 1926.*—A Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the Courts in Sind.

(39) *Bombay VIII of 1926.*—A Bill further to amend the Bombay Por Trust Act, 1879.

(40) *Bombay IX of 1926.*—A Bill to amend the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act, 1923.

(41) *Bombay X of 1926.*—A Bill to amend the City Municipalities Act, 1925.

(42) *Bombay XII of 1926.*—A Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Police Act, 1902.

H.

List of private Bills which were introduced between July 1923 and December 1926, but were either withdrawn or thrown out.

(1) A Bill to amend the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions) Act, 1918 (Bom. II of 1918) and the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions no. 2) Act, 1918 (Bom. VII of 1918), by Mr. Addyman.

(2) A Bill to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, by Mr. S. T. Kambli.

(3) A Bill to amend the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions) Act, 1918 (Bom. II of 1917) and the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions no. 2) Act, 1918 (Bom. VII of 1918) as amended by Bombay Act III of 1923, by Mr. K. F. Nariman.

(4) A Bill to alter the constitution and widen the powers of Municipalities by Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar.

(5) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Town Planning Act, 1915, by Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar.

(6) A Bill further to amend the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871, by Mr. J. C. Swaminarayan.

(7) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879, by Mr. R. D. Shinde.

(8) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, by Mr. P. G. Joshi.

(9) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Land Revenue Code, by Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar.

(10) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, by Mr. P. G. Joshi.

(11) A Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Improvement Act, 1898, by Mr. P. G. Joshi.

(12) A Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888, by Mr. S. K. Bole.

(13) A Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Improvement Act, 1898, by Mr. H. M. Rahimtoola.

(14) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions Act) II of 1918 and the Bombay Rent (War Restrictions no. 2) Act VII of 1918, as amended by the Bombay Act XXX of 1920 and Bombay Act III of 1924, by Mr. M. B. Velkar.

(15) A Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888, by Mr. A. N. Surve (Bill no. XXII of 1927).

(16) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, by Mr. Noor Mohamed.

(17) A Bill to enable the Hindus of Sind to restrict themselves to monogamous marriages by Mr. D. V. Advani.

(18) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Prevention of Gambling Act, by Mr. J. Baptista.

(19) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Mamlatdars Courts Act, 1906, by Mr. D. R. Patil.

(20) A Bill to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, by Sardar Dulabawa Raisingji, Thakore of Kerwada.

(21) A Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Police Act, 1902, by Mr. A. N. Surve.

(22) A Bill further to amend Bombay Act III of 1874, by Mr. R. S. Nekaljay.

(23) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Civil Courts Act, 1869, by Mr. B. G. Pahalajani.

(24) A Bill further to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, by Mr. J. C. Swaminarayan.

(25) A Bill further to amend the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901, by Mr. A. N. Surve.

Statement showing demands rejected by the Legislative Council.

1924-25.

	Reduction made.
6, Excise—	Rs.
(1) Revision of pay of Superintendents of Excise	16,200
(2) Pay of Chief Inspectors and Inspectors of Excise	16,932
(3) Pay for Deputy Commissioners of Excise	19,700
24, Administration of Justice—	
(4) New District Court for Kaira	25,667
(5) Establishment for revival of 5 appointments of Registrars of District Courts	4,200
(6) Appointment of an additional City Magistrate at Hyderabad ..	2,950
26, Police—	
(7) Conveyance allowance to Head Quarters Deputy Superintendents of Police and Inspectors in charge of Superintendents of Police's Office in the Presidency	9,120
(8) Entertainment of two additional Sergeants at Ahmedabad ..	4,180
(9) Restoration of Mounted Police in Poona and East Khandesh Districts	91,648
(10) Opening of 6 more schools for the children of Police	11,021
(11) Additional Police in the Borsal Taluka	50,000
31, Education—	
(12) Extra post of Demonstrator in Chemistry	900
(13) Revision of rates of fees, etc., for the work in connection with the Vernacular Final Examination	9,299
(14) Provident Fund for teachers in non-pensionable service ..	25,000
32, Medical—	
(15) Post of Assistant to Dean, Grant Medical College	3,080

	Reduction made. Rs.
33, Public Health—	
(16) Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Health	7,200
(17) Two Senior Assistants to the Consulting Surveyor to Government	4,300
35, Industries—	
(18) Expenditure in India in connection with the British Empire Exhibition	17,305
(19) Total demand under "Industries" reduced by Rs. 23,000 ..	23,000
37, Miscellaneous Departments—	
(20) Provision for Director of Information and his establishment (out of this Rs. 20,000 were restored subsequently by moving a supplementary grant).	40,000
1925-27.	
31, Education—	
(1) Building grant to Bishop's High School	5,000
32, Medical—	
(2) Supply of Orthopœdic appliances to Hospitals	6,000
41, Civil Works—	
(3) Additional establishment for creation of two temporary Districts in the Deccan Irrigation Division	1,12,680
55, Construction of Irrigation works—	
(4) Works expenditure on Lloyd Barrage and canals Construction ..	33,80,000
(5) Various petty irrigation works	31,700
60, Civil Works not charged to Revenue—	
(6) Judicial Buildings at Jalgaon	66,500
(7) Demolition of old stables along the northeast Boundary of the Head Police Office, Bombay	1,00,000
(8) Construction of quarters for eight Inspectors in the Compound of Head Police Office	1,00,000
1926-27.	
31, Education—	
(1) Provision for the temporary establishment for training schools for girls	840
(2) Provision for the Superintendent of Pottery in the School of Art	8,400
(3) Provision for Pottery Establishment in the School of Art ..	8,373

Statement showing the recommendations of the Reforms Enquiry Committee applicable to the Bombay Presidency which have been given effect to.

No. of recommendation in the summary appended to the Committee's Report.	Subject.
9	Removal of sex disqualification of women for election or nomination to the Provincial Legislative Council.
12	Modification of disqualification from being a member of the Bombay Legislative Council on account of conviction by a criminal court.

No. of recommendation in the summary appended to the Committee's Report.	Subject.
19	Giving a Minister who has resigned the right to make in the Council a personal explanation of the causes of his resignation.
20	Amendment of the rules of executive business.
21	Amendment of clause (2) of rule 2 of the Transferred subjects (Temporary Administration) Rules.
24(*a*)	Transfer of the subject "Land Acquisition" in so far as it relates to land acquisition for purposes of a transferred subject.
24(*c*)	Removal of restriction in regard to the transfer of the subject "Import of Stores and Stationery".
27(*i*)	Deletion of provisions making the control of the establishment and the regulation of the constitution and functions of New Universities subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature.
30	Motion which may be made regarding Ministers.
31	Amendment of rule 30 of the Bombay Legislative Council Rules.
33	Six months' residential qualification not to be required from candidates for European seats in legislative bodies.
34, 35	Representation of depressed classes and factory labourers in Provincial Legislative Council.
37	Member of Council in charge of the Finance Department not to be in charge of any of the main spending departments.
38	Provision for powers to appoint Financial Advisers to the Ministers.
39	Application of Devolution Rule 31 to the distribution between Reserved and Transferred Departments of any revenue which may become available during the course of a financial year.

APPENDIX "K."

Mr. Bhopatkar's Statement.

At the meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council on Wednesday after question time Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, the Leader of the Council Swaraj Party rose to make a statement. While he was doing so, Mr. R. D. Shinde (Nasik District) rose and asked whether Mr. Bhopatkar was in order in addressing the House.

The President having replied in the affirmative, Mr. Bhopatkar proceeded. He said :—" In view of the fact that the Government of India have given no response to the demand for a further advance towards Swaraj made by the nation through its united representatives in the Legislative Assembly, the General Council of the All-India Swaraj Party with the approval and concurrence of the All-India Congress Committee has issued a mandate to the Swarajist members of the Legislature in the country to withdraw from them, and we, as members of that august body, are bound to obey the same. Though some of us have our differences of opinion with regard to the actual working of the policy and programme of the Swaraj Party, we feel that this is neither the time nor the occasion to evince or to act upon such differences. I wish to say on behalf of my Swarajist colleagues here that notwthstanding our differences we are all absolutely united in our feelings of utter dissatisfaction and condemnation of the most callous indifference exhibited by the power-that-be towards the national demand for further advance upon the present system of Government. My experience tells me that the policy pursued by this Government also has been most retrograde in character and on lines calculated to negative whatever little good the Reforms Act is capable of yielding. I, therefore, hereby call upon all my Swarajist colleagues in this Council to walk out of this House as desired by the General Council of the All-India Swaraj Party and the All-India Congress Committee of the Indian National Congress.

BENGAL.

Letter no. 1243-A.—D., dated the 27th June 1927.

From—The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

To—The Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to submit the report called for in your letter no. F. 181-27-Public, dated the 26th March 1927, showing the working of the reformed constitution up to the end of the lifetime of the last Legislative Council. The report submitted in July 1923 covered the period from the commencement of the Government of India Act up to the middle of July 1923, when the first Council was still in existence. That Council was dissolved on the 24th September 1923 and the members of the new Council were sworn in on the 22nd January 1924. To avoid complications this report covers only the life of the second Council from January 1924 to the 22nd September 1926, when it was dissolved. It is arranged according to the paragraphs of the instructions of 1923, but certain matters which were not specifically mentioned in the scheme of 1923 are included in the report in their appropriate places.

2. This report was shown in draft to the Members of the Executive Council and the Ministers who were invited to offer any criticisms, and in its final form embodies all the relevant criticisms and suggestions that were received.

A.—The Executive Government.

A(i).—Allocation of funds to reserved and transferred subjects.

The transferred subjects were administered by His Excellency the Governor under the provisions of the Transferred Subjects (Temporary Administration) Rules from the 1st September 1924 to the 12th June 1925. The transfer of all transferred subjects was suspended from the 13th June 1925 to the end of the period under review; during this period there were no transferred subjects and all subjects were administered by the Governor in Council as reserved subjects. During the period prior to the 1st September 1924 no difficulty was experienced in arriving at an agreement between the Executive Council and Ministers under rule 31 of the Devolution Rules and it was not necessary to have resort to the procedure laid down in Devolution Rule 32 or 35 as a result of failure to agree. The allotment of surplus monies, if any, between the reserved and transferred subjects was always arrived at by a joint meeting of the Executive Council and Ministers sitting together.

Excluding the debit heads, the proportion of funds allocated to " reserved " and " transferred " subjects in the three budgets presented during the period is shown below. The " transferred " subjects as here shown are those which would have been under the charge of Ministers if the constitution had not been suspended :—

	Reserved per cent.	Transferred per cent.
1924-25	67	33
1925-26	66	34
1926-27	64	36

The corresponding figures for the three budgets presented between the inauguration of the Reforms and the middle of July 1923 were as follows:—

	Reserved per cent.	Transferred per cent.
1921-22	70	30
1922-23	66	34
1923-24	66	34

The above figures show that during the period the transfer of "transferred" subjects was suspended, the major portion of the surplus monies was allotted to the "transferred" subjects and no advantage was taken of the suspension of the constitution on the transferred side to expand the "reserved" subjects at the expense of the "transferred" subjects.

The attitude of the Legislative Council towards the expenditure on "reserved" subjects remained the same as during the previous triennium and any increase in expenditure, no matter how essential to the efficient administration of these subjects, was subjected to severe criticism and opposition.

A(ii).—Re-inforcemnt or readjustment of Secretariat or other headquarters establishment necessitated by the Reforms.

During the term of the second Council there was practically no increase in the scale of expenditure incurred on the Secretariat or other headquarters establishment by the introduction of the Reforms. In the Legislative Department a temporary post of Deputy Secretary was made permanent under the designation of First Assistant Secretary and in the Education Department a post of Assistant Secretary was created, that of Registrar being abolished. The substitution of an elected for a nominated President resulted in a saving of Rs. 500 per month.

A(iii).—Co-operation between the Executive Government and the Legislature with special reference to permanent or special committees of the latter and the action taken in pursuance of their recommendations and the use of Council Secretaries.

1. *Standing Committees.*—The system of standing committees was a failure from a practical point of view. The following remarks made about one of these committees were true of them all: "The Committee has not proved of much value, the non-official members of Council seldom taking a genuine interest. Some of the members of the Committee prefer to reserve their criticisms of the schemes for their budget speech, and if they do make any criticism it is usually of a destructive nature. They have not done any constructive or effective work on the whole."

2. (*a*) *Committee on Public Accounts.*—The Committee on Public Accounts met annually during the period under review. Such members of the Committee as attended the meetings (and they were generally few in number) evinced considerable interest in examining the accounts with the aid of the Audit and Appropriation Reports. The relations between the Committee and the Finance Department have always been most cordial.

(*b*) *Special Committees.*—Eleven Select Committees were appointed to consider Bills introduced before the Legislative Council, six for Government Bills and 5 for private Bills. The most important were those on the Howrah Bridge Bill and the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill. The former held six meetings and the latter twenty-one, only one of which failed for want of a quorum. So many variations were introduced into the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill by the Select Committee that Government decided not to proceed with it during the lifetime of the Council. Generally the attendance of non-officials at committee meetings was satisfactory.

A special Committee was appointed by Government in pursuance of a resolution of the Council to consider whether an increase could be effected in the number of holidays provided for the Muhammadan festival of *Id-ul-fitr* without increasing the total number of holidays prescribed for Muhammadan festivals. The decision of the Committee was against the proposal.

Another Committee was formed as the result of a resolution passed on the 9th December 1925 to enquire into the causes of the pollution of the river Hooghly and to recommend measures to prevent pollution in future, but its report has not yet been submitted to Government.

Another special Committee was appointed in 1926 to enquire into the existing system of piece-work printing in the Bengal Government Press, to consider the grievances of the piece-work employees therein, and to propose remedies therefor. Eleven recommendations were made by the Commitee, and of these eight have been accepted subject to certain modifications while the remaining three are still under the consideration of Government.

(*c*) *Council Secretaries.*—Provision was made in the budget estimates of 1925-26 for the appointment of two Council Secretaries at a monthly salary of Rs. 2,000 each. In moving the demand for " general administration " Sir Hugh Stephenson explained that it was contemplated that a Council Secretary would be a wholetime officer corresponding roughly to a Parliamentary Under Secretary in England, but that the Council had been given an opportunity of putting their views on the subject before Government. If the Council did not agree that a man of the type proposed was required, they could show their disagreement either by refusing the salary or by reducing it to a figure which would indicate that they required not a wholetime man, but a part time man, more of the nature of a Parliamentary Private Secretary. Unfortunately the proposal was never discussed, as after the demand for Ministers' salaries had been refused, a motion by Sir Hugh Stephenson to reduce the total grant by the sum allotted for the establishment of the Ministers, including the proposed Council Secretaries, was accepted without discussion.

A(iv).—The Reforms of Local Self-Government.

(1) *Calcutta Corporation.*—The new Calcutta Municipal Act came into force with effect from 1st April 1924 and at the general election, which was held in March 1924, the majority of the seats was captured by the Swarajist or Congress Party. The late Mr. C. R. Das was elected the first Mayor of Calcutta and a Muhammadan gentleman was elected the Deputy Mayor and under their guidance the well-drilled Swarajist caucus administered municipal affairs from a purely political instead of a civic point of view. The authors of

the new Act contemplated that the Mayor should occupy a position *vis-a-vis* the Corporation in meeting similar to that of the President of a Legislative Ciuncil while he was to be the represehtative of the Corporation for purposes of ceremonial, but from the outset Mr. Das established himself as the Municipal Dictator. This usurpation of power was facilitated by the provision of the new Act which made the appointment of the Chief Executive Officer elective and placed the Executive in direct immediate subordination to the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors. The result has been continuous encroachments on the powers of the Chief Executive Officer, which have reduced the initiative and authority of that post to a mere shadow. In consequence there is little check on the extravagance of the administration while there is growing indiscipline among the staff.

In administrative matters the Corporation has devoted its attention mainly to the spread of primary education with the result that the number of Corporation schools is reported to have risen from 19 with 2,500 pupils at the end of 1923-24 to 141 at the end of 1926-27, 96 for boys with 11,600 pupils and 45 for girls with 5,600 pupils. A good deal of attention has also been paid to public health and medical relief and in many cases grants have been made to small privately managed and owned institutions. No real progress has been made with the solution of the pressing drainage problems and the progress made with the scheme for the improvement of the water-supply is not all that could be desired. The most objectionable relaxations of the building rules have been frequently permitted and the interests of the public subordinated to private or party claims. Arrears of unpaid taxes have accumulated and the Executive s prevented from using coercive measures to realise them from persons of influence. The final result is that the Corporation's closing balances have been greatly depleted and its borrowing capacity reduced in spite of the warnings given by its responsible executive officers.

Until the administration is conducted in the interests of the inhabitants of Calcutta and not of a political party the chances of improved administration are small. There were signs of disintegration in the Swaraj party towards the end of the last Council and, though recent events have failed to dislodge the Swaraj party from its predominant position in municipal affairs, that party is now largely dependent on its Muhammadan allies, whose defection may at any time place the Swarajists in a minority and give the administration of municipal affairs a new orientation.

(2) *District and Local Boards and Municipalities outside Calcutta.*

(*a*) *District Boards and Local Boards.*—The elections to these bodies were generally conducted on party or communal lines, but it was only in Midnapore that the reforms and the position in the Legislative Council had any repercussion on the administration of District and Local Boards. There Mr. Sasmal who was a prominent non-co-operator and had been mainly instrumental in bringing about the abolition of the union boards in the Midnapore district, was elected Chairman. Before his election was confirmed he gave Sir Surendra Nath Banarji an assurance that as Chairman he would " loyally carry out the principles and provisions of the Local Self-Government Act and of local institutions established in furtherance of " that Act and added that after the Council elections of 1923 he would help in the establishment of the

union boards. He failed to carry out this undertaking and his administration was extravagant, autorcatic and unconstitutional. Elsewhere most of the chairmen and vice-chairmen, both of District and Local Boards, whatever their political sympathies were, did their best to discharge the responsibilities imposed on them, even in some cases at the sacrifice of their private interests. Their difficulties were financial, not political, and were not to be attributed in any way to the reformed constitution. At the same time the fact that the greater part of the income of District Boards is collected for them by Government was of considerable assistance to the Chairman who thus escaped many of the difficulties with which the chairmen and vice-chairmen of municipalities are faced.

(*b*) *Municipalities outside Calcutta.*—Conditions are very similar in municipalities outside Calcutta. Elections in places may have been conducted on party lines, but the administration continued in the old way and practically nowhere did the political situation react on the details of municipal administration. For outside Calcutta most municipalities are poor and party funds were not helped by their control. In Howrah the Swarajist party gradually became more and more prominent in opposition, but this was due largely to personal causes. Generally speaking it is correct to say that neither the standards nor principles of municipal administration were affected by the working of the reformed constitution during the period under report, save in so far as the transfer of the control of these bodies to a Minister had made some of them less inclined than before to attend to the advice and instructions of local inspecting officers.

A proposal to amend the Bengal Municipal Act on liberal lines was rejected by the Council during the period under report. For when a motion was made in December 1925 to introduce the Bengal Municipal Bill which had been prepared in 1923 and, after introduction in the Council on the 16th August 1923, circulated for opinion, it was defeated by a large majority.

(3) *The Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919.*—Progress continued to be made in the establishment of union boards and the number at the end of December 1926 was 2,524 as compared with 1,351 in July 1923. This advance was due partly to an increase in the number of Government officers available for fostering these institutions and partly to a growing appreciation of their value. At the same time, in large areas in which the necessary preparatory work has been done, and in which it ought to have been possible to establish union boards, the extension of the Act has been prevented by the obstruction of extremist politicians, who have made use of every possible misrepresentation to hinder the creation of union boards. This obstruction has been warmly supported by the Swaraj Party and its press, and in spite of the fact that the Act is working successfully where it has been introduced, the attitude of the Swaraj Party to the Village Self-Government Act is the same as that which it has adopted towards the Government of India Act, *viz.*, that it is of no value at all and should be rejected because there is official control. It is largely on account of this obstruction that full advantage has not been taken of a measure which provides ample opportunities for learning the meaning of representative government. The attitude of the District Boards and Local Boards to the union boards was generally sympathetic, but in Bankura attempts

have been made by the non-co-operators with the help of the Chairman of the District Board to prevent the introduction of these local bodies, so far without success. In Bakarganj district, however, in consequence of local opposition in 1926, it was decided to withdraw the Bengal Village Self-Government Act from two unions in the Patuakhali subdivision. As a result of this Government reviewed their policy in the matter of extension of the Village Self-Government Act and decided to extend the Act by whole subdivisions at a time and emphasised the necessity of thorough preparatory work by Circle Officers and Sub-divisional Officers before the Act is introduced in any subdivision.

(4) *Non-co-operation activities in local self-government institutions.*—The Congress or Swaraj Party obtained its most striking success in Calcutta where it captured the administration with the results described above. Outside Calcutta many professing non-co-operators were successful in being elected as municipal commissioners or members of District or Local Boards and as chairmen of these local bodies, but practically nowhere was there in consequence any marked change in the methods or spirit of administration, or any attempt to injure the local institutions of which they were members. As noted above Mr. B. N. Sasmal, a leading Swarajist, who was elected Chairman of the Midnapore District Board in 1923 and held office until April 1926, was a complete failure as a Chairman and in connection with one incident a Committee of the District Board on which the Swarajists were in a majority came to the following finding :—

> " We have dealt with the Chairman's case in detail. We now hold that the Chairman's constant negligence of supervision, as he ought to do as a responsible executive head of the board in this most important department, has caused the situation to be aggravated to a great extent."

When for political and party reasons he was re-elected Chairman in April 1926 Government declined to approve his election and appointed another Swarajist in his place. But this case was exceptional and in general the Swarajists on local bodies in the mufassil did their best to maintain and in some cases to raise the level of administration in their respective areas.

(5) *Imposition and collection of taxes.*—The remarks made under this head in Mr. Birley's demi-official of 21st July 1923 hold good for the period 1924-26. The refusal to allow the recovery of arrears by distraint in the case of important and influential party adherents in Calcutta has been alluded to already. In the mufassil municipalities the bad old system of allowing arrears to accumulate persisted, but for this local not political reasons are responsible. In Calcutta any proposal to raise the rates would make the party responsible for it most unpopular and so the money for popular schemes of education, etc., is found at present from closing balances. But there will be a day of reckoning soon. In the mufassil municipalities the incidence of taxation has risen slightly, but is still below what it might be and many municipalities prefer a low standard of municipal administration to raising the rates on the valuations and improving the standards.

In urban areas there is usually a margin within which an increase in income is feasible, but in rural areas, so far as District Board revenue is

concerned, this is not so. For the collections of cesses are made by Government, which also makes the valuation, and the rate fixed by the District Board is usually the highest allowed by law. An increase in revenue is not therefore within the competence of the District Board and any augmentation must come from Government, or by an amendment of the law regarding the rate at which existing cesses are levied, or by imposing new cesses for education, public health and other public purposes. No such proposal has yet been put forward by any political party, though Government is elaborating a proposal for an education cess. In addition an expert committee has been appointed to advise regarding the lines on which a bill can be drawn up to authorise the levy of a provincial rate on motor vehicles. It is contemplated that from the proceeds of this rate a grant might be made to local bodies for the maintenance of roads.

Union boards have power to impose local taxation for local purposes, but the conservatism of the population and the almost universal unwillingness of the landholding classes to submit to further taxation for local needs have so far prevented anything like full use being made by union boards of their powers of taxation for meeting local requirements. But this is not a result of the reforms, it is due to the conditions under which any reforms scheme must be worked.

A(v).—The working of Dyarchy.

During the period covered by this report there were Ministers only from January to August 1924 and again in March 1925, so that little further experience could be gained of the working of the Dyarchical System. When there were Ministers, Government continued to be worked on a unitary principle in accordance with Lord Lytton's policy, and the distinctions between reserved and transferred subjects were eliminated as far as possible.

A(vi).—Financial difficulties and the Meston Settlement.

The difficulties of dyarchy were intensified by the financial troubles amid which the province laboured during the lifetime of the second Council, in consequence of the inequitable Meston Settlement and the period of trade depression which followed the inauguration of the Reforms. In the words of Lord Lytton :—

" The Meston Settlement has been a millstone round the necks of successive Governments, rendered all the heavier by the period of trade depression which followed the inauguration of the Reforms. The remission of all provincial contributions, which we are promised in the near future, will not help but only accentuate the handicap which has been placed upon Bengal. For the inequity consisted not in the amount of our contribution to the Government of India, but in the inadequacy of the sources of revenue made available to the province. Those who criticise the failure of the Reforms in Bengal must not therefore ascribe it to any special perversity in the Bengali race, but should realise that apart from the defects of the constitution itself, which Bengal has shared in common with other parts of India, this province has been placed under a handicap peculiar to itself."

A(vii).—Relations between the Finance Department and the Ministers.

In the report dealing with the working of the reformed constitution up to 1923, it was observed that there had been no difficulty in arriving at an agreement between the Executive Council and the Ministers as to the allocation of funds between reserved and transferred subjects, but that as Ministers became more familiar with financial procedure there had been an increasing demand on the part of Ministers for funds at the expense of the reserved subjects. Their feelings on the subject found expression when their opinions were obtained in connection with the enquiry made by the Muddiman Committee in 1924, and the view then presented was in favour of a separate purse with a separate Finance Secretary to safeguard the interests of the transferred departments. The considerations which impelled this recommendation sprung from one sole cause—insufficiency of funds for the transferred subjects—a state of affairs which would have subsisted, under the existing financial settlement, whether the purse was separate or joint: and the main consideration which had justified the negation of the original idea of a separate purse, *viz.*, the fact that a joint purse did bring Ministers into association to some extent with the administration of reserved subjects through the settlement of allocation of revenues, was entirely overlooked. There was also a certain amount of feeling that the transferred departments were unduly hampered by the control of the Finance Department. This feeling had, however, no justification, it was based on an imperfect understanding of the true functions of the Finance Department, on an imperfect idea of the principles of financial control and of the canons of financial propriety which must be observed by any Government however constituted. The Government of India are in possession of the views of the Ministers and of the local Government on these subjects. They were presented to them with the reports submitted in connection with the enquiry by the Muddiman Committee. Since then, as the Government of India are aware, there were no Ministers in Bengal until the beginning of the present calendar year, and since that time no further difficulties have arisen. The finances of the province have improved, but progress will be crippled unless there is an improvement by some revision of the existing settlement; and this may lead the present Ministers (one of them was an advocate of the views above expressed) again to urge some modification of the existing procedure.

B.—The Legislature.

B(i).—Government Legislation.

During the year 1924 no Government Acts were passed by the Bengal Legislative Council.

In 1925 the Council passed five Acts, *viz.*,—

(1) The Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1925,

(2) The President's Salary Act, 1925,

(3) The Bengal Highways Act, 1925,

(4) The Dacca University (Amendment) Act, 1925,

(5) The Bengal Food Adulteration (Amendment) Act, 1925,

while one Act (the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925), which was rejected by the Council on the 7th January 1925, was made by certification

The first allowed the status of a settled *raiyat* to any person who had held land continuously for not less than a period of twelve years in an area constituted as a village under the Bengal Tenancy Act, notwithstanding that the village had been constituted at a date subsequent to the commencement of the period of twelve years. The fourth provided that Government should contribute annually to the University of Dacca a sum of five and a half lakhs of rupees. The others do not call for any comment.

In 1926 the Council passed—

(1) Bengal Act I of 1926 [the Calcutta Port (Amendment) Act, 1926], an Act further to amend the Calcutta Port Act, 1890, to secure the provision of shelters for passengers.

(2) Bengal Act II of 1926 [the Calcutta Improvement (Amendment) Act, 1926], an Act further to amend the Calcutta Improvement Act, 1911.

(3) Bengal Act III of 1926 [the Presidency Area (Emergency) Security Act, 1926], an Act for safeguarding life and property in the Presidency area in times of emergency. Under this Act the local Government are empowered at any time to declare that a " state of emergency " exists in an area styled the " Presidency Area " which includes Calcutta and the adjoining police-stations in Howrah and 24-Parganas. Once a state of emergency has been declared, the Commissioner of Police or the Local District Magistrate can order any turbulent character to remove from the said area or in certain cases from Bengal. A right of appeal to the local Government is also provided in the Act.

(4) Bengal Act IV of 1926 (the Howrah Bridge Act, 1926), an Act to provide for the construction, maintenance and control of a new bridge across the river Hooghly between Calcutta and Howrah.

(5) Bengal Act V of 1926 [the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1926], an Act further to amend the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923.

(6) Bengal Act VI of 1926 [the Calcutta Port (Amendment) Act, 1926], an Act further to amend the Calcutta Port Act, 1890, to increase the number of representatives of Indian Commerce on the Calcutta Port Commission.

(7) Bengal Act VII of 1926 [the Bengal Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) Act, 1926], an act to amend the Bengal Cruelty to Animals Act, 1920.

Of these, the Presidency Area (Emergency) Security Act and the Howrah Bridge Act call for some comment. The Swarajists, after opposing in a body, the motion for the consideration of the former Bill, took no further part in its progress through the Council. As in the case of the Goondas Act there was apprehension lest the Act should be used by the Executive against " political offenders." This point was raised by the Swarajists, but the Council, during the subsequent absence of the Swarajists, agreed more or less readily to the restrictions on the liberty of the subject embodied in the Bill.

In regard to the Howrah Bridge Act, the main points attacked by the Swarajists and Independents were the powers given by the Bill to the Port Commissioners and the taxation clauses so far as Calcutta was concerned. In regard to the latter point, the Swarajists and Independents were supported by such moderate members (mostly Hindu property owners in Calcutta) as

were largely affected by these clauses in the Bill. The Bill was saved by the votes of the Europeans, several Mohammadan members and the moderate Hindus from the mufassil.

The second Council might have had one more outstanding piece of legislation to its credit if the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill had not been dropped by Government. This project had reached the state of the presentation of the report of the Select Committee when Government decided not to proceed with it in view of the impending dissolution of the Council coupled with the considerable variations introduced into the Bill by the Select Committee.

There were two cases in which Government Bills were defeated in the second Council. The first was in January 1925 when the Council refused by a majority of 9 to take into consideration the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which was subsequently certified by the Governor, and the second was in December 1925 when the Council refused the motion for the introduction of the Bengal Municipal Bill by a large majority, 60 to 39. The moderate Hindu element in the Council voted with the opposition mainly, it is understood, on the ground that the Bill should not be taken up while there were no Ministers.

The total outturn of legislation of the second Council, when compared with that of the first Council, was very poor.

The assistance of temporary expert members was enlisted in connection with two Government Bills :—

(1) The Bengal Municipal Bill 1925 (Babu Haripada Ray Chaudhuri).

(2) The Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1926 (Khan Bahadur A. Mumin and Mr. M. C. McAlpin).

The refusal of the Council to allow the former Bill to be introduced prevented any use being made of the assistance of the nominated expert, but in the discussions in Select Committee on the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1926, the presence of the two experts, both of whom were Government servants with great revenue and settlement experience, was of the utmost value and assistance.

B(ii).—Private Bills.

The second Council followed its predecessor in showing a general disinclination to pass into law legislation initiated by non-official members. As many as 30 such Bills were introduced during the term of the second Council, and of these only two went through all stages in Council, *viz.*, the Calcutta Rent (Amendment) Bill, 1924, of Dr. Moreno, which became Bengal Act I of 1924 and the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1926, of Dr. A. Suhrawardy, from which assent was withheld by the Governor.

Speaking of non-official legislation, His Excellency the Governor (Sir Hugh Stephenson) in August 1926, in proroguing the Council, said : "There has been a considerable increase in the number of private members' Bills—an indication of an increasing desire for constructive work—while the fact that only two out of 30 have actually been passed is a proof, I think, that the Council realises the danger of piecemeal or haphazard legislation."

Towards the close of its life, however, the Council was a party to legislation purely for electioneering purposes, when, irrespective of the merits or the drafting of the measure before it, it passed the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1926, introduced by Dr. A. Suhrawardy, an "Independent Moslem," who had previously seceded from the Swaraj party. The Bill aimed at the separation from Calcutta of certain suburban municipal areas which had been included in the Calcutta municipal area by the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, and in which there was a certain amount of discontent owing to the increase in taxation without any apparent improvement in the standard of municipal administration. The Swaraj Party led by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, who is also the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation, deliberately helped to carry Dr. Suhrawardy's Bill through, knowing perfectly well that the Governor must refuse his assent to it.

The following is a complete list of the Bills, of which notice was given by non-official members. The fate of each Bill is shown against it :—

LIST OF NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS' BILLS.

Name of non-official Bills.	Introduced by—	At what stage disposed of.	Whether became law.
1. The Calcutta Rent (Amendment) Bill, 1924.	Dr. H. W. B. Moreno	..	Became law as Bengal Act I of 1924.
2. The Bengal Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Maulvi Sayedul Haque.	Consideration stage.	
3. The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.	Motion for passing was rejected.	
4. The Bengal Hindu Public Trusts Bill, 1925.	Babu Debi Prosad Khaitan.	Member introduced, but has not proceeded further with it.	
5. The Bengal Phuka Bill, 1925.	Dr. H. B. W. Moreno	Reference to Select Committee's stage.	
6. The Bengal Cattle Bill, 1925.		Introduction stage.	
7. The Bengal Pasture Bill, 1925.		Motion for passing.	
8. The Calcutta Rent (Amendment No. II) Bill, 1925.		Reference to Select Committee's stage.	
9 The Bengal Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Babu Tarak Nath Mukharji.	Member did not move for leave to introduce when called upon.	
10. The Bengal Fish Fry Preservation Bill, 1925.	Shah Syed Emdadul Haq.	Motion for continuance under proviso to Standing Order 6 (2) was called, but not moved.	
11. The Bengal Cattle Bill, 1925 (second time).	Dr. H. W. B. Moreno..	Consideration stage.	
12. The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Shah Syed Emdadul Haq.	Consideration stage.	
13. The Calcutta Improvement (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Dr. Pramatha Nath Banarji.	Not moved.	

Name of non-official Bill.	Introduced by—	At what stage thrown out.	Whether became law.
14. The Calcutta Domestic Servants' Registration Bill, 1925.	Dr. H. W. B. Moreno	Reference to Select Committee's stage.	
15. The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarkar.	Consideration stage.	
16. The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Maulvi Sayedul Haque.		
17. The Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.	Member did not move when called upon at introduction stage.	
18. The Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	Babu Debi Prosad Khaitan.	Member did not move when called upon at introduction stage.	
19. The Bengal Compulsory Primary Education Bill, 1926.	Maulvi Sayedul Haque.	Member did not move when called upon at introduction stage.	
20. The Bengal Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	Nawab Musharruf Hossain Khan Bahadur.	Introduction stage.	
21. The Bengal Prevention of Brothels in Fairs Bill, 1926.	Shah Syed Emdadul Haq.	Introduction stage.	
22. The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.	Called, but not moved at introduction stage.	
23. The Wagering Associations Bill, 1926.	Babu Debi Prosad Khaitan.	Motion for reference to Select Committee was called, but not moved.	
24. The Calcutta Improvement (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	Babu Amulya Dhone Addy.	Introduction stage.	
25. The Calcutta Rent (Repeal) Bill, 1926.			
26. The Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1926.			
27. The Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	Dr. A. Suhrawardy ..	Passed in Council ..	Assent refused by His Excellency the Governor on 15th September 1926.
28. The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	Shah Syed Emdadul Haq.	Consideration stage.	
29. The Bengal Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1926.		Withdrawn at the consideration stage.	
30. The Calcutta Rent (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	Dr. H. W. B. Moreno..	Introduction stage.	

The statement made in the previous report that non-official Bills on the whole are badly drafted still holds good, and the members of the second Council showed little disposition to consult the Legislative Department in regard to the drafting of their Bills.

B (iii).—Financial Business.

The first year of the second Legislative Council saw a continual struggle between the supporters of the Reforms and the Swarajists, who with their henchmen the Independents, were determined to obstruct.

In the Budget debates of March 1924 the voting was very close. On the reserved side the Police demand alone was voted, while on the transferred side all the demands were granted with the exception of those for the salaries of the Education Department Inspectorate and of the Medical Department Establishment. No significance attaches to the particular subjects in which the Swarajya party failed or was successful, the results depending solely on the attendance at the time of voting.

The nett result was that out of a total demand of Rs. 914·11 lakhs for votable expenditure presented to the Council Rs. 568·09 lakhs were voted by the Council and Rs. 346·02 lakhs refused. Of this Rs. 317·05 lakhs were subsequently certified by His Excellency the Governor under section 72D-2 [Prov. (*a*)] of the Act and Rs. 2·70 lakhs authorised as a measure of emergency under section 72D-2 [Prov. (*b*)].

In the year 1925 the Council appeared to have awakened to a better sense of its responsibilities, and it seemed that a majority of the members were willing that there should be a Ministry. Government accordingly brought forward a resolution that provision should be made in the ensuing budget for Ministers' salaries; this was carried by a majority of 24. How much this was due to the absence of Mr. Das through illness and how much to the voting on the Government side of potential Ministers and their followers is hard to say. The result was possibly due to both. Government had reasons, however, to believe that a new era had dawned and the budget proposals were brought forward with some hope that they would be dealt with on their merits. Mr. C. R. Das attended from a bed of sickness, and there seems little doubt that his strenuous exertions at this juncture hastened his untimely death a few months later.

In the opening demand for Land Revenue, the opposition was defeated on three occasions and was successful in one. Subsequently the demands under "Stamps", "Forests", "Registration", "Scheduled Taxes", "Irrigation", "Construction of Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works" were passed in full in spite of the opposition, who only succeeded in making minor cuts in the demand for "Excise." When the motion for the grant for "General Administration" was reached, the opposition moved the reduction of the grants for the voted demands relating to His Excellency the Governor, but was defeated on 11 occasions. Only once were Government defeated and that on a motion to reduce the grant for the Band Establishment of the Governor by Rs. 40,000. This defeat was mainly due to Maulvi Fazl-ul Haq and his following siding with the opposition against the Government. There had been rumours that Mr. C. R. Das and the Swarajists had been strenuously "angling" for these members' votes, and that this was meant as a demonstration foreshadowing the great betrayal that was to take place the next day on the demand for the Ministers' salaries. On the 23rd March there was great jubilation in the "Swarajist" camp, and it was an open secret that Maulvi Fazl-ul Haq with his followers (numbering about 8 had

decided to vote against the demand. During the debate the main contention of Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq was that it was impossible for Ministers to carry on their legitimate duties so long as they had to face constant attacks directed against them in the shape of votes of censure by a large hostile element in the House pledged to refuse to work the constitution. There was a good deal of truth in this summary of the situation which in England would have resulted in the resignation of the Government and a general election. But at the same time it was known that Maulvi Faz-ul-Haq on the eve of the demand had been making enquiries regarding the possibility of four instead of three Ministers being appointed. The result of the voting was a personal triumph for Mr. Das, the demand being lost by six votes.

The subsequent demands were passed without much difficulty until the demand for " Police " was reached. This was opposed successfully on 7 occasions and cut by a total sum of Rs. 3,40,000 on the 24th March. Next day, however, the opposition was defeated on 10 occasions, and finally after a passage of arms between the President and Mr. A. C. Banarji the Swarajist and Independent members walked out and took no further part in the budget proceedings. The rest of the grant under " Police " was then passed. The next day the Swarajist and Independent members remained absent and the demands under the remaining heads were passed with little or no opposition. In the demands reduced by the Council the total reductions were Rs. 3·02 lakhs on a gross demand of Rs. 37·15 lakhs. Out of the total reductions effected by the Council Rs. 14,000 were certified by His Excellency the Governor.

Mr. C. R. Das died on the 16th June 1925. In the following August when the Council met without Ministers, and Government put forward certain supplementary demands, all attempts to reduce or refuse the demands were defeated.

In March 1926, 35 Swarajist members walked out before the voting of grants began and 11 Independent members absented themselves. The budget accordingly went through with little difficulty.

Owing to the irresponsible nature of the refusals and cuts made by the Council, His Excellency the Governor was compelled, during the whole term of the second Council, to resort freely to his powers of certifying grants. In 1925, however, when a cut of Rs. 40,000 was made from the demand of Rs. 82,000 for the Band Establishment of the Governor a sum of Rs. 14,000 only was certified; in a subsequent session, Government presented a demand for a supplementary sum of Rs. 14,000 under the same head and the Council passed it.

These rejections of grants disclosed two cardinal difficulties in working a constitution which an organised party was pledged to wreck. The voting of February 1925 showed that a substantial majority desired that Ministers should be appointed, but when, in order to afford the Council an opportunity of expressing their confidence or want of confidence in particular Ministers, appointments were made before salaries were voted, the Sawarajya party were able to persuade those who desired Ministers, but not the Ministers who had been appointed, to express their disapproval not by a nominal reduction of

salaries or by a subsequent refusal to support their measures, but by a total refusal of any salaries for Ministers.

The second difficulty was experienced in the refusal of the demand for "Medical Establishment" in 1924. "Medical" being a transferred subject the salaries of Civil Surgeons not members of the Indian Medical Service, Assistant and Sub-Assistant Surgeons could not be restored by certification, even though these officers perform duties essential to reserved subjects, such as Police, Jails and Administration of Justice, and their dismissal would impair the administration of such subjects. The difficulty was removed by the Council voting the salaries at a subsequent session.

Under the law the Council has no power to increase grants and the only means by which they can express their recommendations for increased expenditure is by way of resolution. In the next section are mentioned the resolutions carried in the Council and the action taken upon them by Government. In some cases the resolutions in the Council led to increased expenditure on the part of Government, while in others Government were encouraged by the passing of the resolutions to proceed with schemes which were already under examination and consideration.

B (iv).—Resolutions and questions.

(a) Resolutions.—During the life of the second Council 649 resolutions were admitted, but only 138 resolutions were dealt with, 47 of these being carried. The local Government took full action in accordance with the recommendations in 19 cases and part action in 9 cases. In 14 cases Government refused to accept the recommendations. In the remaining 5 cases either final action has not been decided on or the recommendations were of such a nature that effect could only be given to them in the future.

The following cases call for special mention :—

(1) Government appointed a committee in pursuance of a resolution to consider whether the number of holidays at present provided for the Muhammadan festival of Id-ul-fitr could be increased either by diminishing the number of holidays prescribed for other Muhammadan festivals or by abolishing some of them. The committee came to the conclusion that it would not be practicable to increase the holidays by the methods suggested.

(2) In response to a resolution, the Government of India were approached to reopen the Port of Calcutta for Muslim pilgrims to Mecca and other places of Muhammadan pilgrimage in the Hedjaz. This has been done.

(3) Consideration was given to the views of the Council as expressed in three separate resolutions when fixing the amount of the grant for Calcutta University.

(4) Government brought forward a demand for the payment of salaries of *ex*-Ministers as a result of a resolution carried in Council.

(5) A copy of the debate on a resolution to amend rule 5 (2) of the Bengal Electoral Rules in such a manner as to authorise the local Government to remove the disqualifications mentioned in that rule, if they thought fit in any case, was submitted to the Government of India with a view to action being taken on the recommendation.

(6) The Government of India were also furnished with a copy of the debate on a resolution (in which the local Government acquiesced) for the amendment of the same rule so as to qualify for election to the Council persons convicted of offences not involving moral turpitude.

In the matter of the grant of a loan for the development of the Port of Chittagong, and on the question of a contribution by the Government of Bengal to the cost of the new railway bridge at Bally to allow for the construction of roadways for ordinary vehicular and foot traffic, resolutions were moved by Government and accepted by the Council, before any further action was taken in connection with either project.

In respect of the following matters, the local Government have carried out in full or in part the recommendations of the Council:—

(1) the preparation of a project for the widening and deepening of the Saraswati River;

(2) the reclamation of the Bhairab and other dead rivers of Jessore;

(3) the framing of regulations removing the disqualification of women for registration on the Legislative Council electoral rolls;

(4) exemption of certain theatres from the amusements tax;

(5) the establishment of a medical school at Barisal;

(6) survey of waterways;

(7) re-excavation of the Alaipur Khal.

The more important cases in which the local Government were not prepared or were unable to give effect to the recommendations of the Council were:—

(1) release of political prisoners;

(2) release of persons placed under restraint under Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and their trial in an open court of justice;

(3) repeal of so-called repressive laws;

(4) abolition of the post of Director of Public Instruction;

(5) filling the post of Principal of the Bethune College by the appointment of an Indian lady;

(6) taking over by Government from the steamer companies of the mail and passenger services between Jagannathganj Ghat and Sirajganj Ghat stations;

(7) appointment of a committee to revise the Bengal Local Self-Government Act of 1885 (Bengal Act III of 1885) and the Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919 (Bengal Act V of 1919);

(8) provision of land for the erection of a mosque for the litigant public in Chittagong;

(9) repeal of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925;

(10) amendment of the Bengal Electoral Rules so as to provide that the election of representatives to the Bengal Legislative Council shall be proportionate to the numerical strength of the different communities in the province with just and proper representation of minorities and commercial interests;

(11) appointment of a committee to enquire into the causes of unemployment amongst seamen in Bengal and to advise what remedial measures should be adopted;

(12) extension of holidays under the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881 (XXVI of 1881), on the occasions of the Jagadhatri Puja, Sri Panchami, Maghotshab, Idu-ul-fitr, Idu-uz-Zuha and Shab-i-barat.

In certain other cases, of which the following are the most important, the local Government merely forwarded a copy of the debate to the authorities, persons or bodies concerned:—

(1) Amendment of rule 6 and schedule II of the Devolution Rules so as to include in the list of provincial subjects for transfer in Bengal all subjects except Land Revenue Administration, European and Anglo-Indian Educational and Local Fund Audit.

(2) Transfer of Sylhet to Bengal.

(3) Permission to two internees, *viz.*, Babu Anil Baran Roy and Babu Satyendra Chandra Mitra, to take the oath of allegiance as members of Council.

(4) Amendment of rule 3 of the Bengal Electoral Rules to give special representation by election to the labouring classes.

In all the above cases the reports of the debates were forwarded to the Government of India.

The second Council followed its predecessor in showing a growing apathy to resolutions. It was only in cases where the subject matter was of outstanding importance and promised a full-dress debate, *e.g.*, such a subject as the release of political prisoners or related to communal questions, that any considerable interest was shown. In the first Council many resolutions were moved proposing the amendment of laws. Members of the second Council applied more direct and expeditious methods. They discarded resolutions, except in one or two cases, and instead introduced their own amending Bills, many of which were crude and ill-conceived and, as has been stated before, very badly drafted. How far this private legislation was due to the absence of Ministers it is difficult to say.

Disallowance of resolutions and the reasons thereof.—During the lifetime of the Council 84 resolutions were disallowed, 32 of these because they concerned matters which were primarily not the concern of the local Government and 24 because they did not raise a definite issue. Two were disallowed because they were detrimental to the public interest, but there was no serious attempt on the part of the Legislative Council to assume powers which properly belong to the executive Government.

(*b*) *Questions.*—The number of questions asked from July 1923 to August 1926 was 1,195, as against 3,160 for almost an equal period in the first Council. This drop is mainly due to the fact that in January 1923 the Council amended its Standing Orders restricting to 12 the number of questions which an individual member could send in during one session of the Council. A considerable number of questions previously lapsed in each session because Government were not ready with replies, but the Council has since amended its Standing Orders so as to save such questions.

It is worthy of note that certain members have become adepts at putting supplementary questions. In this they are assisted by the fact that printed copies of questions and answers (whether to be answered orally or not) are placed in members' hands half an hour before a meeting begins. This practice, which differs from that prevailing in the Central Legislature, was adopted to expedite the subsequent printing of the proceedings of the Council.

Disallowance of questions and the reasons thereof.—The number of questions disallowed was 414 and of these 93 were refused because they concerned matters which were not the concern of the local Government, 88 because they were an abuse of the right of questioning and 51 as not being within the special cognisance of the Hon'ble Member to whom they were directed. Of the remainder, 29 were rejected as not being a matter of public concern, 27 as argumentative or inferential, 24 as relating to matters which were at the time *sub-judice.*

(*c*) *Requests for the appointment of committees in connection with incidents arising out of the maintenance of law and order.*—After the riots in Calcutta and the mufassil in the hot weather and rains of 1926 four resolutions were submitted for the appointment of various committees of enquiry into—

(*a*) the Calcutta riots;

(*b*) the conduct of the Calcutta Police;

(*c*) the causes of the riots in Calcutta, Dacca, Pabna and other districts.

One of the resolutions was deemed to be withdrawn in the absence of the mover and the other resolutions were not reached.

B (v).—Miscellaneous.

(*a*) There were only two discussions in the second Council on motions to adjourn the House on a matter of urgent public importance. The first was a discussion on "the recent action of the Ministers as evinced by their disagreement with 76 members of the Council in the matter of the resolutions passed on the 25th January 1924, regarding the release of political prisoners detained under Bengal Regulation III of 1818." The second related to the

treatment of political prisoners with special reference to certain allegations as to the transfer of certain political prisoners from the Berhampore Jail to the Hazaribagh Jail without any sort of clothing or without giving them any notice of transfer. The first debate was talked out, and on the second Government was defeated by eight votes.

(*b*) The Council was addressed by His Excellency the Governor five times during its lifetime, once on the day following that on which the members were sworn in, and again on the occasion of its final prorogation prior to dissolution. The three other special occasions on which Lord Lytton addressed the Council were :—

(*i*) on the 18th March 1924 prior to the voting of the demands for grants, when he explained the constitutional issues involved in the rejection of the Budget *in toto* and the rejection of certain demands relating to the transferred side *a propos* the Governor's power of certification ;

(*ii*) on the 7th January 1925 before the consideration of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill when he explained the reasons which led Government to introduce such legislation ; and

(*iii*) on the 17th May 1926 when he dealt with the communal diturbances in the province and especially in Calcutta and asked for the support of the Council to the Presidency Area (Emergency) Security Bill.

(*c*) An objectionable practice has grown up of increasing the number of members on select committees on personal or party grounds until the committee becomes so unwieldy as to lose its value. Members have been known to form " mutual admiration societies " and to propose each other. In the case of the Howrah Bridge Bill the original number suggested by the Member in Charge was 14. As a result of amendments moved and carried in Council this number was increased to 23. Government subsequently made a strong stand against this practice, and most motions of this character were defeated.

(*d*) As stated previously the Governor (Lord Lytton) exercised his special powers by certifying the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, which had been previously rejected by the Council on the 7th January 1924.

(*e*) On the 15th September 1926 the acting Governor (Sir Hugh Stephenson) withheld his assent from the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1926, initiated by a non-official—Dr. A. Suhrawardy—and passed by the Council in August 1926.

(*f*) The Previous Sanction Rules continue to be the cause of a certain amount of delay in the passing of provincial legislation.

B (vi).—The formation on political lines of groups or parties within the Council and how far these coincided with or traversed purely communal lines of cleavage.

Before dealing with the questions of a more general nature which are noticed in the following paragraphs it is desirable to give a short sketch of the various parties in the second Council. A more detailed account of the

political history of the period 1924-1926 in Bengal is given in a separate report.

When the new Council first met in January 1924 it was constituted as follows :—

Swarajists (including 21 Muhammadans)	47
Independents	19
Ministerialists	30
Europeans and Anglo-Indians	18
Nominated members (including officials)	26
Total ..	140

The Swarajya party represented the wing of the non-co-operation party which broke away from Mr. Gandhi on the question of Council entry. Its members were bitterly *anti*-British and belonged to the extreme left or *ultra*-nationalist group in Indian politics. Their object was to force the concession of political independence and full responsible Government on a representative basis by making every other form of Government impossible. In the Council they had but one policy, namely, to obstruct the Government in everything and thereby to "Destroy dyarchy." As a corollary they refused to accept office. Their leader was Mr. C. R. Das and after his death Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, and in the *Forward* they had a well-run and well-edited newspaper with which they could influence public opinion.

The Independents differed from the Swarajists in not acknowledging the leadership of Mr. Das and in not being pledged to refuse office. They had a nominal leader Mr. B. Chakravarty, but their real bond of union was that they were "Against the Government." One observer has described them thus "For the most part, this group consists of individuals who owe allegiance to no one, who would accept office themselves, but who would support no one else in office." As a rule they voted with the Swarajists whose leader could thus usually command 66 votes out of a house of 140 if the Muhammadan members of the parties voted on party lines.

The Ministerialists' bond of union was their personal attitude towards the various Ministers and as this was not strong enough to make them consistent in the support of Government, even when there were Ministers in office, it failed entirely to keep the group together after the eventual abolition of the Ministry.

The Europeans and Anglo-Indians possessed all the characteristics of a genuine political party, having a common policy, a common leader, a party whip and in the *Englishman* and the *Statesman* in effect a party press. Their policy was to work the constitution as laid down by Parliament and in accordance with this policy they (with the exception of one Anglo-Indian who flirted with the Swarajists for his own ends) consistently supported the Government.

Of the nominated members the officials were always present to support Government, who could usually rely also on the votes of the nominated non-officials save when a question such as the proposal to release the political prisoners came up for discussion.

But across this distribution into Swarajists, Independents and Ministerialists ran another line of division, *viz.*, that which separates Hindus from Muhammadans. Of the Swarajists 21 were Muhammadans while the other 19 Muhammadans were distributed between Independents and the Ministerialists in proportions that varied from time to time. It took all Mr. Das' tactical skill to keep the allegiance of the 21 Muhammadan Swarajists and in doing this his principal weapons, apart from more questionable methods, were the Hindu-Moslem pact which is referred to later and the patronage afforded by control of the Calcutta Corporation. The Muhammadans outside the Swaraj Party had no separate organisation apart from the various Muhammadan bodies of which they were members, but while there were Muhammadan Ministers they accepted their leadership and had a party whip. On all communal questions they were united in the defence of what they considered to be Muhammadan interests and endeavoured to secure as many appointments as possible for Muhammadans. Their bond of union was the protection of Muhammadan interests, but this bond was not strong enough to hold them together when personal interests were involved, as was seen at the time of the great betrayal by Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq when he and his adherents assisted the Swarajists and the Independents to throw out the demand for Ministers' salaries in March 1925.

After the death of Mr. C. R. Das in June 1925 the relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans which had previously been strained became steadily worse and the Calcutta riots of April 1926 and the coalition formed in that year between Mr. Sen Gupta and the " Karmi Sangha ", a body of Hindu middle-class young men whose tendency was largely anti-Muhammadan, had the effect of driving most of the Muhammadans out of the Swaraj party. But up to the time of the final defeat of the demand for Ministers' salaries the Muhammadan Swarajists were steadily in opposition to Government.

Having given this short sketch of the various parties in the second Council it is now possible to deal with the questions of a more general nature regarding which a report is desired.

B (vii).—The extent to which the Council represents and reacts on current public opinion.

There can be no doubt that as far as the Hindu members were concerned the Council was a true representation of the vocal portion of the electorate. For dyarchy was not popular and did not satisfy that section which clamoured for an increased share in the Government of the province, even if it did not denounce the Reforms as a sham or go so far as to demand complete independence. The Ministerialist policy of working the Reforms for what they were worth as the price of securing official assent to the next stage of constitutional advance was not a popular policy and the support given to it in public was lukewarm.

It is open to grave doubt, however, whether the relative strength of the various Muhammadan groups in the Council was a correct representation of

Muhammadan public opinion, which was in the main suspicious of the good faith of the Hindu leaders and of any rapid advance towards Swaraj which was likely if attained in the near future to be a Hindu *raj*, under which the Muhammadans would fare worse than under the present regime. However, the assistance given by the Swaraj Party machine gave that section of the Muhammadans which was prepared to rely on the good faith of the Hindu leaders a great advantage during the election and brought about the return of an undue proportion of so-called Muhammadan Swarajists. But as has been explained above this group gradually disintegrated during the lifetime of the Council and at the beginning of the following Council had been reduced to a very small section. This disintegration was to a considerable extent the result of current public opinion reacting on the Muhammadans in the Council, but was also due to the fact that some members availed themselves of the assistance of the Swarajists to get elected and subsequently followed an independent line of their own, even voting with Government on occasions. Indeed, one so-called Swarajist Muhammadan, who was returned as a Swarajist, always voted with Government except on the question of Ministers' salaries and two others were turned out of the Swarajist party after voting with Government.

B (viii).—The extent to which and by what means relations have been maintained between Members of the Councils and their constituencies.

Public opinion being negligible, members took practically no trouble to maintain relations with their constituencies and there was none of that periodical touring of a constituency and explaining the party policy and attitude towards current questions which is so characteristic of politics in Great Britain. Until the electorate is better educated and can appreciate the power it has in its hands, there is not likely to be any great improvement in this matter.

B (ix).—Conventions of procedure in the Council.

The Council desired to conform to English parliamentary practice and derived great assistance in this from the term of office of Sir Evan Cotton, the nominated President, who, in the words of Sir Hugh Stephenson, accomplished "the task of guiding the somewhat torrential waters of the reformed Council into the safe channel of precedent". But at times even he experienced much difficulty in keeping the Council in hand owing to trouble from the rowdier members of the Swaraj Party during the latter part of his Presidentship. During the time of the first elected President Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray the same trouble arose and culminated in a scene in February 1926 when five members were suspended and practically the whole of the Swarajists and the Independents left the Council. A week later a motion for the removal of the President was brought forward by a Swarajist member, but was defeated after a vigorous debate.

Apart from this there was general regard for the rulings of the Presidents who were jealous of the dignity of the Council, fearless and independent and endeavoured always to be impartial. As regards procedure, there was no great desire on the part of the Council to alter or amend its rules and Standing Orders. The Standing Committees were boycotted at first by the Swarajists. Later, when Swarajist members did stand for election and were elected, they were appointed by His Excellency the Governor to serve on some of the committees.

Otherwise there was no opposition to the formation of committees and in the case of select committees members of all groups including the Swarajists were willing to serve.

B (x).—Party organisation and arrangements.

Of the non-official members only the Swarajists and the European group had a regular party organisation with recognised whips and procedure, and considerable consultation went on at times between the Government whip and the whips of these parties, especially the latter. The other groups had at times whips, but their organisation was so fluid that concerted action arranged by the whips was almost impossible save on special occasions. This was especially the case with the Muhammadans. In the absence of whips a good deal of lobbying was done with individuals, at times with considerable effect.

B (xi).—Prominent party leaders, their policies and adherents.

In the paragraphs dealing with the various parties and groups mention has been made of Mr. C. R. Das, the leader of the Swaraj Party, and of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, who succeeded him in that uneasy office, also of Mr. B. Chakravarty, the nominal leader of the Independents; and their policies have been outlined when dealing with their parties.

Other leaders of groups were Mr. S. N. Mullick and Sir P. C. Mitter among the Hindus and Nawab Bahadur Sayid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri Khan Bahadur, Hadji Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi and Maulvi A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq and possibly Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy among the Muhammadans.

B (xii).—Racial question—attitude of the Council towards Europeans.

The usual attempt was made, especially in the demands for grants in 1924, to reduce the grants for European education. One member stated that he could not " shut his eyes to the glaring disproportion of the grants allotted to the Indians as compared to the Anglo-Indian communities ". He claimed that the Member in charge of Education did not show the same consideration to Indians as he did to Europeans and supported the motion for reduction on the ground that the allotment of grants was not only disproportionate but " unjust and iniquitous ".

Another member, in supporting a motion for reduction, stated it as his view that " as a result of allowing European children to attend separate schools from early life and to live apart, various differences between them and the Indians are being created." He went on to say " that if the Europeans and Anglo-Indians wish to live happily and peacefully in this country and sincerely wish to live as friends with the Indians, then separate schools for particular communities should be abolished and all communities should attend the same schools ".

Another member said : " Not only is there no glory in keeping the Anglo-Indian community distinct from the people of the country—rather if there is anything in it, it is a disgrace ". He went on to claim that as the result of this differential treatment Anglo-Indians had become arrogant and treated Indians badly in the streets, in trains and in steamers.

Other speakers, mostly Swarajists, spoke in the same strain and deprecated the maintenance of separate schools for Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

All the demands were passed without a division, except one (where the motion was lost by one vote) for Rs. 99,000 for " other grants " to non-Government primary schools for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The vote of the Council in this case was not so much due to racial feeling against Europeans and Anglo-Indians as to a misunderstanding as to what was included in the term " other grants ".

In 1925 and 1926 attacks on European and Anglo-Indian education were less marked. It would appear that in these years the Swarajists and Ministerialists and latterly the Hindus and Muhammadans were so occupied in combating each other that they had no time to busy themselves with the racial question. The objection is now more to the disproportion between the grants for Indian and European Education, and there is a desire for larger grants for Indian Education rather than for a diminution of the amount for European Education.

From time to time notice was given of resolutions not to give effect to the recommendations of the Lee Commission, but none of the resolutions ever reached discussion. Resentment, however, was still felt against the present scale of salaries of European officials, and the policy of Indianisation was one of which practically all the groups approved, though when the Calcutta riots of 1926 occurred it was realised that without the European Officers of all ranks the situation could not have been coped with.

In the Council itself the relations between Indians and Europeans were generally cordial. The non-official Europeans were respected and whatever might be said in Council in debate, members outside treated each other with unvarying courtesy.

B (xiii).—Attitude of the Council towards Labour.

During the period under review there were two nominated members on the Council to represent labour interests. In December 1925, one of the nominated Labour Members, Mr. Daud, moved a resolution asking Government to grant a special franchise to the labouring classes by allotting at least eight seats to them to be represented through special labour constituencies. This resolution, amended to exclude the actual number of seats to be allotted, was carried by the Council.

During the three years only one Labour Resolution was admitted—on legislation affecting industrial disputes—but was not reached during the session of the Council. Twenty-two questions were asked, bearing on all problems affecting labour. The majority of questions were put to elicit information regarding industrial disputes, but information was also asked on labour organisation, on the administration of the Indian Factories and Workmen's Compensation Acts, on unemployment, accidents and family budgets. The majority of questions were asked by the Labour Members, but other members also put questions, thus indicating that the interests of the working classes were not confined entirely to the Labour Members.

B (xiv).—The Reforms Enquiry Committee, 1924.

The appointment of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 1924, and the report of that committee exercised a profound and adverse effect on the progress of the reformed constitution in Bengal. Public declarations of the limitations of the scope of the enquiry were ignored, and it is a matter of experience in India that where the minimum is promised the maximum is confidently expected. From the nature of the recommendations contained in the minority report, it can easily be understood what hopes were raised in the minds of those who had not such good opportunities as the members of the committee for understanding what limitations were imposed. The effect of these hopes was to create a belief in the minds of Ministers and *ex*-Ministers that they would be failing in their duty if they did not put forward the maximum demands and press to the utmost every possible objection to the existing constitution. The inevitable effect of these demands and objections was to present the public with a picture which, at any rate as far as Bengal is concerned, was totally at variance with the facts of the period 1921-23. The voluminous written and oral evidence of the Ministers and *ex*-Ministers of Bengal has been subjected to a detailed analysis from which it appears that, apart from the vague and general statements as to the failure of dyarchy which the circumstances prompted them to make, the specific objections were two only, *viz.*, the want of money and the liability of Ministers to incur unpopularity through public belief in their responsibility for the administration of the reserved departments.

It is very doubtful whether in March 1925 Mr. C. R. Das would have been able to secure a combination for rejecting the demand for Ministers' salaries, but for the hopes raised by the minority report and the Ministers' evidence. When the rejection resulted in the temporary disappearance of dyarchy Sir Surendra Nath Banarji, as editor of the *Bengalee*, on the 30th May 1925, wrote as follows:—

> "In six out of the eight provinces the Reforms are at work, and are producing fairly satisfactory results. Is it open to any one, in view of this fact, to say that they have failed all over India? That they have failed in Bengal is owing to circumstances of which the less said the better..... But whether they have failed or not there is the decision of the Secretary of State, which will probably be endorsed by the Cabinet, *viz.*, that the existing constitution must be worked in a spirit of sincerity and co-operation".

In October 1924 he had written:—

> "No popular institution can in these days thrive without the support of public opinion. Dyarchy should go as quickly as possible not because it has been a failure everywhere, but because public opinion apparently does not want it".

So great is the difference between the estimated value of the constitution according as the alternative contemplated is provincial autonomy or the revocation of the transfer of subjects.

B (xv).—Tests of preamble and section 84A of Government of India Act.

It remains to consider the significance of the events of this period by applying the tests cited in the preamble to the Government of India Act, and in section 84A of that Act, *viz.* :—

(1) " The co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service have been conferred ".

(2) " The extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility ".

(3) " The working of the system of government ".

(4) " The growth of education ".

(5) " The development of representative institutions ".

The development of representative institutions has been dealt with in section A of this report and need not be further referred to here.

(1) and (3).—*Co-operation and the working of the system of government.*—As the reformed system of government has not been worked for the greater part of the period there has not been co-operation in Bengal, and there has been no real experience of the working of the system. But there is reason to suppose that there exists a widespread and fundamental misapprehension as to what is meant by " co-operation " in this connection, and that the emphasis which has been laid on the probable effects of " co-operation " in securing an advance in reforms has tended to obscure the importance of the other tests.

Perhaps the most significant debate in the Bengal Legislative Council during this period was that of the 16th March 1925, at which the Swarajist members were not present, when a motion was discussed which raised the question of expediting the Royal Commission. The debate is reported on pages 85-98 of Volume XX, No. 3, of the Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings. The Government of Bengal were asked to ignore the Swarajya party and the votes of the Legislative Council, and the members who made this request failed to perceive the incompatibility of the three propositions that the Swarajists and those who helped them to prevent the working of the constitution were the chosen representatives of the electors, that the electors were fit for the responsibility of full parliamentary government, and that the votes of the Legislative Council were to be ignored. The theories of " co-operation " put forward were either that the disappearance of the non-co-operation movement implied co-operation, or that there existed a certain number of people competent to and prepared to work the Reforms. It was made a cause of complaint that more attention was paid to the acts of the non-co-operators than to those of the co-operators. There was no sign of recognition that co-operation meant an effective effort to overcome the opposition to dyarchy. It was noted at the time that Sir Hugh Stephenson's speech in reply had disturbed the complacency of those who listened to it, but there have been few indications since then that the position is really understood.

(2) *The extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed on their sense of responsibility.*—The recognition of responsibility to electors is absent

There have been many instances of this, but the most noticeable was that of the refusal by a majority of 60 to 39 of leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Bengal Municipal Act. The special significance of this refusal lies in the facts that the class of electors who desired legislation was conspicuously the class to which the majority of members belong, and that the Bill dealt with a subject with which the members are well acquainted and which intimately concerns them. The following quotation from a contemporary report of the Government of Bengal explains the incident more fully :—

> " The outstanding features of the session were (1) the irresponsibility of the elected members. Bengal Municipalities outside Calcutta are administered under the Bengal Municipal Act of 1884, and the last decade has brought to notice many requisitions of elected Municipal Commissioners and of the officers of Government for a more up-to-date measure. A Bill had been prepared while Sir Surendra Nath Banarji was Minister and it bore very distinct traces of his liberal tendencies. There is no room for doubt that those concerned with municipal administration in Bengal demanded a new measure, and that the Bill presented a fair statement of what they wanted and was drafted on liberal lines. Leave to introduce this Bill was refused by a majority of 60 to 39 after a debate lasting a few minutes, and the reason alleged was that it was a reactionary measure. The real motives underlying this action were a combination of the following, *viz* :—
>
> " (1) fear of disunion in the Swarajya Party due to the question of communal representation having to be faced ;
>
> " (2) reluctance of a middle class landlord assembly to a measure likely to touch its finances on questions of taxation and control of buildings ;
>
> " (3) the desire that nothing shall be done rather than that Government shall do it. There is unfortunately very little reason to believe that the electorate will take any notice of the rejection of this Bill ".

The fact that the electorate takes so little notice of anything is due no doubt in part to the fact that such a large portion of it is illiterate. An enquiry held in 1926 elicited the startling information that 62 per cent. of the Muhammadan electorate and 41 per cent. of the non-Muhammadan electorate are illiterate. And a subsequent enquiry during the polling for the third Council showed that of the persons actually voting 53 per cent. of the Muhammadan voters and 33 per cent. of the non-Muhammadan were illiterate.

The Legislative Council has not displayed a sense of responsibility in voting on questions relating to reserved subjects, and in the circumstances of the case it would be unfair to judge them harshly in this respect. The popular line to take is opposition to the Government, and there is a firm belief that when a difficulty arises Government will make use of its powers to do what is right. There is, therefore, room for much leniency in judging the conduct of a member of the Legislative Council who shrinks from taking the

unpopular course of supporting Government in a case in which he knows that Government is right, and also knows that, however he votes, the result which he desires will be secured.

(4) *The growth of education.*—The degree of illiteracy in the electorate makes it most important, first, that there should be a great extension of primary education and, secondly, that there should be a radical alteration in the quality of primary education. Though the electorate is not confined to the upper and middle classes, that part of electorate which has some degree of consciousness of its powers is confined to those classes. An outstanding feature of the existing situation in Bengal is the absence of any lasting party divisions other than those of Hindu *versus* Muhammadan and of established Government *versus* Obstruction, and for obvious reasons neither of these divisions tends to any advance in representative Government. A communal ministry does not lead to an appeal for a verdict to the electorate because of the existence of communal representation. It is, therefore, difficult to foresee any line of advance which is not based on a greater equality of influence of the two classes which are broadly represented by landlords and tenants. An extension of the franchise by the inclusion of a larger number of illiterates does not contribute to the solution of the problem, and the only apparent remedy is to extend education.

The suspension of the transfer of transferred subjects afforded the Government of Bengal an opportunity to prepare and ventilate a comprehensive scheme for extending and improving primary education and it has met with a favourable reception. An important test for Bengal during the period of the present Council will be its ability to pass an effective Primary Education Bill.

There has been no marked progress in University or Secondary Education, and the state of the latter continues to be very unsatisfactory. Competition with students of other provinces shows a decline in the qualifications of Bengal students.

C.—The Constituencies and the Public.

C (i).—The ascertained percentage of enfranchised persons to the total population and the percentage of votes recorded in the last general election to the total number of voters on the registers.

The information which is here given refers only to the Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan general constituencies which comprise 97 per cent. of the total number of electors in the province and return 85 members to the Council as compared with 29 members returned by special constituencies. The figures given are those for the 1923 and 1926 elections and show the position at the beginning and the end of the second Council.

In 1926 the number of voters was 1,184,804 or 2·4 per cent. of the population as compared with 1,044,166 or 2·1 per cent. in 1923. Of these 33·4 per cent. recorded their votes in 1926 as compared with 34·8 in 1923. Only about ·8 per cent. of the population actually voted.

The following table shows for the constituencies noted therein the percentage of the non-Muhammadan or Muhammadan population that is

enfranchised and the percentage of electors that actually voted in the last two elections in contested elections :—

Constituencies.	Percentage enfranchised.		Percentage of electors that voted.	
	1923.	1926.	1923.	1926.
Non-Muhammadan Urban	6·83	8·15	50·1	48·3
Ditto Rural	2·3	2·5	42·8	39·4
Ditto Total	2·5	2·8	43·8	40·3
Muhammadan Urban	5·26	5·4	49·6	41·02
Ditto Rural..	1·7	2·03	32·4	37·02
Ditto Total	1·8	2·07	35·6	37·1

Save in the Muhammadan rural constituencies where communal tension influenced the polling, there was a decline in the percentage of votes recorded. As yet the electors do not take much interest in the elections.

The most interesting feature of the second Council in the matter of the franchise was the removal of the sex disqualification of women as the result of a resolution passed in the Council on the 19th August 1925, which was accepted by Government. The effect on the polling strength of the province has not been great as only 37,820 females or about ·12 per cent. of the female population were registered as voters for the 1·26 elections. Of these 5,132 or 13·6 per cent. voted, but very few of these were gentle folk, even although in Calcutta and a few other places separate polling arrangements were made for them. By far the largest number of the female voters belonged to the unfortunate class whose presence was distasteful to the lady polling officers and to the few respectable ladies who did appear to vote.

The percentage of female electors who voted was highest in non-Muhammadan Urban constituencies, *viz.*, 23·1, and lowest in Muhammadan rural, *viz.*, 7·7. In the Anglo-Indian constituency it was 22·05 per cent.

During 1925 and 1926 three separate enquiries were made into the illiteracy of the electorate. The first, which was made in June 1925 by a local enquiry in two selected rural polling areas in each district, resulted in an estimate of 41 per cent. illiteracy among the non-Muhammadan electors to the Legislative Council and 55 per cent. among the Muhammadans. The second was made on a larger scale at the time of the revision of the rolls in 1926 and gave practically the same percentage of illiteracy among the non-Muhammadans, but a higher percentage of 61·7 among the Muhammadans. The third and last estimate was made by the polling officers at the time of the elections and gave a percentage of 33·4 among the Non-Muhammadan electors who actually voted and 52·7 among the Muhammadans. For the Legislative Assembly electors, the figures were 8·5 per cent. among the non-Muhammadans and 25·5 per cent. among the Muhammadans.

C (ii).—The interest evinced by the Constituencies and the Public in the work of the Council.

The amount of interest taken in the work of the Councils by the Constituencies and the Public was inconsiderable save where a question of taxation or of a matter such as the release of Mr. S. C. Bose was under discussion, or where a decision taken in Council affected a large number of individuals as when in March 1924 the refusal of the budget demand for the Education Inspectorate resulted in the issue of notices of discharge upon 357 officers. But the general public has not yet realised the extent of the powers entrusted to the Council and how real they are. The Executive Government is still regarded as all-powerful by the majority of the electorate and there is an atmosphere of unreality about the work of the Council. Little improvement in this respect can be expected until a higher standard of education is attained in the Constituencies.

C (iii).—The extent to which the formation of political groups or parties in the Council is reproduced in or decided from the constituencies.

No party in the Council can be said to have had its formation decided from the constituencies, and in Bengal there are no signs of that stage of constitutional Government being in sight. In practically every constituency the election of the representative depended on the support he could get from outside and in a large number of cases it was the support of the Swarajya Party which determined the representation. In a previous paragraph it has been stated that practically nowhere did the success of the Swarajist Party in the elections of members of union committees, local board, and district board or of municipal commissioners affect the administration of these local self-governing bodies. So that while the political Swarajist Party was reproduced in the constituencies, it was reproduced only in name and not in policy.

But the situation is otherwise as regards groups. For there can be no doubt that the Muhammadan group in the Council when pressing for the furthering or safeguarding of Muhammadan interests and for a greater share for the Muhammadans in the loaves and fishes of Government service were acting in accordance with the clearly expressed wishes of their constituenciee The group may have divided in political matters between the various parties but in communal matters it clearly represented the feeling in their constituencies in favour of such questions as communal representation on local bodies and the reservation of more Government appointments for Muhammadans.

In no other group was there the same close resemblance between the feeling in the constituencies and the political views of the group. Only perhaps in the matter of the release of political prisoners can it be said that the views expressed in the Council were reproduced in the constituencies.

C (iv).—Electoral organisations in the constituencies, political programmes and party funds and machinery.

The only effective electoral organisations in the constituencies were the local Congress Committees which, like the Provincial Congress Committee, were under the control of the Swarajya Party and were amply supplied with

the necessary funds by that party which had control of several sources of income. In fact, that party was the only party which had at its disposal a party machine, party funds, and a party programme which could be easily "understanded of the people". For while the programme nominally had a constructive side in the matter of village reorganisation, its real appeal to the public lay in its open antagonism to the existing system of Government, its demand for provincial autonomy, the Indianisation of the Services, the control of the executive by the legislature, and the repeal of the so-called "repressive laws." Compared with this the Ministerialist programme was unattractive, and in its very nature the defence of dyarchy is difficult to explain and hard to understand. Admittedly the machine required good-will for its working and a policy of antagonism was much more attractive than one of good-will. Apart from this there was no money—or very little of it—behind the other parties to pay for an organisation, and no patronage.

Individuals had to fight a party and it was only where a candidate had or could exercise considerable local influence that he had any chance of success against a candidate supported by the Swarajist machine.

C(v).—The influence of the press on politics and political opinion and the promotion of organs of the press supporting the views of particular groups or parties in the Councils.

With the disappearance of the *Indian Mirror* the pro-Government Indian press ceased to exist, and Indian newspapers fell into two groups, (1) Moderate and (2) Extremist. The former represented by the *Sanjivani* and the *Bengalee*, of which Mr. B. Chakravarty was finally the editor, accepted the main principles of the system established by the Act of 1919 and were prepared to work the Reforms in order to get something more later. The extremist press was hostile to the Reforms, but was divided in its attitude, one section advocating non-co-operation from outside the Councils, and another supporting opposition from within. Of the first section the most important papers were the *Servant*, the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and the *Musalman* while the *Forward*, the *Nayak* and the *Muhammadi* were prominent in the second. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Basumati* were against the Reforms, but opposed to the Swarajists. The party organisation in the press did not therefore reflect the parties in political life in their entirety and only the *Forward*, the Swarajist daily, can really be described as the press organ of a political party, though the *Bengalee* generally supported the Ministerialists.

The influence of the press in Bengal on public opinion is very great, but is subject to this limitation that no Indian paper has any chance of surviving unless it opens its columns to abuse of Government and takes up a strong attitude on racial questions. Compared with a paper like the *Forward* that seizes every opportunity of encouraging racial antagonism, and of imputing evil intentions or unworthy motives to the Government whether of Great Britain, or of India or of the province, the moderate press was handicapped if it exhibited a moderate attitude and the tendency therefore was for it to become more bitter and unfair in its criticisms in order to maintain the slight influence it had on public opinion. But the criticism was not directed solely

against Government. For the various groups lost no opportunity of attacking one another.

When communal questions cropped up, however, the grouping of the press was completely altered and the claims of the community ranked above everything else. This was especially the case in 1926 when there were serious communal disturbances, and the only point on which the papers of both communities were agreed was that Government was responsible for all the trouble in that it had not taken effective action to prevent it breaking out or to quell it immediately, preferably by taking vigorous steps against the opposite community.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Letter no. 4654-C., dated the 16th July 1927.

From—The Chief Secretary to Government, United Provinces,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla.

I am directed to reply to the Government of India's letter no. F.-181-27-Public, dated March 26, 1927. In view of the fact that when the Statutory Commission has been appointed under section 84A. of the Government of India Act, or possibly at some date in advance of its appointment, the Government of India will again address to this Government inquiries similar to, but more extensive in detail than, those made in 1924, it is proposed in the present reply merely to supplement the report furnished with my letter no. 1002-C.N., dated August 22, 1923. This is done in the memorandum attached to the present letter, which aims at bringing up to date the information previously given.

2. Although the Government of India have asked only for a report on the working of the reformed constitution up to the end of the lifetime of the last Council, the memorandum includes an analysis of the composition and attitude of the present legislature. Without this the report would be incomplete because the new Council has been greatly influenced by the events of 1926.

REPORT ON THE WORKING OF THE REFORMS.

A.—The Executive Government.

1. *Paragraph 3-A(i).*—Allocation of funds to reserved and transferred subjects.*—The statement made in the report of 1923 still holds good. There has been no technical allocation of funds, nor have the Ministers asked for it. A proposal on these lines, however, was supported by the Legislative Council in December 1925, when a resolution was adopted recommending that the 1925-26 remission of Rs. 56 lakhs should be earmarked for rural development in the transferred field, and that a development fund should be formed to which this and all future remissions should be credited and placed at the disposal of Ministers for expenditure in accordance with the advice of a development board. This recommendation was not accepted by Government. The remission was a reduction of expenditure and its primary and immediate effect was to increase the closing balance ; its first use was to cover the deficit of 1924-25 caused by the floods and to provide a working balance. As a matter of fact in the two years from 1925-26, out of remissions aggregating Rs. 112 lakhs, Rs. 24¾ lakhs were used to cover deficits, Rs. 70¾ lakhs went on new expenditure, 78 per cent. of which was under transferred heads, and the rest went to provide a working balance.

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* These references " paragraph 3-A (*i*), etc." relate to the Government of India's 1923 letter on the same subject and to the arrangement adopted in this Government's report of 1923.

2. The following figures indcate the proportion of new expenditure alloted to the transferred departments —

	Total new expenditure.	Amount allotted to transferred services.	Percentage.
	Rs.	Rs.	
1924-25	50 lakhs.	32 lakhs.	64
1925-26	31¼ ,,	23½ ,,	73
1926-27	63¾ ,,	50 ,,	78

3. The following extract from the Finance Member's speech, made in introducing the budget for 1926-27, succinctly states the policy adopted and its concrete results :

> " It has, of course, always been our policy to give the larger, much the larger, share of new expenditure to the transferred departments . . . . The cumulative effect of this policy will be apparent from a comparison of the budgets for 1921-22 and 1926-27. Between 1921-22 and 1926-27 the expenditure on Education has risen from 155 lakhs to 179 lakhs, an increase of nearly 16 per cent. ; on Medical from 21 to 32 lakhs, an increase of 52 per cent. ; on Agriculture from 28 to 30 lakhs, an increase of 7 per cent. ; on Industries from 7 to 12 lakhs, an increase of 71 per cent. The expenditure shown under Public Health and Civil Works has decreased but the decrease is entirely nominal and is due to a change in our financial methods. We now provide much more expenditure on those subjects from capital. Allowing for changes in methods of accounting, the total disbursement on transferred subjects has gone up by 50 lakhs from 356 to 406, an increase of just over 14 per cent. ; whilst the expenditure on the reserved subjects has increased by only 20 lakhs from 1,117 to 1,137, or about 1·8 per cent. Further, the latter increase, such as it is, is far more than accounted for by the expenditure on the Sarda canal. That expenditure was in 1921-22 only 20 lakhs ; it is now 105 lakhs. If we exclude that expenditure, which is of course of an exceptional character, there has been a decrease on the reserved side of 65 lakhs, or 6 per cent."

Incidentally these figures prove that the Finance Member's responsibility for spending departments on the reserved side has not resulted in these departments securing more than their fair share of the money available.

4. *Paragraph* 3-*A*(*ii*).—*The organization of the Secretariat.*—The re-organization of the Secretariat, which was provisionally sanctioned in 1923, was made permanent with the approval of the Secretary of State in 1925, when a second post of deputy secretary in the Finance Department was added. In 1924 the Deputy Inspector-General in the C. I. D. had been gazetted deputy secretary in the Police Department in order to bring him into closer touch with the Secretariat. In 1926 the scheme for separating audit and accounts was introduced experimentally into this province in consultation with the Government of India. The experiment is of all-India importance and its success in these provinces, which seems already assured, will probably lead to a similar

change in other provinces. The Accountant-General has become the Director of Audit. The Finance Secretary now combines the duties of the old Finance Department with those of Chief Accounting Officer, being assisted by a Deputy Chief Accounting Officer and a Chief Pay and Accounts Officer, both of whom are members of the Indian Finance Department and both *ex officio* deputy secretaries. The ministerial staff of the Finance branch is now separated from the rest of the Secretariat, and is recruited independently from candidates with special qualifications. Incidentally, Excise was transferred from the Finance Secretary to the Secretary for Education and Industries.

5. These fundamental changes in the scope of the Finance Department's ctivities are important constitutionally as bringing practice into accord with the Devolution Rules 36 to 45. The charge of the loan account, and all matters relating to the service of loans, the responsibility for seeing that other departments maintain suitable accounts, the preparation of an estimate of the total receipts and disbursements in each year, the duty of advising departmenst responsible for the collection of revenue regarding the progress of collections, have all been transferred from the Accountant-General to the Finance Department.

6. In 1926 the Personal Assistant to the Legal Remembrancer became Deputy Legal Remembrancer. The change was urged upon the Government in the Legislative Council and was accepted in order to lighten the burden falling directly on the Legal Remembrancer.

7. For reasons which need not be detailed here it was decided that the Chief Engineer in the Buildings and Roads Branch of the Public Works Department should no longer be also Secretary to Government. On May 1, 1927, the Revenue Secretary took over the secretarial duties of the Chief Engineer, being at the same time relieved of Judicial. On the same date the Deputy Secretary in the Judicial Department became Judicial Secretary. The Assistant Secretary, Buildings and Roads Branch, has been retained.

8. The Irrigation Branch continues as before. It is not shown in the present or previous appendix I. The staff is :—

One Secretary,

one Joint Secretary,

two Under Secretaries, and

one Assistant Secretary.

9. No attempt has been made to revive the question of appointing a Joint Secretary in the Finance Department under Devolution Rule 36.

10. *Paragr ph 3-A(iii).—Special and permanent committees.*—No further interest has been taken in Council secretaries, and the legislature has shown no disposition to press for their reappointment. The Government remain of opinion that they would serve no useful purpose. No addition to the number of standing committees of the legislature has been made. On the other hand the Publicity Committee has disappeared together with the Publicity Department. The latter was always regarded with suspicion in the legislature as likely to disseminate views which do not find favour with that body.

11. Since 1923 the Local Self-Government Committee has met only five times, the last meeting having been held in July 1927. Little is claimed for it in the way of achievement. Its chief utility is said to lie in the opportunity which it presents to the Minister of discussing controversial subjects informally with members of the Council. Whether a standing committee is required for this purpose is perhaps open to doubt, but its abolition would certainly provoke criticism.

12. Though some of the Finance committees elected for the years 1924, 1925, and 1926 contained a substantial Swarajist element, the expectation that they might develop on purely political lines has not been fulfilled. The proceedings show that the committees confined themselves in the main to finncial questions and were less apt to attack policy than their predecessors. Nonetheless members held themselves no more bound by their own decisions than in the earlier years. Both opponents and supporters of schemes accepted in the Finance Committee spoke and voted against them in the Legislative Council. The present Finance Committee conmprises the leaders of the opposition, who may be expected to attempt to use it as a means of controlling policy.

13. *Public Accounts Committee.*—The statements made in the report of 1923 are still generally applicable. Three Audit and Appropriation reports have since been considered by this committee. On two occasions the committee accepted the Finance Department's note practically without comment. The committee of 1926-27 went into more detail and made definite suggestions. The importance of this committee is still imperfectly recognized, and membership for the most part goes to back-benchers. The legislature itself took little interest in the committee's reports, adopting them without change or comment. The new Council in January, 1927, did, however, indulge in certain comments, but they were political rather than financial. They discussed, for example, the use of the Stores Department for jail purchases.

14. No rules have been framed for the Finance Committee or the Public Accounts Committee. The latter however is gradually developing conventions of its own, and in any case finds it easy to adhere to its financial duties. The Finance Department prepares a full note on all points which call for attention, and the presence of the Director of Audit has a restraining effect.

15. Special committees continued to be appointed. One such committee appointed to deal with a resolution recommending that irrigation rates be brought within the purview of the Council led to the framing of a Bill which came in due course before a select committee. The Bill had to be dropped as the minutes of dissent, written by nearly every non-official member of the select committee, made it clear that it would be a waste of time to proceed with it in Council. The Government had accepted the view that the canal rates should be regulated by law, and the provisions of their Bill which made prices the basis of assessment have since been approved by the Taxation Inquiry Committee. The Council however desired that rates themselves should be fixed by vote of the Council, which would mean that the responsibility for seeing that the rates were maintained at a reasonable level would be taken out of the hands of the Government. Similarly, a court of wards committee was appointed in response to a demand by the legislature. Its principal recommenda-

tion proposed to substitute for the Board of Revenue a large body mainly elected, but unsuited by numbers, lack of administrative experience and personal connexions to discharge properly the functions of the court of wards. The scheme would have left the Government in the position of a trustee, but without agents who could be relied on to carry out their policy, and indeed with no guarantee that the obligations of a trustee would be respected.

16. Infructuous as these two committees were, they nevertheless helped to define the issues; and the Governor in Council adheres to the view that inquiries by means of special committees are a natural and legitimate development of the reforms.

17. A list of the numerous advisory committees which have been appointed in this province may be of interest. They are as follows:—Excise Board, Board of Industries, Board of Communications, Development Board, Board of Industrial Loan Commissioners, Board of Agriculture, Forest Advisory Board, Revision Board in the Jail Department, United Provinces State Board of Medical Examinations and Medical Council, Board of Public Health, Irrigation Board, Board of Vernacular Education, Advisory Committee for compulsory primary education, Advisory Committee of the Thomason College, Roorkee, Governing Body of the Cawnpore Agricultural College, United Provinces Cattle-breeding Committee and Kumaun Forest Committee. Most of them are thus concerned with transferred subjects.

18. *Paragraph 3-A(iv).—Progress of local self-government.*—The first Minister's policy of avoiding official interference with local bodies, as far as possible, has been continued by his successors so far. The present Minister's view however is that the control should be exercised indirectly and chiefly through giving grants on definite conditions or withholding them if those conditions are not fulfilled. Though hitherto no board has been dissolved or superseded, yet it is proposed that if there is any board not fit to carry on the administration it should be dissolved in the first instance and then superseded if necessary. It is also the policy of the Minister, with a view to improve the administration of the local bodies, to remove members and even chairmen who do not carry out their duties and responsibilities in the best interests of the public or have been guilty of abusing their powers.

19. For municipalities, some progress may be claimed. The general finances show a slight improvement, though there are marked individual exceptions. Receipts from taxation have risen, whilst the tendency to rely on Government for grants or loans has not increased. Better provision is now being made for roads, the figures being Rs. 10½ lakhs for 1923-24 and Rs. 17½ lakhs for 1925-26, In some towns valuable improvements have been carried out. Electric lighting is slowly extending, whilst the loss on water works fell from Rs. 2,17,000 in 1924-25 to Rs. 1,78,000 in 1925-26. Five city boards now show a profit on their water works. The problems of domestic hygiene and child welfare have been taken up in some municipalities.

20. The district boards, bearing in mind that Act X was passed in 1922 only, have worked on the whole satisfactorily, though they yet leave very much to be desired. They are short of funds, but slow to grasp the nettle of taxation. Only six boards have actually imposed a tax on circumstances and

property so far, though the urgency of it is beginning to be recognized by some of the boards. No board has as yet enhanced its local rate under the Act.

21. The general progress by the self-governing bodies in the art of administration is not as satisfactory as should be expected. It would be easy indeed to cite instances of serious retrogression. The 1925 elections turned very largerly on personal and communal issues, the Swarajists who lost ground everywhere being replaced by candidates with strong communal proclivities. Grave delay in the despatch of important business is general. Other defects are constant interference in petty executive details, coupled with a lack of interest in matters of greater moment. In good many cases auditors report confusion in the accounts; there have been embezzlement cases also in some boards; the tax-payers do not get the best return for their money some times, taxes and other dues are in arrears in several cases; the transaction of business has been impeded by petty jealousies and intrigues in a number of cases which involve the permanent staff, reducing the board's efficiency. The local roads that have been transferred to the district boards, though transferred in a bad condition, are further allowed to deteriorate partly due to paucity of funds and partly to the lack of realization on their part of the importance of maintaining them to a proper standard. The Government, with a view to improve generally the condition of the roads of the province, is contemplating to launch a road scheme by re-classifying the roads into roads of provincial and local importance on a more definite and intelligible basis.

22. An appendix V is added to this report, giving excerpts from this Government's resolutions on the working of municipal and district boards in 1923-24 and 1924-25 and on municipal bodies for 1925-26.

23. *Paragraph 4-B(i).—Government legislation.*—The previous summary of Government legislation is brought up to date in appendix II.

The rent and revenue Bills introduced in 1926 were the most important measures that had come before the legislature for a generation. Experience had shown that the Agra Tenancy Act of 1901 had failed in several important respects. The retention of the provision under which a tenant acquired occupancy rights in land held for twelve years, coupled with the increased competition for land, had led to an ever-growing volume of harassing litigation. The non-occupancy tenant had no stability of tenure and no guarantee of a fair rent. On the other hand the procedure for the revision of occupancy rents was seriously defective, and landlords were unable to obtain reasonable enhancements. The Bill of 1926 proposed—

(1) to abolish the twelve-year rule but to allow occupancy rights to be conferred by gift or sale, and

(2) to confer a life tenancy on statutory tenants after the recent Oudh model.

As a counterpoise the landlord was—

(1) to regain the right lost under the Act of 1901, extending his *sir*,

(2) to be allowed to acquire for good reasons, and on payment of compensation, tenant's land for his own use,

(3) to be given facilities for securing fair enhancements from occupancy tenants, and

(4) to be given more effective remedies against defaulting tenants.

Further, the Land Revenue Bill proposed to codify the principles of land revenue settlement and to lighten the incidence of assessments by—

(1) extending the period of settlement from 30 to 40 years,

(2) reducing the percentage of assets taken at settlement from 50 to 40, and

(3) imposing a limit to the enhancement of revenue.

24. In the Legislative Council the Swarajists and landlords at first agreed to combine to secure certain amendments which one party or the other favoured for reasons of its own. The Swarajists disliked the roster year system, which provided for the moderate enhancement of inadequate rents. The landlords desired the removal of restrictions on the acquisition of tenants' land and more extensive facilities for adding to their *sir*. The Swaraj party wished to reduce the maximum enhancement of rents from 33 per cent. to 25 per cent. and to raise from ten to twenty years the period during which a second enhancement of rent could not be applied for. As the result of the agreement the Council—

(1) enlarged the facilities for extending *sir*,

(2) reduced the limitation of enhancement of rent from 33 to 25 per cent.,

(3) increased from 10 to 20 years the period during which a second enhancement could not be applied for,

(4) removed the safeguards against the misuse of the acquisition sections,

(5) expunged the roster year system from the Bill,

(6) cancelled the provisions giving the courts a discretion to grant time to defaulting tenants.

25. The Government were unable to accept the Bill as thus altered. They were prepared to acquiesce in the second and third amendments, but the other four changes made by the Council would have destroyed the value of the Bill. His Excellency the Governor, therefore under section 72-E of the Government of India Act, recommended to the Council that it should adopt amendments restoring in respect of these four matters (and a fifth of minor importance) the original provisions of the Bill. The Swarajists and landlords met to discuss the recommendation, but were unable to agree as to the line to be taken in Council. The landlords were in favour of restoring the roster year system and of rejecting the other proposals of His Excellency. The Swarajists disliked the roster year system, and had supported the other changes made by the Council only in order to secure certain concessions for the occupancy tenants. The acceptance by the Government of these concessions had in fact removed the main reason for their compact with the landlords. In the result the four principal amendments recommended by the Governor were adopted by the Council, and the Bill was passed by the combined official and Swarajist votes in a form which the Government regarded as substantially satisfactory, but which the landlord party viewed with disfavour.

26. All this reacted strongly on the Land Revenue Bill, which was next taken up. The select committee had fixed the deduction allowed for proprietory cultivation at 15 to 20 per cent. The Council increased the maximum deduction to 30 per cent. This would have involved a loss of seven lakhs of annual revenue. Further, they proceeded to confirm the select committee's action in reducing the percentage of assets from 40 to 35. This would have entailed an eventual loss of revenue of one crore of rupees. The Government could not accept either amendment. The Bill introduced by them was one of unexampled liberality, and they could not consent to any further sacrifice of the interests of the community. His Excellency the Governor again made a recommendation to the Council under section 72-E of the Government of India Act, and in doing so, made it clear that the Bill would be withdrawn if his recommendations on these two vital points were not accepted. The landlords irritated by their defeat on the Tenancy Bill, and encouraged by the Swarajists, who desired their support in the coming elections, refused to reconsider their attitude, and the Bill was withdrawn.

27. The history of these two measures has been given at some length because of the reactions (explained below) on the present Legislative Council. Throughout the landlords were badly led, and showed little judgment. The Agra Tenancy Act of 1926 is less favourable to them than the Bill introduced by the Government, and though they have since been given, by amendments of the rules made under Act III of 1901, all the substantial concessions offered in the Land Revenue Bill, they have lost the advantage, as they regard it, of codification. The controversies in the legislature had, however, markedly little effect on the elections of 1926. Despite the fact that the great majority of the voters are tenants, the Swarajists, though they gained a few seats in the western districts, on the whole lost heavily, whilst the landlords were returned in undiminished numbers. Nothing perhaps could illustrate more clearly the inertia of the electorate. The rural voters know nothing of the proceedings in the Council; they are still over most of the province amenable to the influence of their landlords; and except for a few kisan sabhas, they are quite unorganised.

27A. The Honourable Home Member desires to dissociate himself from the criticism expressed in paragraphs 24-27 of the attitude of the landlord party in the legislature.

28. Other Government legislation occasioned little difficulty. In the Oudh Courts Bill the council inserted a clause requiring that three-fifths of the total number of judges on the Chief Court should be Indians. This amendment was returned by His Excellency the Governor for reconsideration under section 81A. of the Government of India Act. The Governor's recommendation was accepted. Bills proposing to extend the duration of the United Provinces Motor Vehicles Act, 1923, the United Provinces Court-fees Act, 1923, the United Provinces Stamp Act, 1923, and with them the additional taxation embodied in those Acts, were rejected by the Council.

29. The District Board Primary Education Act, 1926, and the Agra University Act, 1926, were both important measures. The first provides for the introduction of compulsory primary education in the rural areas on a permissive basis. At the third reading the Muslim members left the Council

chamber in a body, on the ground that the Hindus had shown a lack of sympathy on a point which the Muslim members regarded as vital, namely the provision of religious instruction along with secular teaching. A concession of some importance had already been made to Muslim sentiment with the support of the Government. The Muslim members subsequently made it known that their departure was a protest against the Swarajists attitude and not against the Government. The passage of the Agra University Act gave no trouble.

30. *Paragraph 4-B (ii).—Private Bills.*—Three private Bills were passed by the Council, namely,—

(1) the United Provinces District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1924, by which it is provided that every person enrolled in the Muslim electord roll shall be qualified for election in any constituency the whole or a portion of which lies in the tahsil which includes the circle in which the said elector is enrolled, instead of being qualified for election only for the constituency in which that circle is included;

(2). The United Provinces Public Gambling (Amendment) Bill, 1925, by which the definition of " common gaming house " in section 1 of the Public Gambling Act, 1867, as already amended by the United Provinces Gambling (Amendment) Act, 1917, was further amended so as to cover cases of gaming on the digits of the sale price of a commodity or on the digits of papers or bales manipulated from within jars or other receptacles, or on the occurrence or non-occurrence of any natural event, for example, rainfall or the quantity of rainfall;

(3) The United Provinces Municipalities (Amendment) Bill, 1926, by which provision was made for the resignation of the chairman of a municipal board if a majority consisting of not less than half the members of the board for the time being passed a vote of non-confidence in him, and confirmed it by a subsequent resolution calling upon him to resign, and for the enforcement of such resignation by giving the local Government power to remove a chairman from office if he failed to submit his resignation after such a vote.

31. Nine other minor private Bills were introduced. Of these one, namely, the Bundhelkhand Alienation of Land (Amendment) Bill, 1925, which sought to defeat the restriction on the alienation of land in Bundelkhand by allowing a scheduled creditor under the Provincial Insolvency Act to get the land of an undischarged insolvent sold in lieu of his proved debt, was negatived by the Council, and the others were dropped. Notice of the intention to move for leave to introduce eight other Bills was given. In the case of the United Province Temperance Bill, 1925, previous sanction was necessary, and this was refused on the ground that Bills affecting seriously the revenues of the province must be introduced by Government. None of the other seven Bills was introduced.

32. *Paragraph 4-B (iii).—Financial business.*—The general observations made in the report of 1923 require no modification. The council's attitude

towards taxation and expenditure is unchanged. In 1924-25 the extension of the Motor Taxation Act and the Court-fees Act was refused. The Stamp (Amendment) Act of 1923 was, however, extended for another year (see para. 5 of this Government's letter no. 3211, dated July 3, 1924). In 1925 a further proposal to extend the Stamp Act of 1923 was rejected. The object was to provide another seven lakhs of rupees for transferred services, but as a partial remission of 56 lakhs of the provincial contribution had been announced a few days earlier, no further taxation was held to be justified. Only two non-officials voted with the Government on this occasion. Further remissions have since made it unnecessary to resort to proposals for additional taxation. It is however practically certain that, if made, they would have been rejected. The Council as a whole considers that no new taxation can be justified until the provincial contribution entirely disappears.

33. In the discussions on the budget the tendency to criticise detailed items of expenditure, more particularly on the reserved side, is as strong as ever. Each department accordingly faces some risk of serious dislocation at every recurring budget session. No appropriation is too insignificant to escape attention, and many members consider that any increase under any head justifies a motion for reduction. The following figures show how the budgets have fared since the last report was written :—

	Reductions made by the Council (in thousands of rupees).		*Total restored.*
	Reserved.	Transferred.	
1924-25	14,69,	3,98,	3,99,
1925-26	10,44,	1,34,	10,01,
1926-27	9,11,	66,	8,24,
1927-28	13,20,	1,	11,56,

The restorations were as follows :—

1924-25 ..	Settlement		3,60,
	Forests		39,
	Total ..		3,99,
1925-26 ..	Settlement		7,38,
	Forest		2,00,
	Police		63,
	Total		10,01,
1926-27 ..	Settlement		8,24,
1927-28 ..	Settlement		9,23,
	Commissioners		2,00,
	Secretariat		33,
	Total		11,56,

34. In 1924-25 the more substantial reductions made under transferred heads were accepted by the Ministers. A number of reductions were also accepted on the reserved side, but on the understanding that supplementary estimates would be introduced later if the reduced grants proved inadequate. Two

lakhs of rupees were subsequently restored in this way. The acceptance of reductions is sometimes a tactical way out of a difficulty, but by no means indicates that the original provision was not justified in the public interest.

35. For three years in succession the second Council rejected the appropriation for survey and settlement. In 1924-25 the programme was revised and a reduced demand for Rs. 4,95,000 was presented at a later date. Only Rs. 1,30,000 however were voted to complete operations already in hand, and the Governor decided to restore Rs. 3,60,000 in order to enable settlements to be proceeded with. In the following three years the whole of the demand for survey and settlement was restored. On this point it was natural that the landlord element in Council should not see eye to eye with the Government. In earlier years the pretext was that the Settlement Bill should be passed before settlements proceeded. In 1927 the plea was that the Government had declined to re-introduce the Settlement Bill which the Council had made it impossible for the Government to accept in August, 1926.

In 1924-25 a reduction of Rs. 1,58,450 was made under Forests. Rupees 39,370 of this amount were reduced under a misapprehension and were restored by the Governor.

In 1925-26 the attack of the previous year on Forests was repeated, and two lakhs were cut in order to draw attention to alleged grievances in Kumaun. This sum was restored, together with an allotment under police the reduction of which aimed at the removal of an indispensable deputy inspector-general. The other restorations call for no comment. The effective reductions during the last three years in a budget of about 11½ crores were thus Rs. 11,76,000 (transferred, Rs. 3,98,000) in 1924-25, Rs. 1,77,000 (transferred, Rs. 1,34,000) in 1925-26, and Rs. 94,000 (transferred, Rs. 66,000) in 1926-27.

36. Pure finance is not much considered in the budget discussions, which are used to voice grievances and to raise questions of policy. Such questions of policy are largely stereotyped—partly no doubt because, except in the matter of tenancy law, there have been in the reserved departments no important departures from previous practice; but also because the main aim of the liberal and Swarajists groups is to attenuate if not to eliminate the British element in the administration. Stock examples of this intention are the appointment of Indian secretaries and deputy secretaries and a reduction in the number of commissioners and deputy inspectors-general of police. Other recurrent items are the question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions, the institution of district advisory committees, financial assistance to the Benares and Aligarh universities, and the alleged differential treatment of European and Indian prisoners, together with a number of minor points of jail administration about which the Swarajists group display much interest and sometimes first hand knowledge. But, despite the nature of the discussions, token reductions are by no means the rule, as the figures already given sufficiently show. The reductions under Police, Commissioners and the Secretariat are noteworthy as instances of attacks which are really directed against non-votable items though made upon the votable portions of the appropriations. It cannot be said that the last Council dealt with the budgets in a businesslike way. In this respect it compared unfavourably with the

first Council. In each of the three years 1924 to 1926, owing to the disproportionate time expended on a few subjects, a number of demands were put to the vote on the last of the twelve days allotted, and were passed without a debate. In March 1927, actually only eight out of thirty-two demands came under discussion, but this was largely the result of the policy deliberately adopted by the opposition, who decided for tactical reasons to concentrate their attack on the reserved departments.

37. *Measures of retrenchment.*—The general position under this head was sufficiently described in the corresponding section of the report of 1923 and in para. 8 of this Government's letter no. 3211, dated July 3, 1924. A point of some importance is the absence of any disposition to insist that Indianisation shall result in a less expensive administration.

38. *Proposals emanating from the Council involving increased expenditure.*—Appendix III of the previous report has been brought up to date.

39. *Paragraph 4-B (iv) (a).—Resolutions.*—Appendix IV has been brought up to date. A Chief Court is now established in Oudh and the Agra University Act was passed in 1926. On the withdrawal of the Land Revenue Bill an executive order was passed altering the duration of new settlements from thirty to forty years.

40. As in earlier years the Government have given effect to resolutions adopted by the Council in a large number of instances. More than one request for the release of prisoners convicted in the less important communal riots has been accepted ; the sanction of the Governor-General is being sought to a Bill to protect minor girls of the Naik caste in Kumaun, considered measures have been taken , and with apparent success, to repress corruption in the public services ; Urdu speeches in the Council are now reported ; members of the Legislative Council are authorised to visit jails and certain other government institutions ; a new Jail Manual is in the press ; and Kumaun has been brought under the civil jurisdiction of the Allahabad High Court.

41. On the other hand, the Government have not seen their way to take action on resolutions pressing for the abolition of commissioners ; for increased grants to the Benares university ; for halting allowances for patwaris ; for the abolition of arrest as a penalty for the non-payment of land revenue ; for the formation of standing or advisory committees in departments where such committees do not at present exist ; for the further liberalization of the arms rules ; or for the establishment of district advisory committees.

42. Resolution shown as accepted in 1923 have since resulted in further restrictions of the annual move to the hills, in the extension of the jury system to three more districts, and in the abolition of 39 circle inspectors of police.

43. Since 1923 only a few resolutions have been withdrawn as the result of assurances given by the Government. The most important instance was that of a resolution relating to the codification of settlement procedure. As already explained in para. 26, the Bill subsequently introduced by the Government had to be dropped.

44. The legislature rejected resolutions demanding a committee with a non-official majority to inquire into the causes of communal riots ; asking for

a similarly constituted selection board to control the appointment of honorary magistrates, honorary munsifs and honorary assistant collectors; and asking for the allotment of six days for non-official business in each month of nine months of the year. The last mentioned resolution was rejected at a thinly attended meeting, but on a number of occasions non-official business had broken down for want of a quorum, and the great majority of the members did not want more days to be allotted. Other resolutions which were negatived proposed—

(1) the reduction of the secondary education course to eleven years, followed by a three years' course for the B. A. degree (an attempt to go back on the policy of the Intermediate Education Act of 1921);

(2) the removal of the disqualification for candidature to local bodies in the case of persons sentenced to imprisonment on political grounds and also in the case of Government servants dismissed for acts not involving moral turpitude;

(3) the insertion in the Excise Manual of a declaration that the aim and object of the excise policy is total abstinence; and

(4) the provision of adequate representation on local bodies for labour in all places in which factory workers are numerous.

45. As in previous years the Governor exercised his power of disallowing resolutions as occasion demanded. In the three years from 1924 to 1926 seventeen resolutions were disallowed mainly on the ground that the local Government was not primarily concerned. These resolutions ranged over a wide field, from the abolition of the dyarchical system of administration to the speech of the Secretary of State for India delivered on July 7, 1925, and from the disfranchisement in this province of natives of South Africa to the Lee Commission's proposals for the Indianization of the Imperial services.

46. *Paragraph 4-B (iv) (b)—Questions in Council.*—There is little that is new to say about questions in Council and the remarks in the report of 1923 under this head still apply with substantial accuracy. The deluge of questions continues and adds greatly to the work at head-quarters. Some members regard it as a merit if their names stand against fifty or sixty questions on a single day. As in the case of resolutions and budget motions, and for much the same reasons, there are a number of stock subjects. Examples are the qualifications of honorary magistrates; racial distinctions between European and Indian prisoners; the separation of executive and judicial functions; the Indianization of certain posts in the High Court, of the services, and of the Secretariat; the fencing of railway lines; the purchase of stores in Europe; the reservation of civil surgeoncies for I. M. S. officers; the abolition of commissioners; and the internal administration of the Government.

47. The Governor's power of disallowing questions has recently been discussed in correspondence with the Government of India. The restriction of that power to questions about which the President feels a doubt is unsatisfactory, and inconsistent with the rule on the subject of resolutions. Supplementary questions are becoming more numerous than before. A new development is their use in order to pave the way for a motion to adjourn the House

on the ground that the answers given are not satisfactory. Two adjournments have been brought about in this manner, and there have been other occasions also when questions seem to have been framed and followed up by supplementary questions with that object in view.

48. *Paragraph 4-B (v) (a)—Miscellaneous—Expert members.*—Pandit Kailash Prasad Kichlu was nominated under this head in connexion with the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill, 1926, and Canon A. W. Davies and Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji in connexion with the Agra University Bill, 1926. These experts gave great assistance on the select committees, and Canon Davies took a prominent part in the discussion on the University Bill.

(*b*) *Motions for adjournment.*—In addition to the five motions noted in the report of 1923 two other motions of adjournment were made during the first Council on the subject of the release of prisoners convicted for alleged political offences. In the second Council twelve attempts to adjourn the House were made, but ten of these were disallowed by the President. A motion which proposed to draw the attention of the Council to the unsatisfactory nature of the majority report of the Muddiman Committee was withdrawn. Another motion criticizing the treatment of a member of the Legislative Council by a district magistrate was adopted. The following motions were ruled out by the President :—

(1) to discuss the application by the local authorities of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, to a certain fair in Almora. The fair was long over, and the matter was not urgent ;

(2) to question the power of the Governor to allot and re-allot business ;

(3) to discuss the action of the Government in arranging for a sentence of whipping on two Anglo-Indians to be carried out by an Anglo-Indian. This was not a matter of urgent importance ;

(4) to discuss the substitution of a unitary system of full responsible government for dyarchy in this province. No resolution could be moved on this subject ;

(5) to discuss the proscription of certain Hindi readers ;

(6) to discuss the alleged shadowing of M. L. Cs. by the Criminal Investigation Department. There was no urgency here ;

(7) to discuss the action of the Board of Revenue in postponing ejectment suits in the province of Agra ;

(8) to discuss the Government's proposals for utilizing a remission of the provincial contribution amounting to 56 lakhs. There was no justification for an extraordinary motion here ;

(9) to discuss the alleged interference by a certain district magistrate with the district board elections and the choice of a chairman ;

(10) to discuss the refusal of the Government to proceed with the Land Revenue Bill.

In the third Council the adjournment was moved to discuss the observations made by a High Court judge in the preface of a private publication. The motion was talked out. Another, which proposed to challenge the Governor's power to fix days for Council business, was disallowed by the President.

It is clear that the Council still fails to appreciate the effective use of such motions. Notices are handed in without much regard to the urgency or public importance of the questions to be ventilated. If the Council had a free hand in the matter, motions for adjournment would be discussed every week and would lose much of their effect by repetition.

(*c*) *Standing orders.*—In November 1924, a single member gave notice of a long list of amendments to the standing orders which were however considered and severely pruned by a select committee. The only amendment which gave rise to serious discussion was connected with the limitations on debate. The change actually made however was slight. A new standing order enabled the Council to adjourn the further consideration of the Agra Tenancy Bill till after the *Moharram* holidays in 1926 in spite of the Government's opposition.

(*d*) *Bills.*—The Bills returned for reconsideration have been noted in paragraphs 25, 27 and 28 above. In no case was a Bill certified under section 72-E of the Government of India Act.

49. *Paragraph 5* (*a*)—*Extent to which the Council represents and reacts on current opinion.*—Communal tension outside the Council leads at times to strongly marked cleavage of opinion in the Council on all questions where communal interests divide members. To this extent current public opinion has certainly reacted more than formerly on the legislature. At the same time credit must be given for the restraint which members have often, though not always, imposed upon themselves when presented with openings which could be turned to communal account. This restraint was not always appreciated by their constituents as some of the leaders outside the Council were inclined to make political capital of communal feeling. Hindu Swarajist in Oudh lost a number of seats because they were regarded as lukewarm supporters of Hindu interests; whilst other Hindu lost their seats because they were successfully misrepresented to the electors as too open to Muslim influences. Some Swarajist gains in the western districts are attributed to the pro-tenant attitude of the party over the Agra Tenancy Bill. But on the balance the Swarajists lost heavily, and in general the bond between the rural voter and his member is still of the slightest.

50. Election to the Legislative Council is eagerly sought, and the importance of the Council as a means of bringing effective pressure to bear on the Government is now more fully understood. There is some growth of interest in Council proceedings, though the number interested is likely for a long time to form but a small fraction of the electorate. There are usually less than a score of visitors present during a debate. Spectacular attacks on the Government excite most attention, and there is little tendency to judge them on their merits.

51. *Paragraph 5* (*b*)—*Constituencies.*—Members still see little or nothing of their constituents except during the elections. But the elections of 1926

were more keenly and systematically contested than the two previous elections. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Rajpat Rai toured through a large part of the province in support of their followers.

52. At a recent meeting in an Oudh constituency, convened by the Nationalist party whip—in itself a new development—the local member was held up to ridicule for refusing to join the Nationalist party. This appears to have been the real object of the meeting. In the main however, the Nationalist party, which is the old Liberal party under a new name, relies on the press for the dissemination of its views, and in the *Leader* it possesses by far the most influential paper in the province.

53. *Paragraph 5 (c)—Formation of political parties.*—In 1923 the appearance of a compact body of about thirty Swarajists gave the Council its first real experience of party discipline and party organization. The preceding Council had contained a group of Liberals who on most questions voted together; but this group had no clearly formulated programme, and its members were not bound by any pledge. Though predominantly Hindu, the Swaraj party eschewed a merely communal attitude, and their cohesion gave them an importance above their numerical strength. They made their influence decisively felt during the passage of the Agra Tenancy Bill. On any issue, too, in which nationalist aspirations or racial feeling were involved, they could count on an easy victory over the government benches. But the second Council, largely landlord in composition, showed clearly enough that it had no patience with extremist tactics, and attempts to throw out whole demands during the budget discussions were promptly met by the combined opposition of all other parties. The Swarajists thus perforce became a party of reasoned opposition, and to this extent were an asset of undoubted value. Meanwhile the landlord party retained its easy numerical accendancy, though its cohesion was imperfect. It failed over the Agra Tenancy and the Land Revenue Bills with results which have become apparent since the third Council came into existence.

54. At the end of 1926 the Swarajists were returned in smaller numbers, but they are no longer the only well-organized party. A strong Nationalist party, which includes 28 members, has been formed in the new Council. Its adherents are members who formerly would have called themselves Liberals, and a section of the landlords who have been won over by skilful propaganda or other methods. It is at present a purely Hindu party. Attempts to enlist Muslim support have so far failed. The Nationalist party has no formal alliance with the Swarajists, but there is no real difference between their aims and policy. The demand of the Nationalists is for complete provincial autonomy, and this, too, is the objective of the Swarajists. Both parties therefore find it easy to combine in rancorous criticism of the reserved side of the Government. Towards Ministers the attitude of the Nationalists is mainly determined by personal considerations.

55. The landlords have never been a well-organized party, nor have they ever had a recognized leader. In the preceding Councils, their conservative instincts and old associations, though not always proof against appeals to racial or nationalist sentiments, kept them on the whole friendly to the Government on its reserved side. In the present Council they have been more often than not in opposition. This change is in the main due to the tenancy and revenue

controversies of 1926. In the past the ex-Liberals who form the core of the Nationalist party have repeatedly shown themselves hostile to the landlord class; but political memories are short, and many Hindu landlords have been won over by the adroit mixture of flattery, promises and appeals to Hindu sentiment which are skilfully applied to them.

56. The Muslims and about fifteen Hindus form a residual party with no clearly defined programme. They are more open to conviction on the merits than the other two groups.

57. Communal feeling was strong, though usually latent, in the second Council. It is still stronger in the present legislature, though for tactical reasons the Nationalists and Swarajists have refrained from bringing forward any motion which would be regarded by the Muhammandans as a direct challenge. An attack, however, by a member of one community on a Minister or Member of the Executive Council, belonging to the other community is viewed with suspicion by the co-religionists of the latter, who generally rally to his support.

58. Developments on party lines have thus been rapid since the election of the third Council. The new groupings, however, depend in part on personal factors, and for that reason may not prove to be stable.

59. *Paragraph 5 (d).—Conduct of business in Council.*—The Council has been fortunate in the choice of a successor to the first official President. Rai Bahadur Lala Sita Ram was elected in August, 1925, and re-elected by the new Council in January, 1927. The traditions established during the first four years by his official predecessor have been worthily maintained. The President enjoys the confidence of all sections of the Council, and his authority is accepted without question. There have been no instances of disorderly conduct, and debates have been conducted with decorum. The Council is singularly tolerant of prolixity and irrelevance, and economy of time is little studied. This is a conspicuous defect in the budget discussions. For fear of alienating supporters, the party leaders rarely attempt to control their followers, even when the early termination of a debate would be tactically to their advantage.

No commissions were appointed during the period dealt with in this report. Questions and committees have already been dealt with.

60. *Paragraph 5 (e).—Attitude of parties in the Council.*—The parties have been described under paragraph 5 (*c*). The Swarajists still profess themselves opposed to the formation of ministries and as unwilling to accept office themselves, but these professions need not be taken too seriously. They are imposed from without and are of no practical moment. Nationalists and Swarajists hold frequent consultations to settle joint action on particular measures and also in regard to the appointment or election of members of committees, and resolutions to be moved. In fact, in spite of the absence of any formal alliance the union of the two parties is more apparent than their cleavage.

61. *Paragraph 5 (f).—Prominent party leaders.*—The leader of the Nationalist party, which numbers 28 members, is Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, formerly Minister for Education from January, 1921 to May, 1923. His political views were stated at length in his evidence before the Muddiman Committee, and are daily

expounded in the *Leader* of which he is the editor-in-chief. His merits and demerits are perhaps not unknown to the Government of India. Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh, an Oudh taluqdar, is deputy leader of the party.

62. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant is the leader of the Swarajist party which has 22 members, including four Muslims. He was formerly a Liberal, and is still so by temperament and conviction. He has never professed to take seriously the cult of the *charkha* and probably regrets the refusal of the Congress to abandon completely the non-co-operation programme. His tactical skill is considerable, and was responsible for his party's decisive influence in the debates on the Agra Tenancy Bill. Of late, however, his position has been somewhat weakened by the advent of Mr. Chintamani, whose vehement utterances appeal strongly to some of the Swarajists.

63. Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Khan Bahadur Fasih-ud-din, Khan Bahadur Mr. Muhammad Ismail and Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain are conspicuous among the Muslims as earnest and industrious members of the legislature.

64. *Paragraph 6-C (i).—The electorate.*—The population of the province is 45⅓ millions. In 1920 the electorate was a little over a million, and the percentage of votes recorded was 33. In 1923 over 500,000 electors had been added to the rolls, and by 1926 another 100,000 had been enfranchised, giving a percentage of 3·53 to the total population. The percentage of votes recorded was 41·36 in 1923, and 49·32 in 1926. In 1920 the total number of votes polled was 333,000 ; in 1926 it was 732,155 or considerably more than double. In 1923, 510,511 votes were recorded.

65. *Paragraph 6-C (ii).—Interest taken by the constituencies and the public in the work of the Councils.*—The interest of the constituencies and the public in the work of the Councils was temporarily stimulated by the recent elections when communal issues were prominent. The excitement has since subsided, but amongst the educated classes in the towns the influence and importance of the legislature are now better understood; and its proceedings attract more attention than they did at first. In the rural areas there has been little or no change. The peasant still knows nothing of what goes on in the Council, and is indifferent to most of the issues that are there debated. The increase in the number of votes cast by rural electors reflects rather the greater activity of the politicians than any genuine growth of interest in the villages.

66. *Paragraph 6-C (iii).—The extent to which the formation of political parties in the Council is derived from the constituencies.*—The Swarajists and Hindu Sabbha members represent definite political groups in the constituencies. The Swarajists have long had an electoral organization and party funds. The Hindu Sabha developed a party organization for the last election and was supplied with party funds. It was particularly strong in Oudh.

67. *Paragraph 6-C(iv). Organization of parties.*—There is nothing to add here to what has already been said, except that the Liberals, who were so prominent in the first Council, have never as a party recovered from their rejection

by the electorate in 1923. They now sail under Nationalist colours and rely on Hindu Sabha support. Nothing has come of the attempt to stabilize Liberal leagues.

68. *Paragraph 6-C(v). Influence of the Press.*—The vernacular papers are active in inflaming communal feeling and tireless in their vilification of the Government. In other respects they do little to shape and guide opinion. The support which many of them gave to the Swarajists during the last elections seems to have won few votes and except on communal questions their influence is not profound. Amongst English papers, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* has never carried much weight, and frequent changes of owners and editors have not enhanced its reputation. On the other hand, with the decline of the Swaraj party, the *Leader*, under the able editorship of Mr. Chintamani, has increased its influence. It is now the one organ in the province to which educated Indians look for information and guidance on political questions. Mr. Chintamani's control of this paper has been probably the most important factor in the formation of the Nationalist party. The Indian politician is sensitive to press criticism, and this weakness is very skilfully exploited by the *Leader*. Members who oppose the Nationalists are promptly pilloried in its columns. Save for an occasional *communique* or resolution, and the debates in Council, which are not widely read (nor well reported, so far as the Government spokesmen are concerned) the Government have no means of replying to the ceaseless propaganda which this paper carries on. This disadvantage is not confined to the reserved side : for lack of a paper the case for Ministers also sometimes goes by default. The expedient of promoting or subsidizing a pro-Government newspaper has often been considered and rejected. The landlords by themselves are not capable of maintaining a party newspaper : nor indeed would it be easy for any single newspaper to propagate the views of both the official and the non-official sides of the Government. No practical method has yet been discovered of giving effect to the hope expressed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that the Government would find a way of putting its case before the country as effectively as its critics do : nor indeed under thel existing constitution does such an arrangement seem possible. No officiae Government could reply to its critics by like means or in like terms to thost which its critics employ against it. But it is a conspicuous defect of the presen-political position that Indian opinion should be so largely influenced by a ones sided press.

69. *Paragraph 7. Policy of the parties.*—The forecast of this Government's first report has been justified so far as the Swarajists are concerned. The party secured over thirty seats at the 1923 elections. Their avowed object was to wreck the constitution. Experience and the force of circumstances have transformed them into a constitutional opposition. They have made extreme gestures occasionally, but were not, and probably did not expect to be, taken seriously. They conformed with instructions from without by walking out of the Council on March 11, 1926, when the general discussion on the budget began, but returned on March 29th, when the Agra Tenancy Bill was referred to a select committee. Three Swarajists, including the leader, served on the select committee of the Agra Tenancy Bill, and three served on the select committee of the Land Revenue Bill. The Swarajist leader also served on the select committee of the District Boards Primary Education Bill. This Bill appeared

to be momentarily in danger when the Muslim members walked out at the third reading as a protest that their special requirements were ignored. Swarajist support, however, insured that the Bill became law. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant in his speech on that occasion attributed to the irony of fate the fact that the Swarajists, who entered the Council with the avowed intention of wrecking the reforms, were present as a body to insure the passage of a Bill, which those strongly opposed to Swarajist tactics had endeavoured to wreck by sudden withdrawal from the proceedings.

70. There was no case of organized obstruction during the second Council. It has been left to the new Nationalist party, the Liberal section of which had previously been so scathing in its criticism of Swarajist obstructive tactics, to develop these methods of parliamentary opportunism. Several carefully masked attempts were unsuccessfully made on the last day to throw out whole demands which had not even been discussed for lack of time. The supplementary estimates on April 2, 1927, were obstructed, and the whole day was occupied in discussing two minor motions under Jails no vote being put to the Council. These obstructive tactics resulted in postponing to a subsequent session the consideration of Rs. 47½ lakhs of new expenditure on transferred subjects and five lakhs on reserved subjects.

71. *Summary.*—It is difficult to attempt to sum up the tendencies of provincial politics or to forecast the future. Little can be added to what has already been said. Dyarchy has now functioned for seven years : the administration has been carried on without a break and on the whole peacefully: revenues have increased and more money has been spent upon development in many directions : Ministers have acquired insight into public problems and experience of the difficulties of administration : and both in the legislature and to some extent outside it there has been a general quickening of interest in all public matters. It is probably true to say that on the part of officials and non-officials alike there is more general acceptance of dyarchy as a form of government than there was when its illogicalities and cumbrousness were more irksome by reason of their strangeness. Familiarity is breeding acquiescence. But the gap between the legislature and the people remains a profound one : and there is great cause for misgiving in the immense disparity between the work still to be done in qualifying the elector and the means which are so far in sight for doing it. As regards the relations of executive and legislature, there appear to be three main elements of weakness. One is the bitterness of communal feeling, which may either bring about a deadlock or kill political development by permanently forcing the Muslim minority into impotent alliance with the official element : another is the lack of fore sight and cohesion on the part of the dominant landlord party in the legislature, which will make it difficult for them to hold out against a combination of the Nationalists and Swarajists : and a third is the apparent lack of goodwill on the part of Nationalists and Swarajists towards any form of administration in which the British element has an effective voice. Hitherto the majority in Council, for one reason or another, has been willing, though with occasional manifestations of discontent, to maintain working relations with the reserved side of the Government. It is not certain that this state of things will continue. If it does not,

the official Government of the time will have to choose between making their policy conform to the minimum demands of the new majority in the legislature, or resolutely resisting those demands at the price of possible deadlock. The Home Member and the Muslim Minister, however, think that the possibility of organizing a permanent Government party should be carefully examined.

APPENDIX I.

DISTRIBUTION OF WORK IN THE SECRETARIAT ON MAY 1, 1927.

Branch.	Subjects.	Superior staff.
General	Appointments ..	Chief Secretary.
	General Administration ..	Deputy Secretary.
	Political	*Ex officio* Deputy Secretary.
	Police	(Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department).
	Newspapers	Assistant Secretary (for Executive only).
	Executive	
Revenue and Public Works.	Revenue	Secretary.
	Scarcity	Assistant Secretary (for Public Works Department only).
	Forests	
	Public Works (Buildings and Roads and Railways).	
	Ecclesiastical ..	
Judicial	Judicial	Secretary.
	Jails	
	Legislative	
	Government Press ..	
Education and Industries.	Education	Secretary.
	Industries	Deputy Secretary.
	Agriculture	*Ex officio* Deputy Secretary (Director of Public Instruction).
	Civil Veterinary Department.	
	Co-operative Societies ..	
	Excise ..	
Local Self-Government and Public Health.	Local Self- Government	Secretary.
	Medical	Under Secretary.
	Public Health ..	
	Registration	
	Nazul	
Finance	Finance	Secretary.
	Income-tax	Two Deputy Secretaries.
	Customs	Two *ex officio* Deputy Secretaries (Deputy Chief Accounting Officer and Chief Pay and Accounts Officer).
	Salt ..	
	Stamps	

APPENDIX II.

GOVERNMENT LEGISLATION, 1923 TO 1926.

1923.

Act I	..	The Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act, 1923 : removing certain difficulties resulting from the legislation of 1921.
Act II	..	United Provinces Excise (Amendment) Act : giving statutory authority to licencing boards and raising the age limit for sale of liquor.
Act III	..	United Provinces Court-fees (Amendment) Act, 1923 : a financial measure.
Act IV	..	United Provinces Land Revenue (Amendment) Act, 1923 : Dealing with difficulties created by a decision of the Board of Revenue with regard to the definition of *sir*.
Act V	..	United Provinces Stamp (Amendment) Act : a financial measure.
Act VI	..	United Provinces Motor Vehicles Taxation Act : a financial measure.
Act VII	..	United Provinces Court-fees (Second Amendment) Act, 1923 : purely formal.
Act VIII	..	Agra Pre-emption (Amendment) Act, 1923 : purely formal

1924.

Act I	..	United Provinces Board of Revenue (Amendment) Act, 1924 : depriving the Board of Revenue of its powers under certain Acts.
Act II	..	United Provinces Stamp (Second Amendment) Act, 1924 : extending the duration of the United Provinces Stamp (Amendment) Act, 1923.
Act IV	..	Agra Estates (Amendment) Act, 1924 : conferring on landholders in Oudh the rights enjoyed by landholders in the Agra province under the Agra Estates Act, 1920.
Act V	..	United Provinces Board of Revenue (Second Amendment) Act, 1924 : purely formal.

1925.

Act II	..	United Provinces Opium Smoking Act, 1925 : providing for the control of the practice of opium smoking.
Act III	..	United Provinces Legislative Council Salary of President Act, 1925 : fixing the salary of the elected President at Rs. 2,000 per mensem.
Act IV	..	The Oudh Courts Act, 1925 : establishing a Chief Court in Oudh and amending and consolidating the law relating to subordinate civil courts.
Act V	..	The Agra Civil Courts (Amendment) Act, 1925 : increasing the pecuniary jurisdiction of subordinate courts.

1926.

Act I	..	United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act, 1926 : empowering district boards to introduce compulsory primary education in rural areas.
Act III	..	The Agra Tenancy Act, 1926: making important changes in the Agra Tenancy Act, 1901, with the object of securing for tenants in the province of Agra fixity of tenure and fair rents.
Act IV	..	United Provinces Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1926 : empowering municipal boards to delegate duties or functions to government servants.
Act V	..	The Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act, 1926 : empowering the tenants to relinquish those parts of the holding which owing to inaccessibility resulting from the construction of the Sarda canal it is no longer worth his while to cultivate.
Act VI	..	United Provinces Land Revenue (*Sir* Amendment) Act, 1926 : bringing the definition of *sir* in the Land Revenue Act, 1901, into conformity with that in the Agra Tenancy Act.
Act VII	..	United Provinces District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1926 : empowering district boards to delegate powers, duties or functions to government servants.
Act VIII	..	The Agra University Act, 1926 : establishing a university at Agra.
Act IX	..	United Provinces Legislative Council Salary of President (Amendment) Act, 1926 : making provision in regard to the residence and travelling allowance of the President.

APPENDIX III.

LIST OF RESOLUTIONS INVOLVING INCREASED EXPENDITURE IN THE CALENDAR YEARS 1921 TO 1926.

Abolition of coolie *utar* in Kumaun	Recurring cost 1¼ lakhs. Accepted.
Creation of a civil medical service	Withdrawn.
Establishment of a Chief Court in Oudh	Accepted. Chief Court established.
Revision of pay of patwaris	34¼ lakhs. Withdrawn.
Provision of benches for the exclusive use of litigants in courts.	Rs. 55,000. Withdrawn.
Establishment of more travelling dispensaries ..	14 lakhs. Accepted after an amendment which deprived it of its force.
Freeing of a railway bridge from passenger toll ..	About 2¼ lakhs. Rejected.
Establishment of Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries	Rs. 60,000. Withdrawn.
Increase in the number of agricultural and industrial schools.	Withdrawn.
Provision of roadways on two railway bridges ..	50 lakhs. Negatived.
Separation of executive and judicial functions ..	8 lakhs. Accepted.
Provision of pensions for copyists	Withdrawn.
Maintenance of seed stores by Government ..	50 lakhs. Rejected.
Opening of a provincial commercial museum ..	Withdrawn.
Provision of well-boring apparatus	Adopted after amendment.
Religious instruction in jails	Talked out.
Improvement of sugar cultivation	Withdrawn.
Improvement of prospects and grades of sub-assistant surgeons.	Withdrawn.
Introduction of time-scale for subordinate educational service.	Negatived.
Reward of distinguished services	Negatived.
Allowance for transport conveyance to judicial officers.	Negatived.
Provision of hospitals for women	Withdrawn.
Improved treatment of political prisoners ..	Withdrawn.
Opening of salt shops by Government	Withdrawn.
Printing of Council proceedings in the vernaculars	Withdrawn.
Holding of Council meetings in Naini Tal ..	Accepted.
Provincialization of deputy inspectors of schools and time-scale for sub-deputy inspectors.	Former part rejected; latter part accepted.
Time-scale for model school teachers	Rejected.

Establishment of a university at Agra	Accepted. University recently established.
Prevention of floods on the river Gumti	Accepted. Bunds for Rs. 80,000 under construction.
Establishment of Ayurvedic and Unani colleges ..	Since accepted. State aided colleges to be established.
Establishment of a school for Indian music ..	Accepted. State aided school established.
Grant-in-aid to the Benares University	No action taken.
Grant-in-aid to the Aligarh University ..	No action taken.
Physical training in schools	Accepted. Scheme under consideration.
Halting allowance to patwaris	Rejected.
Appointment of committee to consider compulsory registration of marriages among Muslims.	Accepted.
Appointment of committee to consider management of Hindu religious endowments.	Under examination.
Provision of poor houses and free education for children.	Accepted, and local authorities addressed.
Removal of Baghpat munsifi from Ghaziabad to Baghpat.	Partially accepted.
Rent of residences provided for Ministers ..	Accepted.
Construction of female wards for Indians in hospitals and dispensaries.	Under consideration.
Eradication of *kans* in Bundelkhand	Accepted. Scheme being prepared.
Improvement of rural areas	Accepted. Under consideration.

APPENDIX IV.

Statement showing the action taken by the Government on resolutions adopted by the Legislative Council during 1921 to 1927.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1921.		
February 15 ..	Exemption of M. L. Cs. and others from Arms Act.	Proceedings forwarded to the Government of India.
February 16 ..	Reversion to old rates of irrigation.	Old rates restored in respect of gram.
Ditto ..	Abolition of existing age-limit for Matriculation and S. L. C. examinations.	Age-limit abolished.
Ditto ..	Stoppage of Burma meat trade ..	Municipal and district boards have been asked to make rules to facilitate collection of statistics.
March 2	Location of subordinate judge's court at Fatehpur.	Court temporarily retained till June 30, 1927. Funds to be asked for by Supplementary Estimate in June, 1927, for permanency.
Ditto	Provision of more dispensaries ..	A scheme to help in the opening of dispensaries and to induce private medical practitioners to settle town to practice in all the important rural centres of the province by granting subsidies to district boards for the purpose is being gradually carried out and several such dispensaries have already been established and a number of private medical practitioners have started practice in rural areas.
March 5	Abolition of coolie *utar* in the Kumaun division.	Coolie *utar* abolished.
Ditto	Extension of *'Id* holidays ..	Orders issued.
March 31.. ..	Extension of *Muharram* holidays	District officers instructed to give extra days to Muhammadan clerks.
April 1	Dates of Council session ..	Dates adhered to as far as possible.
Ditto	Competitive examination for deputy collectors.	System of competitive examination introduced.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1921—*contd.*		
April 5	Removal of disability for appointment in government service of persons who have passed the Intermediate and Matriculation examinations.	Disability removed.
April 5	Revision of certain rules relating to secondary schools.	Director of Public Instruction instructed to take necessary action.
April 6	Protest against increased pay of Indian Medical Services.	Proceedings forwarded to the Government of India.
Ditto	Patwaris be liable to transfer ..	Land Revenue (Patwaris Amendment) Act passed.
Ditto	Separation of Judicial and Executive functions.	Government of India have been addressed in the matter.
July 9	Accommodation of M. L. Cs. in Lucknow.	Imperial Hotel acquired.
July 10	Withdrawal of Seditious Meetings Act.	Act withdrawn.
August 8 ..	Religious instruction in government schools.	Education Code amended to allow instructions to be imparted without compulsion.
August 9 ..	Indian managers for the Court of Wards.	Sent to Board of Revenue for necessary action.
Ditto	Provision of well-boring apparatus in each district.	Thirty-eight districts now supplied. Further supply checked by financial stringency.
October 24 ..	Appointment of Standing Committee on Publicity.	Committee appointed.
December 2 ..	Reduction of United Provinces contribution to the Government of India.	Matter referred to the Government of India.*
Ditto ..	Improvement of sugar cultivation	The Government are giving effect to the recommendations of the Sugar Committee as expeditiously as circumstances permit.
December 5 ..	Procedure of hearing of income-tax appeals.	Instructions issued to Income-tax Commissioner in terms of recommendation with slight modification.
December 6 ..	Mail train service of Bengal and North-Western Railway.	Train service accelerated.

*In the year 1927 the contribution has been temporarily remitted in full while in the two previous years it was remitted only in part.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1921—*concld.*		
December 6 ..	Exercise of the prerogative of mercy in respect of Fyzabad and Rae Bareli rioters.	Cases of all prisoners have been considered and 36 released.
Ditto	Training of probationers for the Indian Forest Service.	Recommended to the Government of India. The Secretary of State has sanctioned the creation of an Imperial Forest College, Dehra Dun, where probationers for the Indian Forest Service ordinarily be trained and where facilities for private students will also be available.
December 7 ..	Abolition of superintending engineers.	The Public Works Committee opposed this proposal for Irrigation Branch and this Government concurred with their view.
Ditto	Supply to informant of copy of report of non-cognizable offences.	New form adopted for the purpose.
1922.		
January 23 ..	Criminal Law Amendment Act ..	Act withdrawn.
January 26 ..	Cancellation of recent increase in charges for partition.	Cannot be carried out for financial reasons.
January 30 ..	Deputy superintendents of police	No action taken.
March 3	Dacoities in Bijnor, Moradabad and Naini Tal.	Special police measures have been taken.
March 30 ..	Training centre for *dais* ..	Arrangements for the training of *dais* have been made at 51 hospitals in these provinces.
Ditto	Establishment of an industrial school at Fatehpur.	Government are opening a training school this year (1927-28).
March 31st ..	July Council session to be held in Naini Tal instead of in Lucknow.	Action not taken because no accommodation.
October 24 ..	Appointment of a committee to inquire into alleged terrorism in Basti.	Government declined to appoint a committee.
Ditto	Forest administration in Kumaun	The portion of resolution relating to the repeal of section 78 of the Forest Act and removal of restrictions on shooting was withdrawn and instructions were issued to district officers on the portion of the resolution regarding the grant of licences.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1922—*contd.*		
October 25 ..	Withdrawal of Criminal Law (Amendment) Act.	Act withdrawn.
October 26 ..	Time-scale for sub-deputy inspectors of schools.	Postponed for want of funds.
Ditto ..	General amnesty for political prisoners.	Special division prisoners released.
October 27 ..	Non-official visitors for district and central jails.	Orders issued.
December 12 ..	Effect to be given to the recommendations of the *Rasad* and *Begar* Committee.	Effect given to report.
December 13 ..	Extension of term of settlements	The settlements of which the operations commenced in October, 1926 are to be for 40 instead of 30 years.
Ditto ..	Retrenchment Committee ..	Committee appointed.
Ditto ..	Educational test for honorary magistrates and honorary assistant collectors.	Instructions issued to commissioners.
December 14 ..	Cancellation of restrictions imposed in the Rohilkhand division and other districts of the United Provinces as regards the possession of swords, spearheads and daggers.	The restrictions were cancelled.
Ditto ..	Formation of Standing Committees	Local Self-Government, Municipal and Medical Committee formed.
Ditto ..	Schools of indigenous medicine ..	Steps are being taken to establish a state-aided Ayurvedic School at Hardwar and a state-aided Unani School at Lucknow.
December 15 ..	Order passed by Deputy Commissioner of Naini Tal regarding the tahsildar of Kaladhungi.	Entry from tahsildar's character roll erased.
1923.		
January 19 ..	Government action on resolutions adopted by Council.	No action taken.
January 30 ..	Time-scale for model school teachers.	Ditto.
January 31 ..	Establishment of Chief Court for Oudh.	Chief Court has been established.
February 1 ..	Women's franchise	Regulation issued removing disqualification for registration of women.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1923—*concld.*		
February 2 ..	Increase in water-rates ..	Government are considering possibility of reducing rates on some crops.
February 26 ..	Grant of two more district magistracies to Provincial Executive service.	No action taken.
February 27 ..	Amendment of Electoral Regulations.	Committee appointed and regulations revised.
Ditto ..	Establishment of a university at Agra.	Agra University Act passed and will be brought into effect from July, 1927.
March 22 ..	Representation of Agra zamindars in Legislative Council.	Forwarded to the Government of India, who have intimated that the Secretary of State has decided that pending a general revision of the franchise no change can be made.
March 29 ..	Retention by Government of the Imperial Hotel, Lucknow.	Resolution accepted.
Ditto ..	Building of new Council Chamber	Ditto.
October 26 ..	Whipping in jails	No action taken.
Ditto ..	Appointment of Indians to certain posts (Chief Conservator of Forests, Deputy Inspector-General of Police and Member of Board).	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Encouragement of handweaving and handspinning.	Resolution accepted and action being taken.
Ditto ..	Separation of Judicial and Executive functions.	Government of India have been addressed in the matter.
Ditto ..	Abolition of districts ..	No district abolished.
Ditto ..	Grant of holiday on *Mahalaya Amawas*.	District officers asked to grant a local holiday. Where this cannot be done Hindus who desire to observe the festival should be allowed leave up to 1 P.M.
October 27 ..	Prevention of floods on the Gomti	The scheme for protection of Lucknow from floods was thoroughly investigated by the Irrigation Branch, and forwarded to the Improvement Trust, Lucknow, for necessary action.
Ditto ..	Modification of Conscience Clause in Educational Code.	Necessary amendments have been made in the Conscience Clause.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1924.		
January 28 ..	Codification of the principles of land revenue assessment and settlement.	Government introduced a Bill for the purpose in the Council in 1926. But Council declined to pass the Bill in a form which Government could accept; Government therefore dropped it; they have embodied the principles of the Bill in the new settlement rules.
January 29 ...	Establishment of a University at Agra.	Agra University Act passed and will be brought into effect from July, 1927.
Ditto ..	Establishment of district advisory committees.	No action taken.
Ditto ...	Conferment of civil appellate powers on I. C. S. joint magistrates.	The principle of the resolution has been accepted.*
January 30 ...	Remission of sentences on persons convicted of incendiarism in Kumaon in 1921-22.	A senior judge was appointed to examine the cases of these prisoners and a number of them released on the recommendation of the senior judge.
Ditto ...	Discontinuance of practice of obtaining opinion of trying magistrates in cases under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code.	The recommendation of the Council was given effect to.
February 27 ...	Application of the Musalman Waqf Act, 1923, to the United Provinces.	The Act has been applied to all districts and Government have made rules which have been finally published.
Ditto ...	Remission of court-fees on copies required for private use.	The remission in question has been granted.
Ditto ...	Complaints by government servants to members of Council.	The position was explained in course of debate. No action taken.
Ditto ...	Separation of Judicial and Executive functions.	Government of India have been addressed in the matter.
February 28 ...	Reduction of irrigation rates ..	Government have accepted the general principle that these irrigation rates should be brought within the purview of the legislature.†

* The question of legal training for junior officers of the I. C. S. cannot be taken at present owing to the depletion of that cadre.

† Subsequently reported that the occupier's rates on the sugarcane crop in respect of all lands irrigated by the Upper Ganges and Eastern Jumna canals were reduced from Rs. 12 to Rs. 10 per acre per year.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1924—*contd.*		
February 28 ..	Discontinuance of settlement operations.	Settlement operations were stopped except in Muttra till the Council had an opportunity of passing a codifying Act. When the Bill was dropped in 1926 settlements re-commenced.
Ditto ..	Treatment of applications for bail	Government have drawn the attention of district magistrates to the law on the subject.
April 2 ..	Reservation of two civil surgeoncies for private medical practitioners.	Being considered in connexion with the report of the Lee Commission on superior services.
Ditto ..	Action taken by Government on non-official resolutions.	No action taken.
April 3	Release of Musammat Parbati Debi	The prisoner has been released.
April 4 ..	Establishment of Ayurvedic and Unani colleges.	Steps are being taken to establish a state-aided Ayurvedic college at Benares and a state-aided Unani college at Aligarh.
September 8 ..	The Lee Commission	Resolution and debate have been forwarded to the Government of India.
September 9* ..	Allotment of funds from the Famine insurance fund for encouragement of cottage industries.	No action has been taken.*
Ditto ..	Application of the Musalman Waqf Act.	The Act has been applied to all districts and Government have made rules which have been finally published.
September 10 ..	Separation of judicial and executive functions.	Government of India have been addressed in the matter.
Ditto ..	Release of political prisoners ..	Bagheshwar prisoners have been released.
Ditto ..	Treatment of political prisoners ..	No action has been taken.
September 11 ..	Sale of minor girls	A Bill has been drafted and is being submitted to the Governor General for previous sanction.
Ditto	Teaching of spinning in schools ..	The subject has been included in the curricula for girls' schools as an optional subject.

* The reason for taking no action is that, as explained in the course of the debate, the object in question is not one for which, under the statutory rules, the Famine insurance fund can be used.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1924—(*concld.*).		
December 15 ..	Release of prisoners convicted in the Gonda *Muharram* riot case.	Prisoners released.
Ditto ..	Extension of the *Diwali* and *Holi* holidays.	Holidays extended from two to three days and "last Saturdays" holidays in March and October abolished.
Ditto ..	Postponement of fresh settlement operations.	Settlement operations were stopped except in Muttra till the Council had an opportunity of passing a codifying Act. When the Bill was dropped in 1926 settlements re-commenced.
December 16 ..	Bringing Kumaon under the civil jurisdiction of the High Court.	Kumaon has been brought under the civil jurisdiction of the High Court from April 1, 1926.
December 17 ..	Remedial measures for damage caused by the floods.	Steps have been taken to alleviate the sufferings of people in the flood-affected tracts. A resolution showing in detail the action taken has issued.
Ditto ..	Keeping of suspected cases of insanity among Indians under observation in hospitals instead of in jails as in the case of Europeans.	Steps have been taken to give effect to this resolution.
December 18 ..	Grant to the Hindu University at Benares.	No action has been taken.
December 19 ..	Increased representation of Agra landholders in the Legislative Council.	A copy of the resolution and the debate thereon has been forwarded to the Government of India.
Ditto	Grazing fees	The subject is under discussion with the Commissioner, Kumaon division.
Ditto	Remission of provincial contribution in view of floods.	No action has been taken.*
Ditto	Remission of provincial contribution.	The resolution with the debate on the subject has been forwarded to the Government of India.*
1925.		
January 26 ..	Introduction of technical education in vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools.	Manual training classes have been started in middle vernacular schools and the number of agricultural classes in these schools has been increased.

* In the year 1927 the contribution has been temporarily remitted in full, while in the two previous years it was remitted only in part.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1925—(*contd.*).		
January 27 ..	Appointment of a committee to inquire into, and report on the extent of, corruption among public servants.	No committee was appointed but the Government have issued detailed confidential instructions.
January 28 ..	Revision of the constitution of municipal boards and notified and town area committees, having a minority or a bare majority of elected members by allowing majority of elected members and giving the right to elect a non-official chairman.	All the municipalities and all the town areas except one have been given a substantial majority of elected members, as also most of the notified areas. The municipalities and notified areas have also, with a few exceptions, been given the right to elect a non-official chairman.
January 30 ..	Liberalization of arms rules ..	No action taken.
February 27 ..	Appointment of a committee to inquire into, and report on the necessity of, incurring further expenditure on record operations in the province.	Ditto.
February 28 ..	Instruction and training in nationalism and social service in all Government and aided educational institutions.	Action being taken.
March 2	Grant-in-aid to the Muslim University, Aligarh.	No action taken.
Ditto	Arrangements for reporting speeches made in Hindi and Urdu by the members of the Council and to publish vernacular editions of the reports of the Council proceedings.	A vernacular shorthand reporter has recorded speeches since December, 1925.
Ditto	Appointment of a committee to consider and report whether any amendments are required in the Court of Wards Act.	A committee was appointed and has reported. Government are unable to accept its main recommendation, altering the constitution of the court of wards; the other proposals are being examined.
March 3	Fees at local fairs	No action taken.
Ditto	Legal recognition of privileges of the United Provinces Legislative Council.	Under consideration.
Ditto	Physical training in schools ..	A committee has been appointed to consider the question.
March 4	Formation of standing committees or advisory boards for such departments of the Government as have no such committees or boards at present.	No action taken.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1925—(*contd.*).		
March 4	Adoption of Urdu and Hindi as media of examination and instruction for all subjects except English, for High School examination.	The following regulation of the Intermediate Board has been sanctioned by the Minister of Education :— "Candidates for the High School examination are permitted to answer questions in English or in Urdu or Hindi in all subjects other than English". As regards the medium of instruction the Intermediate Board is being consulted.
Ditto	Formation of departmental standing committees in the Medical Department and the grant of permission to members to bring forward new matter for consideration.	Members of the existing committees have been permitted to suggest matters, provided notice has been received in sufficient time and that the president of the committee concerned considers the matter a fit subject for discussion.
March 31 ..	M. L. Cs. to be allowed to visit all institutions in their respective constituencies under the direct control of the transferred departments.	Orders have been issued that M. L. Cs. should be permitted to visit certain institutions.
April 1	Excise policy of Government ..	Government have determined to maintain their restrictive policy.
Ditto	Report of Muddiman Committee	Proceedings have been forwarded to the Government of India.
April 3	Report of the Muddiman Committee	Copy of proceedings sent to Government of India.
August 20 ..	Alleviation of unemployment among educated classes.	Under consideration.
August 22 ..	Reform of jail administration ..	Jail Manual is under revision.
Ditto ..	Recommendation that the residents of the places where punitive police were stationed be absolved from the liability for the payment of the punitive police tax from August 1, 1925.	The Government considered all cases in which punitive police were then employed and decided to withdraw the police in one case. In all but two of the remaining cases the sanctioned periods were so soon to expire that action was necessary.
Ditto ..	Acceleration of the building of the new Council Chamber.	Accepted.
December 17 ..	Removal of caste restrictions in public services.	Copies of the resolution sent to Police and Judicial departments who were concerned.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1925—(*concld.*)		
December 17 ..	Provision of three days' holiday in *Id-uz-Zuha*.	No action taken.
Ditto ..	Arrest of zamindars for non-payment of revenue.	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Caste restrictions for entry into police.	The paragraph in the Police Regulations which restricted the admission of members of certain castes to the police was amended.
December 18 ..	Promotion of adult education in municipal and rural areas.	Under consideration.
Ditto ..	Removal of Kumaun from the operation of Scheduled Districts Act.	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Issue of instructions to record officers that in districts when record operations are going on they should not disturb the existing *sir* rights wherever they are corroborated by the last (current) settlement entries.	Orders have been issued on the lines recommended.
December 18 and 19	Disposal of remissions from provincial contribution.	No action taken. The position explained in course of debate.
December 22 ..	Abolition of commissionerships.	No action contemplated till the effect of new tenancy legislation on commissioners' appeals is known, but the Government of India have rejected proposals to abolish commissioners wholesale.
December 23 ..	Nomination of a member from among depressed classes for each municipality and notified area.	Nominations made where suitable representatives found.
Ditto ..	Establishment of translation bureau	The Hindustani Academy has been established.
Ditto ..	Issue of instructions to all record and settlement officers to the effect that they should not force or ask the zamindars to pay for the coolies employed by the amins for doing survey work, or to supply such coolies at their own expenses.	Orders have been issued on the lines recommendded.
1926.		
January 19 ..	Halting allowance for patwaris ..	No action taken.
January 20 ..	Withholding of government aid to institutions which exclude Indians from managing committees, etc.	No action found necessary.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1926—*concld.*		
January 20 ..	Appointment of a committee of the Muslim members of the Council and of the leading ulemas and mujtahids in order that the said committee might recommend suitable measures for making provision for the compulsory registration of marriages among Muslims of these provinces.	A committee has been appointed.
Ditto ..	Setting apart a few days in the week or a few hours by sub-divisional officers for disposal of rent and revenue cases exclusively.	Board of Revenue asked to call the attention of commissioners and issue necessary instructions.
Ditto ..	Throwing open of various institutions to Indians.	Under consideration.
Ditto ..	Monetary grant or concession to institutions excluding Indians.	No action found necessary.
January 22 ..	Interference of government servants with elections.	Insertion of new paragraph (no. 331-B), in Manual of Government orders and attention of district magistrates, etc., drawn to it.
Ditto ..	Participation of government servants in elections and use of influence in election of members to Council and other local bodies.	Instructions issued.
March 31.. ..	Appointment of a committee to advise what steps should be taken for the better management of Hindu religious endowments.	Under consideration.
April 8	Institution of poor-houses at convenient centres, provision of free education for the children, and grant of grant-in-aid.	Attention of local bodies drawn to it.
Ditto	Removal of Baghpat munsifi from Ghaziabad to Baghpat.	High Court addressed in the matter who have taken certain action to meet the wishes of the public.
August 7 ..	Rent of residences provided for Ministers.	Orders issued giving effect to recommendation.
1927.		
January 24 ..	Making physical education and use of firearms in recognized institutions compulsory.	Government are taking action to make physical training compulsory in all recognized institutions and to draw up a graded syllabus of instruction in physical training for all classes.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1927—(*concld.*).		
January 25 ..	Local option and total abstinence from liquor.	A Bill embodying the principle of local option will be circulated for public opinion at an early date.
Ditto ..	Construction of female wards for Indians in hospitals and dispensaries.	Information is being collected.
Ditto ..	Amendment of rule 10 (3), District Board Education Rules, with notification no. 383/XV—804, dated June 6, 1925.	Government are taking necessary action.
January 26 ..	Rescinding Education Department notification no. A-428/XV —519-1921, dated December 22, 1927.	Government are unable to make any statement at present as the matter is the subject of correspondence with the Government of India.
Ditto ..	Increasing *kans* area in Bundelkhand.	Government are preparing a scheme of experiments in Bundelkhand with the object of eradicating *kans*.
January 27 ..	Abolition of posts of commissioners	No action is contemplated until the effect of the new Tenancy Act on commissioners' appellate work is known.
Ditto ..	Grant for Benares Hindu University.	No action taken.
January 28 ..	Improvement of rural areas ..	Government have only recently received the proceedings of the debate and are examining the various suggestions made in the course of the discussion.

Statement showing the action taken on resolutions withdrawn on an assurance from Government during 1921 to 1927.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1921.		
February 15 ..	Abolition of the Board of Revenue	Executive functions transferred by Board of Revenue Act.
February 18 ..	Creation of the Civil Medical service in the United Provinces.	Matter still under reference to the Government of India.
Ditto ..	Transfer of district judges, magistrates, etc.	No action taken.
February 21 ..	Provision of benches in courts for litigants.	Necessary funds could not be provided.
February 23 ..	Establishment of Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries.	Rupees 20,000 distributed in 1921 to assist such dispensaries and Rs. 30,000 provided in 1922 for this purpose.
March 2 ..	Shortage of cattle	Provincial breeding committee appointed.
March 4	Presentation of appeals to the Board of Revenue.	Rules amended.
Ditto	Stoppage of professional begging in public streets.	Attention of municipal boards drawn to the matter.
Ditto	Trial of cases at headquarters ..	Additional staff could not be provided for financial reasons, but instructions issued that all possible cases should be tried at headquarters.
March 12.. ..	Migration of Government to hills	Considerable restrictions have been imposed.
March 31.. ..	Kshattriyas in Judicial service ..	Proceedings brought to the notice of the High Court and judicial commissioner.
April 1	Forest settlement in Kumaun ..	Commissioner, Kumaun division was asked to bring the resolution to the notice of the Kumaun Grievances Committee.
Ditto	Acquisition of land in Gorakhpur by Forest Department.	Proposal for compulsory acquisition has been dropped.
April 4	Extension of jury system ..	The jury system has been extended to three more districts.
April 6	Revision of Educational Code ..	Committee appointed to revise the Code.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1921—(*contd.*).		
April 5 ..	Appointment of non-official secretaries by district boards.	No district boards have yet asked for non-official secretaries. Under the District Boards Act of 1922 the sanction of Government is not required to the appointment of district barod secretaries.
Ditto	Revision of the Court of Wards Act	Position explained in debate on Land Revenue demand.
Ditto	Protection of the hill tracts of the Mirzapur district from famine.	Information not available; will be communicated later to honourable member, if so desired.
July 29 ..	Bribery among government servants.	Instructions issued that all cases of alleged corruption should be thoroughly investigated and exemplary punishment given where corruption proved.
Ditto ..	Improvement of copying establishment in collectors' offices.	Piece-work system was introduced first but it did not prove a success and had to be abandoned. The post of copyist at head quarters has been made pensionable with effect from April 1, 1926.
July 30 ..	Recruitment of Indian Police service.	Proceedings sent to the Government of India.
August 8 ..	Provincial Commercial museum at Cawnpore.	Action could not be taken for financial reasons.
Ditto ..	Vacation of civil courts ..	Vacation altered to May and June first but subsequently High Court reverted to old arrangement of vacation in September and October.
Ditto ..	Industrial school at Mirzapur ..	The Government have given priority in opening industrial schools to places where the need is the greatest.
Ditto ..	Rate on canal water used for paleo	New rules issued.
Ditto ..	*Kiari* rules of the Irrigation Department.	Rules abolished.
December 1 ..	Octroi in Fatehpur municipality..	Octroi introduced.
December 2 ..	Improvement of sugar cultivation	Question of distribution of canal water considered by joint committee of Boards of Irrigation and Agriculture and reports submitted to Development Board. Engineering section being strengthened as far as funds permit.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1921—*concld.*		
December 2 ..	Establishment of Standing Advisory Committee on Excise.	Licensing boards and standing advisory committees established.
December 6 ..	Teaching of midwifery and Gynaecology at King George's Medical college.	Resolution forwarded to university who are carrying out most of the proposals.
Ditto ..	Prospect and grades of sub-assistant surgeons.	Rate of pay raised from April 1, 1922.
December 7 ..	Introduction of time-scale for Subordinate Educational service.	No action possible for financial reasons.
Ditto ..	Disagreement between District Judge of Hardoi and the local Bar.	Amicably settled.
1922.		
January 26 ..	House-holders in Rae Bareli to be exempted from payment of ground tax.	Government have decided to charge only nominal rents.
Ditto ..	Review of convictions under the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act.	Cases reviewed by Mr. Lyle.
January 31 ..	Revision of Fatehpur settlement..	Copy of commissioner's report sent to mover for information.
Ditto ..	Policy of Government in revenue settlements.	Government introduced the Land Revenue Amendment Bill in 1926.
March 1 ..	Introduction of permanent or long-term settlement.	The term of the new settlements commenced in 1926 will be for 40 years.
March 2 ..	Appointment of advisory boards for hospitals.	Visiting boards appointed at Agra and Cawnpore and the resolution brought to the notice of various district boards.
Ditto ..	Treatment of political prisoners ..	Instructions issued to district magistrates to consult M. L. Cs. about classification.
March 30 ..	Opening of more salt shops ..	No action taken in view of change in system of vend of salt.
March 31 ..	Permanent judge at Fatehpur ..	Awaiting funds. Subordinate judge's court temporarily retained till June 30, 1927. Funds to be asked for by supplementary, estimate in June, 1927, for permanency.
Ditto ..	Abolition of commissionerships ..	Committee appointed.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1922.—(*concld.*).		
March 31 ..	Alteration of date for payment of land revenue.	Commissioner reported that there is no desire on the part of revenue-paying public for any alteration.
October 26 ..	Advisory committee for collectors	No action taken. Position was explained in Council in reply to starred question no. 26 for October 25, 1923.
1923.		
January 29 ..	Abolition of post of circle inspectors.	Decentralization Committee consulted and ultimately 39 posts of circle inspectors were reduced.
Ditto ..	Co-ordination of vernacular and Anglo-vernacular teaching.	To be considered by Board of Education as reconstituted.
Ditto ..	Establishment of local committees for demonstration farms.	Committees have been established for all agricultural farms.
Ditto ..	Amendment of rules relating to dak bungalows.	Rules have been amended.
January 30 ..	Amendment of Oudh Settled Estates Act.	United Provinces Estates Act passed.
Ditto ..	Grant of enhanced powers to munsifs.	Proceedings forwarded to the High Court and judicial commissioner.
February 1 ..	Amendment of Land Revenue Act	Act amended by Amendment Act IV of 1923.
February 27 ..	Irrigations rates	Recommedations of Irrigation Rates Committee published and public invited to express their views thereon. Government accepted proposal that rates should be brought within purview of legislature.
March 22 ..	Appointment of Indians as reserve inspectors and superintendents of railway police.	No bar exists to the appointment of Indians to the posts of superintendent, railway police. As regards reserve inspectors the Government sanctioned a scheme which would result eventually in the appointment of 20 Indian officers as reserve inspectors and five as divisional inspectors in the the Government railway police.
Ditto ..	Granting of arms licenses ..	The new Arms Rules have been introduced and a right of appeal has been given against an order refusing the grant or renewal of a licence.

Date.	Subject.	Action taken.
1923—*(concld.)*		
March 22 ..	Reduction of superior posts in the Public Works Department (Buildings and Roads) and of posts of commissioners.	As regards the Public Works Department posts, report of the Reorganization Committee is still under consideration. As regards commissioners, Government is in correspondence with the Government of India.
March 23 ..	Appointment of Indians as deputy secretaries.	Government have undertaken to consider claims of Indian officers, and one such officer has been appointed to post of deputy secretary recently.
1924.		
January 28 ..	Extension of the term of settlements.	The term of the new settlements commenced in 1926 will be for 40 years.
January 28 ..	Certain recommendations of the Settlement Committee.	Government introduced the Land Revenue Amendment Bill in 1926.
January 29 ..	Establishment of a school of Indian music.	Marris college of Hindustani music established.
January 30 ..	Short-term settlements in Bundelkhand.	Government introduced the Land Revenue Amendment Bill in 1926.
April 3 ..	Appointment of a committee to inquire into the activities of the Industries Department.	Government appointed the committee and have taken, action on its report.
September 10 ..	Special jails	No action taken. Question will be considered later.
December 19 ..	Appointment of a committee or committees to investigate into the conditions of Musalman waqfs and endowments both religious and charitable.	No action is necessary.
1925.		
January 23 ..	Education of depressed classes ..	No action is necessary.
March 31 ..	Additional posts of magistrates and and collectors for the provincial civil service.	No action taken.
1926.	Blank.	
1927.	Blank.	

APPENDIX V.

Paragraphs 16 and 17 of the municipal board resolution for 1923-24.

Paragraph 16, Financial condition.—The indebtedness of municipalities decreased from Rs. 122·44 to Rs. 120·83 lakhs. Invested funds increased from Rs. 19·77 to Rs. 21·33 lakhs and closing balances from Rs. 20·89 to Rs. 34·65 lakhs. These figures indicate healthier financial conditions, and are in fact the outcome of the efforts made by the large towns to weather the crisis which faced them in the previous year. Benares, aided by enhanced octroi rates, made a great effort and paid off the loan instalments in which it had defaulted in the previous year; and Cawnpore secured a moderate surplus. Agra, Allahabad and Lucknow also had balances on the right side. The general position in the large towns might thus be regarded with some degree of satisfaction, were it not that all, except perhaps Agra, must face heavy expenditure in the near future or fail to maintain their services at a reasonable standard. The position of towns of lesser rank was generally easier, less being demanded of them; but in Meerut normal expenditure exceeded normal income by fifteen thousand rupees, and but for unspent portions of grants made by the Government for specific purposes the board would have ended the year with a *minus* balance. In this failure to make use of moneys provided by Government Meerut did not stand alone. The other boards of the Meerut division had unexpended grants totalling Rs. 94,250. In the Rohilkhand division unspent Government contributions amounted to no less than Rs. 3,86,114. The Agra board had a similar sum of Rs. 1,30,771: while to cite a town at the other end of the scale, the Azamgarh board was in 1916 given Rs. 20,000 for sanitary works but in the eight succeeding years spent out of this sum only Rs. 7,667. Such instances are not calculated to encourage generosity on the part of the Government.

Paragraph 17, General.—The elections were held in an atmosphere of political tension and several municipalities including many of the larger towns returned majorities of advanced political views. Their doings were awaited with more than usual interest. Some, notably Allahabad and Lucknow, gave a good account of themselves and, though their proceedings were not unmarked by political tendencies, honestly strove to give and in great measure succeeded in giving, their citizens a sound municipal administration. In others, among which Cawnpore was the outstanding example, controversies of a political flavour were allowed to dominate municipal business to the great detriment of efficiency. Others again, like the Benares board were overtaxed by the difficulties of disordered administration inherited from their predecessors and in spite of excellent intentions were able to effect little. Towards the end of the year communal dissensions began in many places to exert a sinister influence. A general survey of the year suggests that the improvement of municipal administration will be a thing of growth so slow as to be barely perceptible from year to year. The standards reached by Allahabad and Lucknow, if maintained, will indeed be encouraging but, taken collectively the boards elected in March, 1923, seem unlikely to have behind them a record differing much from that of their predecessors.

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Last two paragraphs of the municipal board resolution for 1924-25.

Financial condition.—The indebtedness of municipalities decreased from Rs. 120·83 to Rs. 119·90 lakhs, the repayment of certain loans being completed during the year. Invested funds increased from Rs. 21·33 to Rs. 29·67 lakhs, and closing balances from Rs. 34·65 to Rs. 35·27 lakhs. The financial position of most of the larger municipalities was improving. The Benares board succeeded in balancing its budget for the first time for some years. In Agra also the normal income exceeded the normal expenditure and the board's own money in the closing balance amounted to Rs. 91,050. The Allahabad municipal board after some years of default paid the full instalments of its water works loans; the yield of the passenger tax is a new and valuable asset and, given judicious management, the position of this board would be sound enough were it not faced with the radical reorganizaton of its water supply; the board will be able to carry out the more pressing parts of the project, but at present there seems small prospect of its ever being able to complete the whole scheme. The Cawnpore board had a large balance and enjoys a huge income, but did not spend its money wisely. It, too, has to face big liabilities in the shape of schemes for the reorganization of its roads, its water supply and its drainage system, but instead of concentrating its abundant resources upon these, it has preferred minor additions to permanent expenditure upon other and less essential matters. The position of the Meerut board was somewhat less precarious. The opening balance consisted entirely of Government grants, but the closing balance included Rs. 11,000 of the board's own money. This result was, however, attained only by the starvation of roads and other essential services; the chairman admitted that drains, roads and buildings were all in deplorable condition, and that if enough had been spent to restore them to proper order the year would have ended with a heavy deficit. This board must have more income and can obtain it only by a revision of the octroi schedule. The Rae Bareli board is in a similar position and its expenditure outran its income. There was some improvement in Bareilly. The board discharged its outstanding liabilities including the encroachments made on the provident fund and the board's own money in the closing balance rose from Rs. 49,969 to Rs. 83,899. The improvement was due to the enhancement of octroi rates and to the commissioner's steadfast refusal to allow unnecessary additions to the board's recurring expenditure. The Ghazipur board was in an unfortunate position. It cannot be accused of extravagance but its normal income fell short of normal expenditure by Rs. 10,000. Fortunately the board has balances which may tide it over its difficulties while it is finding a permanent solution.

General.—There were no outstanding points of interest in the year which, apart from some manifestations of communal tension, passed with welcome quietness. Politics were less in evidence; the financial position improved on the whole; more was done to the roads. Otherwise matters went on much as before. Signs of improvement were visible and it is possible that the standard of civic performance is steadily though very slowly rising. On the other hand, there are weaknesses which boards seem unable to shake off. The long view is seldom taken, particularly in matters of finance; factions lie near the surface in the most harmonious board; personal interest or the appeal of a chance to discomfit an opponent, too often obscure the true issue; the

right relations of a board with its staff are not understood. It is questionable whether under the circumstances the best of the boards can fairly claim to give the tax-payer a good return for the money which he pays.

Paragraph 13 of the district board resolution for 1923-24.

13. *General.*—The year brought no surprises. The new Act seems bound in the end to affect profoundly the character of district board administration but there was little in the year to indicate what tendencies will ultimately manifest themselves. The new boards inherited from their predecessors budgets already framed and organizations which were carried forward by their own momentum. It resulted that, objectively, their record resembled that of their predecessors. The administration was carried on in tolerable fashion but there was no improvement in the financial position, and all services except education were starved. This was inevitable; nothing but actual experience of financial embarrassment could suffice to induce boards to consider the distasteful expedient of additional taxation. Such changes as were visible were in the conduct of the board's own business and in their attitude to Government and to their servants. Meetings were less business-like and discursive debates were too common; but it is satisfactory that most chairmen succeeded in maintaining their authority and controlled proceedings without friction and that, unlike some of their municipal contemporaries, boards generally did not permit themselves to be distracted from their proper business by extraneous political issues. There was some tendency to suspect the Government and their officers of a desire to interfere unduly in the board's affairs; but the suspicion lacking foundation, no ill-effects resulted. It was perhaps in regard to their officers and servants that boards showed that they had most to learn; interference in matters of details was frequent; this was often the outcome of a healthy interest on the board's work but tended none the less to undermine the authority of the board's executive as well as to waste the board's time. Much of all this can be summed up in the remark that boards were still finding their feet.

Paragraphs 5, 11 and 12 of the district board resolution for 1924-25.

5. *Finance.*—The principal sources of the boards' income are Government grants and the local rates, each of which forms about two-fifths of the total income. The average incidence of taxation was only two annas nine pies per head of the population. The main object of expenditure was education to which 48 per cent. of the total income was devoted. Next in order came the maintenance of communications and medical relief, including public health, the share of each of which roughly amounted to 13 per cent.

A general survey of the financial condition of boards affords small cause for optimism. The total closing balance which declined from Rs. 37·68 to Rs. 36·27 lakhs was apparently substantial, but these figures are misleading. The closing balance of most boards included substantial liabilities representing unspent portions of Government grants, and an accumulation in the education fund. Some boards had these liabilities without any appreciable balance; thus the Shahjahan-

pur board's own money in the total closing balance of Rs. 17,796 fell short of the prescribed minimum balance by Rs. 5,687. The Moradabad board closed with Rs. 2,430 but required a further sum of Rs. 1,21,994 to meet its outstanding liabilities and to recoup its minimum and dispensary balances and other funds on which it had encroached. This board, it is to be noted, has since been forced to impose a tax on circumstances and property, but it remains to be seen whether this alone will relieve it from financial embarrassment. A more regrettable case may be cited from Bundelkhand where the Banda board by reckless expenditure has thrown away the advantage of a sound financial position. Its expenditure exceeded its income by Rs. 84,874, and all this money came from the balance laboriously collected by its predecessor for building the new hospital at head-quarters which the district sadly needs. These are exceptional cases, and in most districts it appears that the board still contrives to keep permanent expenditure below permanent income; but the margin is everywhere small and there is nowhere any appreciable surplus available for original works. Worse than this, the balance between income and expenditure is only maintained by the starvation of essential services, notably roads and medical relief. One district officer declared that his board seemed to have no financial policy whatever. To say the same of boards generally would be an overstatement. A financial policy can be detected in the proceedings of most of them but it stops short at education, apparently the only subject able to arouse real interest; and other branches, no less vital to the people's welfare, are allowed to decay. It is difficult to see how any board will be able to avoid the enhancement, ultimately, of the local rate. Meanwhile few of them have recognised the wisdom or necessity of the preliminary imposition of the tax on circumstances and property. But the yield of this cannot be appreciable and will afford no more than temporary relief unless boards can acquire a firmer grasp of the principles of financial control. Too often, it seems, are proposals of real merit rejected on the score of lack of funds, and then the money thus saved is frittered away on minor matters which for some reason, often of a personal nature, happen to have an attraction. Still though roads and hospitals deteriorate, encouragement may perhaps be found in the indication that most boards seem to have come to grasp the first essential of sound finance, the covering of recurring expenditure by recurring income.

11. *Communications.*—The important decision to transfer the maintenance of local metalled roads to the boards' own agency was announced in the last review. A beginning was made in a few districts in the previous year, but the transfer of metalled roads from the Public Works Department to district boards was not completed until the middle of the year under review. Except in Dehra Dun, which is a special case, and in Bareilly, where the board did not take over its public works local metalled roads are now everywhere under the direct control of the boards. It is complained that most of the roads were in an unsatisfactory state at the time of transfer. This is unfortunately true, but was due to the inadequacy of the funds provided for repairs, and the boards are finding to their disappointment that the upkeep of roads costs just as much as when they were maintained by the Public Works Department. The apathy with which most boards seem to regard the matter is not reassuring. One or two boards such as Meerut and Farrukhabad made a real effort, but in other districts deterioration was hardly checked. In the Meerut division the roads in

places were dangerous for any kind of traffic. Twenty miles of metalled road in the Muttra district were described as impassable and the commissioner feared that the capital sunk in the construction of metalled local roads in his division would soon be lost. The maintenance of kachcha roads is cheaper than that of metalled roads, but it is more difficult to secure effective results from the expenditure. Kachcha roads also deteriorated. Of the kachcha roads in his division the Commissioner of Gorakhpur remarks that the profits which ought to go to the cultivator are dissipated in the sand, the potholes, and the unbridged *nalas* of erstwhile fairly even tracts. No more striking testimony to the economic effects of the neglect of roads could be found than the fact that in that division the maximum load of carts has had to come down to half what it used to be. It would not be fair to put the whole blame on the boards. Of the upkeep of metalled roads they had no experience nor had they had time to collect the necessary staff. The boards must realize that good roads promote the people's welfare, perhaps more directly than any other service which they can render. They cannot maintain roads in good order, whether they are metalled or unmetalled, unless they make adequate and regular allotments, based on a systematic programme of annual repairs for a period of several years, and in particular unless they entrust the work to an experienced and qualified engineer, and give him every possible help in raising the efficiency of the subordinate staff.

12. *General.*—The general lesson to be learnt from this year, the second year of the experiment started by the United Provinces District Boards Act (X of 1922), is the need for a greater development of public opinion on district board affairs. It is not always realized how large a share of the provincial administration was entrusted by that Act to bodies who not only contain no official element, but under ordinary circumstances, are almost independent of official control. The area to which the Act extends contains 94 per cent. of the population of the province. In this area the lower grades of education, the provision of medical relief, the improvement of the public health, the upkeep of all roads except provincial thoroughfares, the protection of horses and cattle against disease—all these are the business of the district boards, and they comprise the major portion of those activities of the administration which most intimately and directly concern the life and welfare of the people. It is a very large and very difficult task. At present the inhabitant of the rural area understands neither the opportunities nor the difficulties of his board; he expects things to be done for him; if they are not done or are done badly, he resents it, but he cannot lay his finger on the cause nor divine the remedy. An enlightened and effective public opinion is essential. Its absence is a very serious matter, and may explain much that is otherwise obscure in the year's record. The Commissioner of Fyzabad speaking of the chairman and a number of the members of the boards of his division says that they are entitled to credit for what is on the whole a tale of fairly successful administration, in the face of very considerable difficulties. This is not a glowing testimonial; yet it is more favourable than that bestowed by any other commissioner. The difficulties must be kept in full view. They were much the same everywhere, and were, mainly, a shortage of funds, lack of experience and, in a few cases, communal tension. Experience will be gained in time; but the greater difficulties can only be removed by the working of public opinion. It will rest with public opinion

to make the details of district board administration more independent of party faction, to voice effectively the demand for improvement and, as improvements must be paid for, to support much-needed measures for increasing the resources of the boards.

Paragraphs 14 to 17 of Municipal Department's resolution, dated May 26, 1927, on the working of municipal boards for the year 1925-26.

14. The big cities, which work on a larger scale and in greater publicity, set the general standard of municipal administration in the province. Their record is not unencouraging. It indicates merits as well as defects, and though in a general review the defects inevitably stand out, yet the fact that they have been avoided or overcome in some municipalities is a hopeful example for the others. The vigorous administration of Cawnpore has given that city the foremost place, but it serves to exhibit one general weakness of municipal work which is excessive dependence on the personal factor. The finances of Cawnpore are sound, there has been a marked advance in the realization of both the current demand and of the arrears; the water works are what they ought to be, a profitable proposition. There is much still to accomplish: the irregularities which the auditors have pointed out must be promptly and strongly handled, an effective scheme must be devised of dealing with the waste of water, a comprehensive programme must be followed for the improvement and repair of the roads, there must be more effective co-operation with the other local bodies, the district board and the improvement trust. These defects are common to most municipalities, but in Cawnpore it can at least be said that they have been realized and are being faced. Agra also has an encouraging record and rests on a sound financial position. This board have reorganized their staff and are doing specially good work in the administration of their water supply. The finances of Benares are safeguarded by the pilgrim tax and the administration is conscientious and cautious. In Meerut there has been weakness in the administration and much faction in the board, but there has also been a definite effort to improve municipal services. When, however, the chairman after explaining that the board has no margin for any original work or to tide over lean years, should there be any serious fall in its octroi income, remarks that "that the only hope lies in that in future the board will not be called upon to pay the water works loan charges which can be diverted towards meeting their ordinary and daily growing expenditure," he indicates, too clearly, that the board have not yet grasped the first principles of public finance. The financial position of Allahabad is on the same level as that of Meerut. If the board's administration were economical and if the board's revenue were collected in full, the board would have a reasonable margin with which to carry out the complete reorganization of the water works which is its most important interest. But the Allahabad administration has been severely criticized in the commissioner's review, the decrease in revenue is disquieting, and the accumulation of arrears is a serious blot on the conduct of the municipality. In Lucknow the pressure for progress has outstripped financial policy. The present board and their predecessors, for, as the commissioner remarks, both boards must bear the blame, have attempted

progress in every direction but have trusted to the inadequate resources of an antiquated system of revenue. They are now struggling with the inevitable result. There are hopeful signs in the administration of Lucknow. The arrears of the demand are being more firmly collected, and the board are beginning to realize that they cannot have modern improvements without paying for them or at the expense only of the provincial tax-payer, and that therefore they must recast and modernize their system of taxation. Two other lesser boards may be mentioned, as their financial position is similar to that of Lucknow. Fyzabad and Farrukhabad are both on the verge of bankruptcy, for which the present board is less to blame than its predecessor. Farrukhabad is meeting its difficulties with a measure of good sense. Fyzabad is not. The condition of the Bareilly board is also unsatisfactory. This board appears to have been badly served by its staff, and the record of its action in dealing with the audit notes is scandalous. This is one of the boards which shows a large decrease in realizations from octroi. The programme of municipal improvements in Bareilly is overdue and the standards of its administration are not as high as should reasonably be expected from one of the chief cities of the province.

15. Turning to the lesser municipalities, it is necessary to give public prominence to certain cases in which boards have a most unsatisfactory record. Of the Bara Banki board the commissioner finds it impossible to say anything good : " Little or no attempt seems to have been made to supervise the administration. The staff is uncontrolled and discontented, sanitation is disgraceful, collection is so bad that a number of contributions remain unpaid. The chairman, a Hindu, owed his election to the support of the Muhammadan members and the casting vote of the chairman of the meeting, a Muhammadan. He now heads a party of five, and is opposed by a party of seven, all but one of whom are Hindus. The latter have tried to move a resolution of no confidence, which the chairman refused to place on the agenda. The former retaliated by blocking business to such an extent that the municipal accounts for January and February have not yet been passed, and the majority annual report was only passed by the board in August." The position has now changed owing to the resignation of the chairman. It illustrates the state to which faction can reduce municipal administration. Ghaziabad is in almost as discreditable a state. The board is rent by the quarrels and jealousy of the supporters of the old and the present chairman. Ghaziabad has not repaired its roads; it is reducing expenditure on education, and its collections are bad. In Tilhar " the late secretary and accountant are being prosecuted for embezzlement, and there can be no doubt that there has been very scandalous mismanagement. The nominated chairman has had to resign partly for personal reasons, but partly because every question seems to have been fought on communal lines, and no other considerations seem to have had any weight with the board". At Bisalpur " the chairman and secretary who are on very bad terms with the board and play a game of hide-and-seek with the present members so as to avoid defeat at meetings". The Hardoi board " is heading fast for bankruptcy. Of the total demand of Rs. 61,966 only Rs. 25,290 was collected. Its work as regards collection of demands could not be much worse. It has failed to make any provision against bankruptcy which threatens it; its administration in every respect leaves very much to be desired." The Jhansi board " has failed to realize its position as guardian of the public interests and procurer of necessary

benefits for the people. It fritters away its time, energy, and money on tennis courts, libraries, and statues. Possibly this may be due to the protracted absence of the chairman, but it is a bad sign of want of business capacity." "The financial position of the Ballia board is bad: its expenditure exceeded receipts. The board will not realize that it is its duty to make collections without respect to persons." The roads in Ballia are the worst roads which the commissioner has ever seen. "The new board at Khurja inaugurated its reign by an attack upon the secretary, a man of experience and with a high reputation for honesty, but of an uncompromising temperament. He was dismissed for insufficient ostensible cause. The roads are abominable and the collections are only fair."

16. This is a depressing list, and the cases cited exhibit in their most extreme form defects which in some measure can be found in many other municipalities. It ought to be impossible for party feeling in the municipal board to stop the whole administrative machine. That this is possible is proof that many boards do not understand the different functions of the board and of its executive. On the other side there can be set some very encouraging examples as in the case of the larger towns. Saharanpur has an excellent record under its energetic chairman, Mr. Bomanji. "Sikandrabad is one of the better administered of the smaller municipalities. The board reports harmony among its members and common interest in the welfare of the town. The collections of demands were very good at 98 per cent. The roads are not as bad as they might be." At Partbagarh the administration was good and the percentage of collections 96 per cent. approached very closely to the Gonda standard which is 97. The chairman and members at Partabgarh deserve congratulations for a successful year. The Gonda board has worked harmoniously and on the whole has done well. At Sandila and Lakhimpur there is harmonious working and keen and commendable interest in the administration. Both these municipalities have a good record. Gorakhpur has had a successful year and the chairman of the board is congratulated on the energy and foresight with which he is tackling municipal problems. The board is in a sound financial position and is taking up projects for electric light and a water supply. The Commissioner of Kumaon says that it is a pleasure to deal with the boards of this division. "The Naini Tal board contains a large number of experienced members who can be relied upon to consider the needs of the public and to face the difficult financial problems with courage and discretion." The Almora board carried on its administration in a satisfactory manner for the first nine months of the year and I have no complaints. Income is being developed in every direction possible. The health and comfort of the people is carefully looked after and the board are now asking for Government assistance for their water supply scheme. "The Kashipur board is also full of enterprise and is shouldering its own responsibilities for medical and educational amenities without asking for assistance."

17. Between these groups for the good and the bad lie the great majority of the boards. They have their weaknesses; they are short-sighted in finance, and they spend money if they have it with too little regard for the total of recurring expenditure in the future. They are afraid of progress if it cost anything; they are not sufficiently consistent in their policy, and they are

seldom content to follow a programme and make their provision, *e.g.*, for the repair of roads, automatic. Their success or failure depends far too much on the personal factor, and there is far too little of the habit of regular orderly administration. But on the whole it can be said that the members are really interested and are often enthusiastic in their work and the result is that they succeed in maintaining a fair average standard of administration. This standard could easily be higher if one municipality would profit from the success or failure of another.

PUNJAB.

Letter No. 5845-S.H.|Genl., dated the 3rd October 1927.

From—The Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—The Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla.

With reference to your letter no. F.-181-27|Public, dated 26th March 1927, I am directed by the Governor in Council to forward 12 copies of a note (with four appendices) on the working of the reformed constitution during the period October 1923 to October 1926.

2. The Ministers have been asked if they have any observations to offer on this note, and their observations (if any) will be forwarded to the Government of India in due course.

NOTE ON THE WORKING OF THE REFORMS IN THE PUNJAB FROM OCTOBER 1923 TILL OCTOBER 1926.

A.—The Executive Government.

Personnel of the Executive Government on reserved and transferred sides.—Sir Edward Maclagan was Governor of the Province till May 1924, when he was succeeded by Sir Malcolm Hailey. Sir John Maynard was Finance Member of the Governor's Executive Council during the greater part of the period under report, being succeeded on his retirement in June 1926 by Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency. Sir Sundar Singh Majithia's term as Revenue Member expired at the end of 1925 when he was succeeded by Sir Fazl-i-Husain, who had been Education Minister since the introduction of the Reforms, except for a short time in the summer of 1925, when he was appointed to act as a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. During this period he was succeeded as Minister by Shaikh (now Sir) Abdul Qadir, who resigned that office on Sir Fazl-i-Husain's return to the Punjab. Chaudhri Lal Chand, of Rohtak, was appointed Minister for Agriculture after the general election of 1923 ; but he was unseated in the summer of 1924 on a petition alleging corrupt practices during the election, and in his place His Excellency the Governor appointed Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, another member of the Legislative Council from the same district and representing the same point of view as Chaudhri Lal Chand. On Sir Fazl-i-Husain's appointment to the Punjab Executive Council at the beginning of 1926, in the portfolios of education and local self-government were transferred to Chaudhri Chhotu Ram who remained in office till the end of the period under report. For the portfolio of agriculture and industries His Excellency the Governor in January 1926 selected a Sikh, Sardar Jogendra Singh, who had for some years been a Member of the Council of State. He succeeded in obtaining a seat on the Legislative Council within a few weeks of his appointment as Minister.

There was no other important change in the distribution of business between the various Members and Ministers.

2. *Allocation of funds to reserved and transferred subjects.*—This and other questions connected with the financial working of the reforms are dealt with in a separate note, which is printed as Appendix I to this report.

3. *Constitutional or Cabinet difficulties and the resignation of Members or Ministers.*—No constitutional difficulty arose during the period under report. Lala Harkishan Lal, who had been Minister for Agriculture during

the life-time of the first reformed Council, intimated his intention not to stand at the general election at the end of 1923 and placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor. In his place His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan appointed, as already noted, Chaudhri Lal Chand, a Jat pleader of the Rohtak district, who had been a stalwart champion of agricultural interests both before and after the introduction of the reforms. On all subjects in which there was a clash between rural and urban interests, Chaudhri Lal Chand represented the same point of view as the Muhammadan Minister, Sir Fazl-i-Husain, and his appointment thus gave the Ministry a homogeneity which it had not possessed in the first reformed Council. Though Chaudhri Lal Chand's personal following in the Council consisted of a comparatively small group of Hindu rural members, this group was generally in sympathy with the Muhammadan rural members rather than with their urban co-religionists. When Chaudhri Lal Chand was unseated on an election petition in the summer of 1924, he was succeeded by Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, who represented the same point of view and interests.

4. *Co-operation between the Executive Government and the Legislature with special reference to permanent or special committees of the latter and the action taken in pursuance of their recommendations, and the use of Council Secretaries.*—Under this head there is little to add to what is stated in paragraph 3 of the report submitted in October 1923. The Standing Finance Committee is the only standing committee of any real importance. The other standing committees have tended gradually to decline in influence. Little use was, for instance, made of the standing committees for Local Self-Government and Public Health. The former held only one meeting in 1924, three (one of which was abortive owing to the lack of a quorum) in 1925, and one in 1926. Suggestions for the improvement of details of local self-government administration, on which the advice of the committee was sought, were in most cases approved and subsequently adopted by Government, but in two cases of first class importance, though the standing committee had advised in favour of legislation, the Minister eventually decided not to introduce legislation, as he was doubtful of support by his party in the Council. The first of these cases was a proposal to empower district boards to impose additional cesses for specific objects, while the second related to a Bill to provide for the appointment of Executive officers for the larger municipalities. The standing committee on Public Health did not meet at all in 1924, and held only one meeting in 1925 and one in 1926. In the latter year the committee was consulted as to the measures, if any, to be taken to encourage indigenous systems of medicine. It advised that increased assistance should be given to existing teaching institutions, that legislation should be introduced to set up a registering authority, and that grants-in-aid should be given to local bodies for the employment of *Vaids* and *Hakims*. No action was, however, taken by Government in pursuance of these recommendations.

The appointments of Council secretaries, which were brought under reduction as a measure of retrenchment early in 1923, have not been revived. The Ministers would have liked to have Council secretaries to help them in the disposal of Council business and to act as party whips : but they did not proceed in the matter as it was believed that the general feeling of the Council was against their appointment.

No special committees of the Legislative Council were appointed by Government on the recommendation of the House during the period under report, as no resolution proposing such an appointment was carried.

5. *Relations between the reformed Government and the Public Services. General effect of the Reforms on the cost and efficiency of the administration.*—Owing to the resignation of a considerable number of senior officers in the security services, the Indian Civil Service and the Police, there has been increased difficulty in carrying on the administration satisfactorily. It must be admitted that in a very considerable number of cases such resignations have not been due to any apprehensions of officers as to the working of the Reformed scheme ; but the result of their withdrawal has been severely felt. It has not always been easy to satisfy the insistent demands for British magistrates and British investigating officers which invariably follow communal rioting, and compliance with such demands has sometimes only been possible at the cost of some dislocation of essential services. The shortage of British officers has also necessarily involved some restriction on the grant of leave, and has sometimes made it necessary to appoint to the charge of districts comparatively inexperienced officers of the Indian Civil Service, or members of the Provincial Civil Service, in a larger proportion than would have some years ago been considered justifiable. The judiciary has suffered from similar causes, and for the last few years an unduly high proportion of District and Sessions Judgeships has been held by members of the Provincial Civil Service owing to the shortage in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service. This has certainly had a weakening effect on the efficiency of the provincial judiciary, which may not unreasonably be held to have been responsible for some part of the increase in the figures of the more serious forms of crime. The steady growth of communal hostility, fostered by the struggle of the communities for political power, has increased the difficulties and anxieties of the average district officer, but though there has been some evidence of apathy and occasionally of a feeling of pessimism, the services have as a whole responded excellently to the increased strain which changed conditions have imposed upon them. Continued communal tension is bound to have some injurious effect on services undergoing a rapid process of Indianization. It cannot, however, be said that the interest which the Legislative Council takes in the services, an interest which in some cases, and especially in relation to the Police and Jail Departments, usually takes the form of constant criticism, has had a healthy effect. In the subordinate branches of these services especially there is a growing feeling of insecurity and unrest. Anonymous and pseudonymous complaints, petitions and insinuations against officials have increased to a surprising extent ; allegations of communal bias are of constant occurrence. Both the Press and the right of interpellation in the Council are used for these purposes, and there is a growing belief, possibly not unfounded, that certain members of the legislature encourage subordinate establishments to ventilate their grievances by means of Council questions, in the hope of inducing the belief that the Legislative Council is the tribunal for redressing the grievances of Government servants, and that the constitutional method of approaching the superior officers is ineffective without the influence of a member of the legislature. All these causes have impaired discipline in some of the subordinate services, and there is evidence that feelings of insecurity, based mainly on communal grounds, pervade certain establishments. The comparatively rapid process of Indianisation in certain departments has frankly been used to adjust communal inequalities, and it is commonly stated that, in certain departments at any rate, more importance is attached to political and communal connections than to departmental efficiency as a means of advancement. It is difficult to cite actual instances of this tendency, but nevertheless the feeling is shared by many officers

whose experience is sufficiently long to enable them to compare the pre-reform with the post-reform spirit of the public services. There is, moreover, a belief on the part of the public, to which expression has been given more than once in debates in the Council, that corruption in the services has increased since the introduction of the reforms in spite of the action taken by the local Government to eradicate this evil. But whether this belief is founded on fact is open to doubt, for it is possible that we are only experiencing the effects of increased resentment at the existence of corruption and of increased facilities for the ventilation of the grievance.

On the other side of the picture it should, however, be stated that the relations between the Ministers and the public services administering the transferred departments have on the whole been excellent. This refers not only to members of services definitely allocated to the transferred departments, but also to members of the Indian and Provincial Civil Services, who in certain matters act as agents of the Ministry in the field of local self-government. It is true that there was a feeling of uneasiness among certain sections of the Medical Department in the year 1926, when it happened that the Minister, the Secretary to Government, the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals and his Deputy were all Hindus. But the feeling took the form rather of a general apprehension of possible unfairness than of grievance over any proved instances of such treatment. No instances took place to the knowledge of Government in which the action proposed or taken by a Minister in respect of any individual member of a service was dictated by any motive other than a desire for the efficiency of the administration. It must at the same time be admitted that the force of circumstances has in some instances tended to compel Ministers to safeguard or satisfy insistent pressure for a recognition of the claims of their community or party in respect of recruitment to the services, and that communal considerations have occasionally impeded the choice of the men who on general standards would have been selected as most suitable for appointment. That fact has been much more marked in some departments than in others, and indeed there have been noticeable differences between Ministers in this respect. Occasionally also members of the Indian Civil Service have resented the action taken in transferred departments, and have been inclined to question the motives of Ministers in the matter of appointments, for example of Sub-Registrars and members of local bodies. But on the whole there has been a general recognition that Ministers must to a certain extent use their powers of patronage to consolidate their position in their parties, and Government is not aware of any case in which a thoroughly unsuitable person has been appointed to an office in defiance of the expressed advice of responsible local officials. Ministers have been quick to recognise good work and to realise when they are well served. Nor have they shown any undue anxiety to expedite the process of Indianisation at the sacrifice of efficiency. It may be noted that the strength of opinion in the Council as regards the need of reform and improvement in jail administration has inaugurated a far-reaching reorganization of this department.

6. *The Reforms and Local Self-Government.*—The policy of removing official control from within local bodies, which had been initiated before the introduction of the reforms, was pursued with vigour in the early years of the reformed system of Government, so that by the beginning of 1924 there was little left to be done in this direction in the municipal field. District Boards, however, still retained their official chairmen, and while the Ministry was anxious that these bodies too should be freed from official

leading strings, it recognised that it was not politic to force a change of this nature on the more conservative rural elements. A free choice was therefore given to District Boards to retain official chairman or not, and so far only two have elected to have a non-official chairman. There is a general consensus of official opinion and a considerable body of public opinion that the removal of official control from within has prejudiced the administration of municipal committees, and the inspection notes of auditors have revealed a great deal of inefficiency and corruption. While recognising this result, however, the Ministry has adhered to the view that responsible local self-government cannot be developed if official control from within remains, and that the real lesson of responsibility can only be learnt by experience. At the same time the Ministry has more and more come round to recognition of the fact that stricter control from without is essential, and there has been little hesitation in accepting the advice of permanent officials as to the measures necessary for the exercise of such control ; in one instance, a municipal committee of a large town was suspended by the direction of the Minister. It is true that hitherto but little progress has been made in enforcing such control, but this is due chiefly to the difficulties which have been experienced in working out schemes for a suitable agency. For the moment, the tendency has been to centralise and departmentalise certain spheres of work formerly left to local bodies, a policy which could only have been adopted by ministers confident of party support in the Legislature. It is possible that this tendency marks the line of development of the future centralization of definite spheres of work taking the place of detailed control of the working of the local body.

7. *Communalism in local bodies.*—The evils of communalism have perhaps been more apparent in the field of local self-government than in any other sphere. Before the introduction of the reforms the representation of the Muslim community on local bodies was nothing like that to which it was entitled on purely democratic principles, and it may be conceded that it would have been a task of great difficulty for the first Minister for local self-government, a Muslim, to resist the claim of his co-religionists to a greater share of representation on such bodies. Nor is it possible on the point of principle to take objection to the measures which he initiated in order to achieve his object. These measures included the lowering of the franchise and of qualifications for membership, and the distribution of seats, where communal electorates existed, on the basis of the mean between the population and the voting strength of the different communities. It cannot, however, be denied by any close student of the history of the last few years that one result of this policy has been to increase communal feeling. The principles underlying the Minister's policy have naturally been very unpopular with the Hindu community, not only in themselves but also as embodying a position which Punjab Hindus could not accept in wider spheres without serious consequences to their place in politics. Another unfortunate result has been that the sudden reduction of Hindu representation on local bodies has meant the loss to these bodies of the services of many men with considerable business training and experience of civic work. Further the intensification of communal feeling has reacted on the efficiency of local bodies owing both to the waste of time involved in communal disputes at meetings and to the tendency to decide important questions on communal rather than on administrative grounds. On the other hand, the Ministers have on the whole been firm in resisting the considerable pressure brought to bear on them to extend the system of communal electorates to places where it was

not previously in force, though in several such places the reconstitution of election wards has operated to produce very much the same results as communal electorates.

8. *The Legislative Council and Local Self-Government.*—A very large proportion of the questions asked in the Council dealt with the affairs of local bodies. Many of these were prompted by communal motives, and were asked with a view to discrediting individuals or majorities on such bodies belonging to the community opposed to that of the person asking the question. Comparatively few questions related to matters of major public concern, and it was clear that a considerable number was prompted by discontented subordinates.

There was during the period under report no legislation of first class importance relating to the local self-government, and the few Bills introduced merely amended the law in respect of minor details of local administration. Most of these were passed with little or no discussion, the only exception being a Bill to validate the imposition of terminal tax in Lahore. This was made the occasion for an attack on the Ministry for its refusal to increase the Hindu representation on the municipal committee.

In the general budget discussions and debates on grants, the Council showed itself in the main appreciative of the policy of the Ministry ; but dissatisfaction was continually expressed by rural members at the failure of Government to provide more funds for public health, especially in rural areas, and to initiate measures to improve the sanitation of villages. This dissatisfaction was also voiced in the discussion of a resolution recommending the provision of 15 lakhs of rupees for rural sanitation, and there is no doubt that this matter and the prevention of dangerous epidemics were questions in which the Council was deeply interested, though the debates have not produced much in the way of constructive proposals. As already noticed, the Council has shown on more than one occasion a desire to encourage indigenous systems of medicine, but it is hard to say how far this desire is genuine and how far it is dictated merely by sentiment. It is, however, significant that the Ministry's scheme for the expansion of western medical relief in rural areas met with a warm welcome, and considerable funds have been voted for this purpose without opposition from any quarter in the Council.

An important resolution was moved with the object of removing the disqualification for membership of local bodies imposed upon persons convicted of offences not involving "moral turpitude." This received support only from members of the Congress and Khilafat parties and was defeated by a large majority. Another resolution recommending the suppression of beggary and the institution of poor houses found only one supporter and was lost without a division.

9. *The Reforms and other transferred subjects.*—The preceding paragraph has dealt with the effect of the reforms on local self-government and on the attitude of the Council to questions affecting the Medical Department and public health. A separate note on the Education Department by Sir George Anderson, Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, is printed as appendix II to this note ; it shows that the Council has never hesitated to give financial support to the great expansion which has taken place in educational activity, though it has not unnaturally, in view of its composition, been interested rather in primary and secondary than in University education. As regards the other transferred departments, there is little of interest to note. The more important are Excise, Industries, Agriculture

(including Veterinary) and Co-operative Credit Societies. In regard to the last two, it may be said that generally the attitude of the Legislative Council has been one of benevolent encouragement combined with a readiness to vote the supplies required for the considerable expansion that has taken place. As regards industries, the Council has shown a general, but not very well-informed, readiness to promote industrial expansion. It is natural that a Council composed mainly of representatives of rural interests has been quick to appreciate the fact that agriculture is by far the most important industry of the province.

On excise matters the Legislative Council has shown itself sensible and reasonable on the whole. Though it takes considerable interest in excise administration generally, as is shown by the large number of questions asked on its details, and though many of its members are advocates of a policy of total prohibition, yet a majority of the Council has in its discussions on budget grants and on other occasions shown its general approval of the excise policy of Government which is "maximum revenue with minimum consumption." Thus the Council agreed to the Punjab Excise and Opium Amendment Acts in 1925, which increased the penalties under section 61, sub-sections 1 and 2, of the Punjab Excise Act ; it has generally passed the excise demand with but little discussion ; it sanctioned a considerable increase in the excise staff, including some members of the Criminal Investigation Department, to investigate important offences under the excise law ; and it agreed to a considerable increase in the amount of money placed at the Financial Commissioner's disposal for rewards in excise cases. More important still, in March 1926 it rejected not only a resolution moved by an unofficial member that Government should abandon its present excise policy for a policy of total prohibition, but also an amendment moved thereto that Government should appoint a committee to consider the desirability of changing its excise policy in the direction suggested. And that the Council generally reflects public opinion in excise matters is shown by the fact that the Punjab Local Option Act of 1923, by which total prohibition can be introduced into any locality in which local public opinion shows itself strongly in favour of such action, has for practical purposes remained a dead letter, as the Act has only been enforced in two small towns.

B.—The Legislature.

10. *Composition of second Legislative Council.*—The second reformed Council did not differ very materially in composition from its predecessor. Of the 69 elected seats, 36 or 37 were held by members of the Unionist or Rural party, the majority being Muslims and the minority Hindus or Sikhs, prepared to co-operate with the opposite community on questions involving a clash of rural with urban interests. Of the remaining elected seats, 12 were held by professed Swarajists, 3 by Khilafatists, 9 by Sikhs, who were nominees of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and the balance by members who called themselves Independents. The small Swarajist group was practically the only new feature that distinguished the second from the first reformed Council. At the beginning of the life time of the Council this group was prominent in its consistent opposition to Government ; in fact on the very first occasion on which the Council met on the summons of His Excellency the Governor on January 2nd, 1924, the whole group, together with a few other Hindu and Sikh members, absented themselves as a protest against Sir Edward Maclagan's

selection of Ministers. During the same session one of the leading Swarajist members explicity advocated the rejection of all Government's supplementary demands for grants, in order to compel the Governor to employ his powers of certification. It must, however, be remembered that at this date (the beginning of 1924) the Gandhian policy of non-co-operation, though gradually declining, was by no means dead. As time passed on, the attitude of the Swarajist party underwent a gradual modification, possibly because it felt that there was but little sympathy among other parties in the Council with its policy or methods, and partly perhaps from a realisation that its attitude of hostility might result in forcing Government into the arms of the Muhammadan rural party. From an uncompromising opponent of Government the Swarajist group became first a destructive, and later a more discriminating critic. Certainly before the Council was dissolved, the policy of non-co-operation had faded completely almost out of sight, and the undoubted debating capacity which the Swarajist group commanded was generally employed in a tone of somewhat carping but not really unfriendly criticism of Government. It is true that in March 1926 eight members of the party, acting on instructions from Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, " walked out " as a protest against the failure of Government to grant a further instalment of reforms. But as a political gesture this demonstration fell very flat. The members returned to the Council in the following July. More bitter and more uncompromising criticism generally marked the utterances of the small Khilafatists' group, but its numbers were so small as to be almost negligible. The Sikh party contained only two or three men who were effective debaters, and the rank and file were practically silent members. The few good speakers were naturally the better educated and therefore the more moderate members of the group. Generally speaking, the Unionist majority gave ready support to the Ministry, which, as explained above, was representative of the rural interests which the party upheld. The majority of members of this party were men of the yeoman type, on the whole conservative in their general outlook, shrewed in practical matters, loyal by tradition and instinct to Government, proud of the martial traditions of their tribes and consistent in their efforts to promote the interests of the small yeoman and land-owners' class, if necessary at the expense of the townsmen. It may be said of the second reformed Council, as of the first, that it represented the more moderate current of public opinion in the Province and that its relations with the Executive were on the whole harmonious. Though occasionally inspired by the idea of placating advanced public opinion, as for instance in a resolution (carried by a large majority) recommending the release from jail of the agitator, Zafar Ali Khan, it has approached most questions in a spirit of moderation, tempered perhaps by a disposition towards criticism of Government measures. For example, on the question of the enhancement of canal charges the general feeling of the rural party was one of steady opposition, but the tone of the speeches was always moderate. A non-official resolution urging the removal of the statute of Lord Lawrence at Lahore was defeated by a substantial majority after a lively but by no means heated debate. The proposals of the Muddiman Committee were condemned as inadequate after a somewhat listless debate in March 1925, but political theories as a rule are a secondary consideration with the majority of Punjab representatives, whose chief concern lies in the problems of actual administration and in the material development of their province and districts.

11. *Government Legislation.*—The following is a list of the Acts passed by the Punjab Legislative Council during the years 1924, 1925 and 1926 :—

(1) The Punjab Stamp (Amendment) Act, 1924. This doubled the rate of stamp duty chargeable on conveyances of immoveable property situated within a Municipality, Cantonment or Notified Area.

(2) The Elected President's Salary Act, 1924, fixing the salary of the President of the Council at Rs. 36,000 per annum.

(3) The Stage Carriages (Punjab Amendment) Act, 1924, empowering the local Government to make rules prescribing fees to be paid for stage carriage licenses.

(4) The Punjab Motor-Vehicles Taxation Act, 1924, imposing a provincial tax on all motor vehicles, with certain exceptions, kept in the Punjab.

(5) The Punjab Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1925, making certain small amendments in the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911.

(6) The Punjab Excise (Amendment) Act, 1925, amending section 61 of the Punjab Excise Act, 1914.

(7) The Opium (Punjab Amendment) Act, 1925, amending section 8 of the Opium Act, 1878.

(8) The Punjab Small Towns (Amendment) Act, 1925, amending the provisions of the Punjab Small Towns Act, 1921, in respect of elections to Small Towns' Committee.

(9) The Lahore Terminal Tax Validating Act, 1925.

(10) The Punjab District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1925, amending the Punjab District Boards Act, 1883.

(11) The Repealing (Punjab Loans Limitation) Amendment Act, 1925, an Act interpreting a similarly named Act of 1923.

(12) The Punjab Vaccination Law (Amendment) Act, 1925, making certain amendments in the Vaccination Act, 1880.

(13) The Punjab Motor-Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1925, amending No. 4 above.

(14) The Punjab Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1925, dealing with occupancy rights in the Attock district.

(15) The Punjab Court-Fees (Amendment) Act, 1926, enhancing the scale of court-fees on certain classes of suits.

(16) The Punjab Primary Education (Enforcement) Act, 1926, providing that the Punjab Primary Education Act, 1919, shall be deemed to have come into force from the 1st of May 1919.

(17) The Montgomery District Board Act, 1926.

(18) The Sikh Gurdwaras (Amendment) Act, 1926, making certain formal amendments in the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925, (a private Member's Act).

(19) The Punjab Aerial Royeways Act, 1926, authorising the construction of aerial ropeways.

(20) The Punjab Court-Fees (Second Amendment) Act, 1926.

(21) The Punjab Land Preservation (Chos Amendment) Act, 1926, amending the Punjab Land Preservation (Chos) Act, 1900.

(22) The Punjab Land Preservation (Chos) Second Amendment Act, 1926.

(23) The Prisons (Punjab Amendment) Act, 1926, amending section 6 of the Prisons Act, 1894.

(24) The Good Conduct Prisoners' Probational Release Act, 1926, an Act providing for the release of good conduct prisoners on conditions imposed by the local Government.

(25) The Punjab Borstal Act, 1926, making provisions for the establishment and regulation of Borstal Institutions in the Punjab.

(26) The Punjab Medical Registration (Amendment) Act, 1926, amending the Punjab Medical Registration Act, 1916.

(27) The Sikh Gurdwaras (Second Amendment) Act, 1926.

(28) The Punjab Small Towns Amendment Act, 1926, amending the Punjab Small Towns Act, 1921.

(29) The Punjab Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1926, amending the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911.

The majority of these Acts were of purely local interest and few of them gave rise to any great discussion. The enhancement of the scale of court-fees was, however, strongly opposed by urban members but generally supported by their rural colleagues. The Act was passed by a fairly substantial majority. The Acts empowering the local Government to open Borstal Institutions and to release good conduct prisoners on probation were important measures of prison reform. The first of them gave rise to considerable discussion and underwent some important modifications in the course of its passage through the Council.

12. *Private Bills.*—Two private Bills of great importance were introduced in the life-time of the second reformed Council. The first of these, which was passed into law as the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925, though in form a Bill introduced by and in charge of a private member, was in fact the result of an understanding arrived at between Government and the Sikh Members as regards the future regulations and management of Sikh shrines. It is a long and complicated measure of 148 sections and 4 schedules, and the services of the Government draftsmen were placed at the disposal of the private member in charge of the Bill. In fact its provisions owed much of their inspiration to the efforts for the settlement of this difficult question, which for several years had been a menace to the peace and prosperity of the Province, of permanent officials who had interested themselves in the matter. The Bill was subjected to very close examination by a strong and representative select committee during the summer of 1925. The Sikh members of this committee for the most part represented the interests of the Sikh reforming section. Interests antagonistic to these views, *i.e.*, those of the *Mahants* or hereditary guardians of the shrines, were represented on the select committee by certain Hindus. The general principle of the Bill was that the control of Sikh religious buildings and their endowments should vest in the congregations. The atmosphere of the select committee was one of mutual good-will and tolerance, all parties making concessions in order that there

should be no impediment to the passage of this measure, which was generally felt to be a satisfactory solution of an agitation which had continued for some years. Eventually the select committee presented a unanimous report and the Bill was passed in Council after a prolonged and occasionally acrimonious debate but without a single division. It is not too much to claim that it robbed the Akali agitation of most of its force.

The second private member's Bill was one introduced by a Muslim member, providing under penalties for the registration of money-lenders, imposing on them an obligation to keep their accounts in certain prescribed forms and limiting the rates of interest to be charged on loans. The Bill as originally proposed gave rise to very keen opposition on the part of the Hindu members, especially those representing urban constituencies ; but the support accorded to it by Muslim and other rural members was equally keen. The Bill was considerably modified after its first introduction and finally passed by the Council in the summer session of 1926 after a series of heated debates extending over several days. His Excellency the Governor felt himself constrained after careful consideration to withhold his assent to this measure for reasons which he explained in addressing the Legislative Council towards the end of 1926, just before its dissolution. A copy of His Excellency's address on this occasion is enclosed as Appendix III to this note, as it forms a comprehensive review of the principal events of the life-time of the second reformed Council.

13. *Resolutions and Questions.*—A list of all resolutions passed by the Council during the three years, 1924, 1925 and 1926 together with a note of the action taken by Government thereon, will be found in Appendix IV. The right of interpellation has been very freely exercised, though as already noted, not always to the best purpose. The majority of questions are on matters of purely local and minor importance or actuated by a communal motive. Few members appear to appreciate the parliamentary convention that any member putting a question is responsible for the correctness of the allegations contained therein.

14. *Miscellaneous motions in the Legislative Council.*—Three motions were made for the adjournment of the Council. On the first occasion a motion was moved in February 1924 in order to discuss the situation created by the shooting of Akalis at Jaito on the 21st of that month. The motion was, however, declared by the Chair to be out of order. The object of the second motion in March 1925 was to discuss the report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, which had just been published. This motion led to the debate to which allusion has already been made at the end of paragraph 10 of this note. Official members took no part in this debate. In December 1925 a discussion took place on a motion for adjournment of an incident that occurred at the Montgomery jail, when a member of the Legislative Council, who had visited the jail in his capacity of a non-official visitor, was subjected to an assault by a convict. The motion was talked out.

The Standing Orders of the Legislative Council were amended on six occasions, but none of the amendments were of any great importance.

C.—General Questions.

15. *The extent to which the Councils represent and re-act on current public opinion.*—The extent to which the proceedings of the Council react on current public opinion is very difficult to gauge, as except in the actual

Council Hall, practically the only vehicle for the expression of public opinion that exists in the Punjab is the Press. With a few notable exceptions, the Press for the most part represents those elements in society generally marked in the past by hostility to the British administration. Of recent years this hostility has yielded its place as the principal subject of public discussion to communal topics, and the merits of matters under discussion, and of the Reforms procedure generally, has been tested largely by communal considerations. Indeed the criticism of the Administration itself and its actions turns largely on its attitude to communal questions. It would probably be correct to say that the Press has had more influence on the expression of opinion in Council than the debates in the Council have had on the Press. Nevertheless, public interest in the proceedings of the Council has certainly increased considerably during the period under review. The area of political consciousness is rapidly growing, and though this consciousness so far as the Punjab generally is concerned finds its interest rather in the problems of practical administration than in political theories, it may justly be claimed that the Council has played a not unimportant part in stimulating the general interest outside its walls in those problems and in fostering the growth of the sense of political responsibility. Whatever other results the reforms scheme may have attained, it has most certainly had an educative effect, and has interested in constitutional and political questions large numbers of persons who had hitherto held aloof from this sphere of activity. On the whole, the access of fresh elements, largely representing classes with a considerable stake in agriculture and commerce, must tend to have healthy and steadying effect in politics.

16. *The extent to which and the means by which relations have been maintained between members of the Council and their constituencies.*—The residential qualification which was in force for the election of the first Council, was removed shortly before the general election of 1923 : but this change had little practical effect, as only in one or two urban constituencies were members elected who were not residents of their constituencies. In the rural constituencies the successful candidates were without exception local men, though there were several instances of local lawyers representing purely rural electorates. The majority of the members were thus in close touch with the needs of their constituencies. Political meetings at which candidates or representatives address their constituents are of rare occurrence, save on the eve of an election, while the election address and other forms of election literature are still practically unknown. The number of questions and resolutions dealing with purely local matters, however, is proof of the close liaison between members and their constituents. In this connection a practice has grown up which presents an interest of its own. A question relating to a purely local grievance is very often put by a member other than the one representing the constituency in question. This is probably due to the fact that many of these questions relate to the conduct or actions of local officials, with whom the local member is anxious to maintain good relations. If therefore a constituent presses him to ask a question on such a subject, he usually endeavours to induce a representative of a distant constituency to put the question.

17. *The formation of groups or parties within the Council and how far these coincide with or traverse purely communal lines of cleavage.*—The principal group within the Council have already been described in paragraph 10 of this note. Of the rural seats, 27 were held by Muhammadans,

13 by Hindus and 11 by Sikhs. The urban constituencies were represented by 7 Hindus, 5 Muhammadans and 1 Sikh. There were 7 special constituencies, including Muhammadan, Sikh and other Landholders, the Baloch Tumandars, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and Trades Association, and Industries. Of these seats, 2 were held by Muhammadans, 3 by Hindus, 1 by a Sikh and 1 by a European. The Muhammadans had thus 34 elected members as against 36 Hindus and Sikhs. As in the first Council, the Muhammadans, with the exception of the three Khilafatists, formed a practically solid party, prepared to follow the guidance of the Muhammadan Minister. During 1926, when the Ministry contained no Muhammadan, this party showed less cohesion. Most of the rural Hindu members and a few Sikhs usually voted with the Muhammadan rural members. What may be called the regular opposition consisted of the Swarajists, the Khilafatists and a few other Hindu and Sikh members, but this coalition was not strongly organised and not always unanimous or consistent in its attitude. The growing bitterness of feeling between the Muslims and Hindus has of course had its effect on the proceedings of the Council, and there have latterly been few debates in which the communal tone has not been prominent. It is true that to some extent communal asperities have been mitigated by the existence of another line of cleavage, namely that between urban and rural interests. But on the other hand on many subjects "rural" may be broadly interpreted as connoting Muslim and "urban" as connoting Hindu interests, nor was this line of cleavage sufficiently marked to prevail when purely communal interests were at stake. On most communal subjects the Sikhs range themselves on the side of the Hindus, as is natural, though their interests are not always identical, as for example in the matter of Gurdwara reform.

Communal feeling in the Council probably reached its highest point in the debates that took place on the Money-lenders Bill in July 1926, a few weeks after the rioting at Rawalpindi, which had resulted in many fatalities and much destruction of property.

18. As has been explained in paragraph 3 of this note, the small group of Hindu rural members led by Chaudhri Lal Chand (and later by Chaudhri Chhotu Ram) at the outset favoured the policy of the promotion of rural interests, and on that account generally sided with the Muslim rural party. As time went on, however, and as the non-co-operation movement steadily declined in force, the rank and file of the Hindu urban party began gradually to abandon its attitude of non-co-operation with Government and to interest itself in administrative measures. At the same time communal bitterness began to assume prominence both in the Punjab and in other provinces. Owing to these tendencies, the position of the small rural Hindu party became more difficult and confused. The cleavage between the Hindu rural members and the Hindu party proper, with which they had communal affinity, became more unreal and incomplete. After the general election of October 1926 it became evident that the bulk of the Hindu members returned, who were ready to associate themselves with the administrative measures of Government and retained no trace of the policy of non-co-operation, would not support Chaudhri Chhotu Ram in his former policy of sympathy with the Muslim rural party, and that his own small group of supporters would be negligible in number.

The position of the Sikh Minister, who was appointed at the beginning of 1926, was also one of some constitutional interest. He was able to maintain his position in the Council by his generally recognised keen interest in agricultural and rural development, which commended itself to the Muslim rural party. The Sikh members alone could not have afforded him the support necessary for a Minister, nor were they in continuous agreement with the Muslim rural party, from which the Minister derived his main support. The Sikh group as a whole occupied an interesting position and were able on certain questions to exercise a considerable influence on the decision of the Council. By origin and predilection they were naturally in favour of agricultural and rural development, and on these questions were usually at one with the Muslim rural party. At the same time many of the members of the group on certain political issues had a greater affinity with the extreme Hindu group, and on the communal aspects of certain questions had a preferential leaning to the Hindu point of view. The two other main parties in the House therefore bid for the sympathies of the Sikh group from different points of view ; and the accretion of the Sikh group to one or other of the two parties thus represented a substantial advantage when some particular question was in issue.

The bonds of party discipline are loose, and on the occasion of an important division it is seldom safe to assume that all members of a party will obey the party whip. On such occasions it is common to see small groups of members engaged in animated but confidential conversation in the lobbies and waiting rooms, and occasionally members are induced to absent themselves from divisions or even to vote in opposition to the majority of their party by personal appeals. One may infer that the Punjab politician has still to learn the advantages of party solidarity.

THE CONSTITUENCIES AND THE PUBLIC.

19. *The ascertained percentage of enfranchised persons to the total population, and the percentage of votes recorded in general or bye-elections to the total number of voters on the register.*—According to the census of 1921, the total population of the Punjab was a little over 20½ millions, the number of registered voters for the Legislative Council being 702,748 or 3.3 per cent. of the total population. At the general election of 1923 in 18 constituencies there was no contest. In contested elections the percentage of votes polled varied from 84 per cent. in the case of the University Constituency to 38 per cent. in the case of the 10 rural Sikh Constituencies, which were contested. In the case of most of the Muhammadan and Hindu seats, both urban and rural, the percentage of votes polled was about 50 or 60 per cent. of the total number of registered electors. The percentage was considerably higher than that recorded in 1920, when the non-co-operators were able to dissuade or prevent many electors from recording their votes.

Nine election petitions were presented after the general election. Four of these were unsuccessful and the remaining five resulted in the unseating of the members. There were 4 bye-elections in 1924, 5 in 1925 and 4 in 1926.

20. *Electoral organization in the constituencies, political programme, parties and party funds and machinery.*—There is little to add to what was said in paragraph 37 of the note submitted in 1923 on this subject.

Although, as explained above, there has been a considerable awaking of political consciousness during the three years under review, little serious or systematic efforts has been made by members of the legislature to educate the electorate. As all constituencies were communal, with the exception of the University, Commerce and Industries seats, elections were generally fought on personal rather than on party grounds, except where Swarajists opposed candidates of more moderate views. In many of the rural constituencies it was a case of a candidate of one prominent tribe opposing a candidate of another.

D.—Political Agitation and parties outside the reforms Scheme.

21. The chief events of the period under review were the gradual decline and final collapse of the non-co-operation movement, and the Akali agitation. Little need be said in regard to the former movement, with which none but a small section of the Punjab Legislative Council was ever in open sympathy. The Akali agitation came prominently before the Council on more than one occasion, especially in connection with the lengthy and protracted criminal proceedings known as the Akali leaders' case. The Sikh members were of course deeply interested in the Akali movement and were generally in sympathy with those who came into conflict with the law during the various phases of this agitation. Their attitude may be described as one of insistence on Government's yielding to the demands of the reforming party, however, unreasonable and however unfair to other interests those demands may have been. The majority of the Hindu members and more especially the Swarajists usually supported the Sikh members on these questions. The Muhammadans were for the most part indifferent ; but a few of them were ready to support the Sikhs when they considered that this course would secure a corresponding advantage to themselves, or when they thought it good policy to placate the opinion of those personally interested in the questions under discussion. It cannot, however, be said that the Council as a whole was deeply stirred by any incident of the Akali movement. Moderate opinion in the Council, as throughout the Province, deplored this long drawn out agitation as a menace to the prosperity and development of the Province and readily united in furthering the solution offered by the Gurdwara Bill of 1925.

E.—Relations between the Government and the Legislature.

22. In considering the relations of the Government and the Legislature in the Punjab and the position occupied by Ministers, it is necessary to remember that in this province it has not been the practice to emphasize the difference between reserved and transferred subjects. All matters of importance are freely discussed between both sides of Government, and the support which Ministers can secure in the Legislative Council is a matter of consideration for the reserved as well as for the transferred side. It is easy to conceive circumstances in which this attempt to secure unity in viewing questions of administrative and political importance would be impossible ; but it has not so far proved to be unsuited to the conditions prevailing in the Punjab, and its adoption appears to conduce to the development of the province at a difficult period of its evolution, even though it may tend to obscure to the public some of the implications of the constitution of 1919.

List of Appendices.

(1) Note on the financial working of the Reforms.

(2) Note by the Director of Public Instruction on the Reforms and Education.

(3) His Excellency's address to the Punjab Legislative Council on the 25th of October, 1926.

(4) List of Resolutions passed in the Legislative Council in 1924-26.

APPENDIX I.

1. *Introductory.*—This note is intended to give the main features of the working of the Reforms Scheme, in so far as finance is concerned, during the Council that was dissolved at the end of 1926. To appreciate the attitude of the Council towards the problems of finance it is necessary to state briefly what these problems were and this can conveniently be done by a brief survey of provincial finance since the initiation of the Reforms. The statement below gives in lakhs of rupees a summary of provincial finances since 1921-22 to the end of the financial year 1926-27 ; the figures for the last year being taken from the revised estimates, while the figures for previous years represent actuals.

IN LAKHS OF RUPEES.

	Ordinary Revenue Account.				Capital Account.			Pr
	Receipts.	Disbursements.	Surplus or deficit of the year.	Balance.	Receipts.	Disbursements.	Balance.	Receipts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Opening balance.	..	..	..	66	..	..	..	..
1921-22 ..	8,64	10,69	—2,05	—1,39	..	..	..	..
1922-23 ..	*10,33	10,61*	—28	—1,67	..	..	..	..
1923-24 ..	10,22	9,79	+43	—1,24	..	..	..	..
1924-25 ..	10,86	9,71	+1,15	—9	2,64†	3,68‡	—1,04	97†
							Deficit of year. Balance.	
1925-26 ..	11,39	10,26	+1,13	—1,04	73	1,88	—1,15 —2,19	15
1926-27 ..	11,01	11,24	—23	+81	17	2,18	—2,01 —4,20	19

*Includes a revenue
†Includes receipts
‡Includes disbursem

The figures of the Ordinary Revenue Account contained in columns 2 to 5 of the statement are

Provincial Loans Account.		Extraordinary Receipts.			Famine Insurance, Sinking and Revenue Reserve Funds.						Total balance on all accounts.
							Revenue Reserve Fund.				
Disbursements.	Balance.	Receipts.	Disbursements.	Balance.	Famine Insurance Fund (Balance).	Sinking Fund (Balance).	Receipts.	Disbursements.	Balance.	Total balance in all funds.	
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
..	..	..	..	1,27	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,93
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1,81‡	—84	2,00†	..	3,27	10½	½	..	..	..	11	1,41
	Deficit of year. Balance.										
18	—3 —87	1,28	..	4,55	14	1	..	..	..	15	2,68
21	—2 —89	94	..	5,49	13½	½	20	10	10	24	1,45

loan of 60 lakhs.
from 1921-22.
ents from 1921-22.
the index to the financial history and policy of Government.

The statement includes figures for the various accounts into which the transactions of Government may conveniently be divided, but only a brief description is necessary of accounts other than the ordinary revenue account. The extraordinary receipts include only those items which relate to large non-recurring receipts of a capital nature, but which cannot for technical reasons be recorded as capital income. The greater part of them has been derived from the sales of Government land. While these receipts are essentially different from the normal recurring sources of revenue, no clear distinction was made between them for several years after the introduction of the Reforms and much of the instability of provincial finances was due to the confusion between the two. For several years past, however, a rigorous distinction has been made and, while it is recognized that the occasional utilization of Extraordinary Receipts to supplement ordinary revenue may be necessary as a temporary measure of expediency, it has now been accepted as a cardinal principle that resort to this expedient must be justified by exceptional circumstances. The Legislative Council was quick to appreciate the soundness of this principle, and although its application involved first, the levy of new taxation to balance the ordinary revenue account, and later the postponement of remission of taxation, the Council did not seriously press for the utilization of Extraordinary Receipts either to escape new burdens or to obtain relief from existing ones. In this respect they showed their sense of financial responsibility and so rendered less difficult the task of the Executive Government in placing the provincial finances on a sound basis.

The Extraordinary Receipts thus became available for the finance of capital schemes and out of a total expenditure on these of 774 lakhs since the Reforms, considerably more than one half was financed from Extraordinary Revenue. Generally the Council has encouraged the prosecution of large capital undertakings and during the last Council the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme and several important extensions of canals were started.

The Revenue Reserve Fund was opened in 1926-27 with an appropriation of 20 lakhs from the revenue balance. The object of the Fund is to stabilize the ordinary revenue account by the provision of separate resources from which, as need arises, a shortage of revenue due to natural calamities can be made good. The Fund was started at a time when the Council were inclined to be critical in regard to the incidence of taxation and in according approval to the scheme rather than in urging a corresponding remission of taxation, they showed a sound sense of financial foresight.

The ordinary revenue account is by far the most important of the accounts shown in the statement. It registers the vicissitudes of provincial finances and the financial policy of Government. In the first year of the Reforms a series of disasters was responsible for abnormally low receipts which had to bear the burden of the high charges resulting from the Reforms. The result was a revenue deficit of more than 2 crores. In the second year receipts improved but even with the aid of a revenue loan from the Government of India of 60 lakhs there was a small deficit of 28 lakhs and expenditure was on practically the same scale as in 1921-22. In 1923-24 there was a real improvement in receipts and a big reduction in expenditure with a consequent revenue surplus of 43 lakhs. In the following year there was a further increase in receipts and, as expendi-

ture was rigorously controlled, financial stability was secured with a surplus of over a crore. The marked and rapid improvement combined with the expectation of large receipts in 1925-26 allowed a relaxation of the policy of strict economy that had been pursued during the previous years. The Departments were encouraged to frame programmes of expansion and the Council voted large grants for the Beneficent Departments. The Departments were, however, unable to spend the sums allotted to them and there was again a surplus of more than one crore. In 1926-27, the last year of the life of the late Council, the policy of expansion was, with its consent, vigorously pursued. The total provision, voted and non-voted, on revenue account amounted to 11,63, lakhs or approximately a crore in excess of the large actuals of 1921-22 and was in fact well beyond the spending capacity of the Departments.

2. *New sources of receipts.*—On the receipt side the improvement in provincial resources was due mainly to the following causes :—

Firstly, to the imposition of new taxation ;

Secondly, to the partial remission of provincial contributions by the Government of India ;

Thirdly, to favourable seasons and in particular to a large increase in the area under cotton ;

Fourthly, to a large windfall in the revenue from stamps due to a change in the period of limitation for debt suits ; and

Fifthly, to extensions of irrigation.

In the statement below are shown the changes in taxation since the Reforms to the end of the financial year 1926-27. The financial results of the changes, as given in the statement are estimates made at the time when the changes were introduced ; in some cases they probably differ considerably from the actual results :—

Statement showing the various increases and decreases in taxation.

[Figures are in thousands of rupees.]

	Date.	Increase.	Decrease.	Net increase.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Registration fees ..	1st January 1922 ..	1,56	..	
	22nd October 1923 ..	3,00	..	
				4,56
Mutation fees ..	1st October 1923 ..	3,00	..	
	26th June 1925 ..	..	3,00	
		(20,00 to 25,00)	..	
Court fees ..	15th January 1923 ..	22,50 say		
	15th July 1926 ..	..	9,00	
				13,50
Stamps ..	15th January 1923 ..	(6,00 to 11,00) 8,50 say	..	
	1st March 1925 (Urban conveyances).	5,00	..	
				13,50
Motor taxation ..	1st April 1925 ..	3,00	..	
	1st July 1925 ..	..	30	
				2,70
Occupiers' rates ..	Kharif 1924 ..	55,00		
	Kharif 1925 ..	..	17,00	
	Kharif 1926 ..	..	8,00	
				30,0
	Total ..	..	..	64,2

3. *Attitude of the Council.*—From the facts and figures above given it will be seen that the second reformed Council came into being shortly after considerable increases in taxation had been made; that for the first few months of its existence the financial position was still obscure for the marked improvement that occurred during the financial year 1924-25 was not yet manifest and there was no reason to anticipate the still greater improvement which was to take place in subsequent years. While the previous Council had, on the whole, taken a reasonable line in regard to fiscal measures that were placed before it, it had in its last session rejected certain bills involving new taxation and in the first budget session of the new Council the measures on which Government depended to improve the financial position were again refused. Government was thus forced to revert to the alternative scheme of the enhancement of the occupiers rates on canals and the original proposal was to provide for 80 lakhs of additional revenue. The Council was not satisfied that the financial position of Government was as serious as was represented and an examination of its resources and liabilities by a mixed official and non-official committee, in fact, showed that the requirements of Government could be met by a smaller increase in the occupiers rates than had at first been contemplated. A new scale of occupiers rates was therefore introduced which was estimated to yield 55 lakhs of new revenue and was brought into force with effect from the kharif harvest of 1924. It was therefore natural that the early attitude of the Council should be characterised by a certain amount of suspicion towards the proposals of Government and that with a view to the avoidance of further taxation it should have pressed for economies in certain directions. As the change in the financial position and the policy of Government became apparent, the attitude of the Council gradually changed, and with effect from the financial year 1925-26 their sympathies were divided between two conflicting objects. On the one hand, the majority of the non-official members desired to support the Ministers in the development of their departments, and, in particular, of those branches of the administration which are somewhat arbitrarily classed beneficent. Their wishes in this respect reflected the views of their constituents who, although they had not yet appreciated the potentialities of expansion in Agriculture, Medical and Veterinary relief, Public Health and Communications, were favourably disposed towards expenditure in these directions and were hearty supporters of unlimited expenditure on Education. The tendency of individual members of the Council was therefore to urge the claims of the constituencies they represented and the result was to enlarge the vision of the Council as a whole in regard to the immense scope of beneficial development. On the other hand, the members felt that some relief was due to their constituents from the substantial burden of new taxation which at the time had been imposed to meet a financial crisis and not to provide funds for the development of the province. They were also doubtful as to the accuracy of the Finance Department's estimate of the financial position and the fact that for several years the budget estimates had underestimated receipts and over-estimated expenditure increased their doubts. There sanction to large demands for the Beneficent Departments was therefore accompanied by claims to fiscal relief, and the main difficulty of Government was to persuade them that their wishes could not be fully satisfied in both directions. Since the beginning of the financial year

1925-26 the policy of Government has been to compromise, at the sacrifice of as little revenue as possible, of these rival claims ; and to this end it has striven to educate the Council and the constituencies to an appreciation firstly, of the great needs of the province, and secondly, of the impossibility of satisfying them if large remissions of taxation were granted. Generally, it may be said that the great majority of the members of the last Council were convinced in their own minds that development was of far greater importance than remission, but in the June session of 1926, when the question was brought to a practical issue, the value of the debate was largely discounted by the fact that the elections were only a few months distant and the members were therefore more interested in securing votes than in advocating what they privately believed to be the real interests of the province. As a consequence the Government supplementary demand for General Administration was rejected on the ground that the remission of taxation announced by Government was inadequate.

4. *Rejection of Government Demands.*—During the life-time of the second Council the following demands of Government were either refused or substantially reduced :—

(*a*) In the first session held in January 1924 a demand to obtain a reappropriation of Rs. 17,000 to meet expenditure on account of excise rewards was rejected by the casting vote of the President. The opposition of the Council was ostensibly based on objections in principle to the grant of petty rewards to excise informers ; but the real reason was an impression that Government had failed to observe a promise given to the previous Council to reduce expenditure on Excise by 25 per cent. In future sessions the demands for Excise rewards were passed without opposition.

(*b*) In the budget session of 1924 a general cut of 25 per cent. was made in the provision for travelling allowance. Government opposed the cut when the first few demands were put to the vote, but, since the Council were resolved to make a general reduction and in fact approved of a cut in their own travelling allowance, Government accepted the reduction in general on the understanding that the whole question of a revision of the rates of travelling allowance would be referred to the Standing Finance Committee for advice and that the Finance Department, after considering the Committee's views, should frame suitable rules. The object of the Council was to enforce economy in a direction in which the members believed that the rates were too liberal, and the ultimate effect of their opposition was a reduction in expenditure on travelling allowance of about 10 per cent. The attitude of the Council was no doubt influenced by the belief that the finances of the province were still unsound, and, although the arbitrary cut of 25 per cent. and the subsequent stringent control over travelling allowance had an unfortunate effect on the efficiency of the administration in so far as it curtailed necessary touring, the action of the Council on this occasion provides one of the few instances in which it has enforced economy.

(*c*) An attack was next made on Commissioners. The non-official members of the Retrenchment Committee, to which reference has already been made, had recommended a reduction in the number of Commissioners from five to three and the Council made an attempt to force Government

to accept this recommendation. When the estimates were prepared, it was anticipated that the pay of one of the five Commissioners would be votable and the demand showed the item as votable. The Council rejected the demand for his salary. This action was, however, ineffective since later it became known that the pay of all the Commissioners would in fact be non-votable. The Council in order to secure its object therefore reduced by 2|5ths the demand for the votable pay of the establishment of Commissioners as a whole. The motion for reduction was passed by 40 to 22 votes ; practically all the elected non-official members voting for the reduction. The demand was restored by His Excellency the Governor.

(*d*) The whole demand for the head-quarters establishment relating to Survey and Settlement Parties under the major head ' Land Revenue ' was rejected. The object of the Council was to force Government to review the whole policy of land revenue assessment, and to introduce a new land revenue Bill under which the main principles of assessment would be fixed by Statute. Had the action of the Council been accepted by Government, the result would have been to stop all land revenue settlements then in progress. The demand was consequently restored by His Excellency the Governor.

(*e*) Under the 'Land Revenue' demand a further cut of Rs. 13,000 was made in the temporary establishment under ' Forest Reserve and Grazing Lands ', the reason for the cut being the mistaken belief that the estimated expenditure represented an increase on the actual expenditure of previous years. This item was again submitted as a supplementary demand in the August session of 1924, but was rejected, not on its merits, but as a protest against the transfer, which had recently been made, of the management of forests in the Kangra district from the Forest Department to the Deputy Commissioner.

(*f*) In the session of November 1924 the supplementary demand for travelling allowance under head " Land Revenue " was refused. By that time the Finance Department acting mainly on the advice of the Standing Finance Committee had fixed new rates of travelling allowance which, as already mentioned, effected a reduction of 10 per cent. in the total expenditure. The Council does not seem to have been completely satisfied that this reduction was adequate and it therefore rejected the first supplementary demand on this account that was presented to it. Later it appears to have changed its mind and voted all the supplementary demands for travelling allowance under other heads.

(*g*) In the Budget session of March 1925 the only specific cut made was in consequence of the action of the guillotine. Owing to lack of time no discussion was possible on the Land Revenue demand which was rejected *in toto*. It was resubmitted as a supplementary demand in the May sessions when the Hon'ble Member for Revenue gave an assurance that Government would introduce a Land Revenue Bill as soon as possible. On this assurance the whole demand was passed in full.

(*h*) During this session there was an important debate on the question of remission of taxation. It was now apparent that great improvement had occurred in the state of provincial finances and for the first time, the rival claims of development and remission assumed importance. The rural party took a prominent part in the debate urging a reduction in

the newly enhanced occupiers rates. The Hon'ble Member for Finance gave an assurance that the question of reduction in taxation and of expenditure on Beneficent Departments would be placed before the Council in the May session. In accordance with this promise, a remission of taxation was announced in the May session consisting of a reduction in occupiers rates estimated to cost 17 lakhs in full year.

In the same session large supplementary demands were voted which related mainly to the Beneficent Departments.

(*i*) In the Budget session of March 1926 the only specific cut made was one of one lakh under head "Administration of Justice." The demand related to the provision for the pay of the special counsel engaged to represent Government in the Akali Leaders' trial. The Council objected to it on the ground that, having regard to the fact that a number of the accused had accepted the terms of Government, the arrangements for the prosecution were on an unnecessary lavish scale. Government accepted the view of the Council to this extent that it dispensed with the services of Mr. Bevan Petman as leading counsel. Later it obtained a grant to meet the expenses of the prosecution on a smaller scale.

(*j*) In the June session of 1926 supplementary demands amounting in all to 57 lakhs on revenue account were voted by the Council. Of this sum 21 lakhs related to the Beneficent Departments and 15 lakhs to Communications. Consequent on a very marked improvement in the finances of the province owing partly to accidental causes, partly to remission by the Government of India of provincial contributions of 26 lakhs and partly to permanent factors, the alternative claims of the tax-payer and of the development of the province were raised in a definite form. Remissions of taxation were announced which were estimated to cost 17 lakhs in a full year. They consisted of a further reduction in the occupiers rates on fodder amounting to 8 lakhs and of a reduction in the scale of court-fees amounting to 9 lakhs. The Council, while it still insisted on the needs of development, professed to believe that Government was under-estimating its resources and influenced by the coming elections pressed for a reduction in taxation of 40 lakhs. This was opposed by Government. The Council chose the supplementary grant under "General Administration" to initiate a general discussion on the subject and its original intention was to express its views through a token cut. The motion for a token cut, however, was not submitted in time and the Council therefore rejected the whole supplementary demand although it approved of most, if not all, of the items constituting it. The demands for some of these items were presented in the October session and were duly passed.

The above list contains the substantial reductions made by the late Council. It is not a formidable list and in no case did the Council intend seriously to embarrass the administration by the refusal of funds. Its object was in one case to enforce economy, in another case to register a formal protest against what it pretended to regard as an inadequate remission of taxation and, in other cases to use its financial powers in order to urge on Government certain changes in policy. In so far as the object of the Council in making reductions in demands was to discuss changes in policy, the better procedure would have been to make token and not substantial cuts and, with the exceptions above noted, the former method was usually employed.

5. *Token Cuts.*—In the March session of 1924 token cuts were made under Police and Jails, the object in both cases being to invite the attention of Government to the alleged defects in these departments.

In the Budget session of 1925 token cuts were made in the demand under ' Police ' on account of the " Baloch levy " and in the same demand under " Expenditure on Railway Police ". The object in both cases was the same, namely to impose on central revenues charges which the Council considered ought not to be borne by provincial revenues. In the same session a token cut was made under " General Administration " to urge the separation of the Judicial and the Executive; and a token cut was made under " Debt Services " as a protest against the appropriation of part of the revenue surplus to capital expenditure, the view being that the surplus should be devoted either to the reduction of debt or to expenditure on Beneficent Departments.

In the December session of 1925 a token cut was made in order to urge the release of prisoners connected with the Akali movement.

In the March session of 1926 a similar cut was made to urge the exemption of swords from the provisions of the Arms Act and to urge an increase in the pay of chaprasis employed in the Civil Secretariat.

6. *Financial discussions and general policy.*—The general discussion on the budget and the specific discussion on particular demands were freely used to express the views of the Council on particular questions of policy. The subjects which received special attention during the life of the last Council were :—The Akali movement, the Police and Jail Departments, the separation of the Executive and Judicial, colonization and settlement policy, the working of the Chos Act, the encouragement of the indigenous systems of medicine and the promotion of rural sanitation.

7. *Action taken by the Council to extend or enforce its financial powers.*—Very few cases have arisen in which the Council has taken action to enforce or extend its financial powers. In so far as there has been dissatisfaction regarding its powers the cause is to be found in the imperfection of the Government of India Act rather than in the manner in which the Local Government has interpreted that Act. The latter has been careful to construe the Act in favour of the Council where any doubt existed in the matter, but various Government of India rulings have restricted the powers of the Council from time to time. A recent ruling, for instance, has declared that token demands for purposes of reappropriation are unconstitutional, and this has practically deprived the Council of powers of reappropriation from one major head to another. The Public Accounts Committee have been strong supporters of the control of the Council where such control is provided for by the Law, and the Finance Department has consistently supported the Committee in its attitude. It has been careful to anticipate the vote of the Council in urgent cases only, and it has insisted on a liberal interpretation in favour of the Council of what constitutes a new service, with the result that the Council has been given the opportunity of voting on fresh schemes even though in some cases it was doubtful whether they could be technically described as " new services ". Similarly, the Finance Department has advised in favour of the Council being promptly informed of any important change

in a scheme approved by it, whether such change affected the nature of the scheme or involved a substantial increase in expenditure. The attitude of the Finance Department has been merely a reflection of the general policy of Government to take the Council into its confidence in all matters of general interests, and in particular, to keep it fully informed of its financial commitments and proposals. In consequence, the Council has had very slight cause for complaint against the Executive Government for any supposed curtailment of its powers, and it has responded to the latter's attitude by refraining from attempts to extend its financial powers beyond the limits prescribed by law.

8. *Measures of retrenchment initiated by the Council.*—One instance of retrenchment, which was encouraged, if not initiated by the Council, has already been given. Similar cases of substantial reduction have been few. One reason for the omission of the late Council to take direct action was the fact that it was content to leave the examination of financial powers in the hands of the Standing Finance Committee. The schedules of new expenditure were critically examined by that Committee and cases were not uncommon in which it advised against particular schemes either on the ground of extravagance or unsoundness. Not infrequently it advised in favour of reduction in the items of a particular scheme on the grounds of economy. On the whole and with rare exceptions, the advice of the Standing Finance Committee was sound and, since it has been the policy of Government to accept such advice except where there are strong administrative reasons to reject it, the Council has come to regard approval by the Committee as a strong *prima facie* proof that the expenditure proposed is worthy of acceptance. From time to time the Finance Department sought the advice of the Committee on particular questions. For instance, the allowances granted to the officers or establishments of the various departments were reviewed by the Committee which took a very reasonable view in regard to them. While it advised in favour of the reduction of allowances which were excessive or out of date, it did not attempt to make arbitrary cuts and it refrained generally from introducing communal or racial considerations.

9. *Measures of expenditure originated by the Council.*—While the Council has no direct means of originating expenditure, it has abundant opportunities of expressing its views on the manner in which the resources of Government should be spent and in the exercise of these opportunities it has exercised a considerable influence towards the increase in expenditure. Its influence is felt in two ways; firstly, in the advocacy of general policies which involve expenditure, and secondly, in the insistence of individual members on the interests of the constituencies they represent. The increase in expenditure on Education, on Rural Sanitation and on the reforms of the Jail Department was largely in response to a general demand from the Council as a whole. Several cases have occurred in which a token cut has been moved to express the dissatisfaction of the Council with the amount of the provision proposed for particular departments or services. Specific cases in which expenditure originated on the demand of an individual member are very numerous. The private member by bringing to the notice of the department concerned the need of his constituency for a new road, an intermediate college, a rural drainage scheme, an agricultural farm and so on not infrequently accelerated expenditure and, although it is probable that the department would itself have taken action in due course to provide the requirements, it is none the

less true that agitation in the Council, supplemented by agitation outside it has stimulated the activities of departments and has speeded up the rate of development and therefore the scale of expenditure. While the late Council naturally took more interest in the Beneficent Departments than in the Reserved Departments, and while there was at times a tendency to resent the appropriation of funds towards the latter, it was, on the whole, reasonable towards the demands of the Reserved side of Government. During the last year of its life, it voted large sums for the improvement of the Jail Department, and, while it professed to be keen in regard to the separation of the Judicial and Executive, it none the less accepted a large increase in the cadre of the Provincial Civil Service without imposing any condition as to the separation of duties. It also voted a considerable amount for the expansion of the Public Works Department Roads and Buildings which, although a Transferred Department, is closely concerned with the needs of the Reserved Departments.

On the transferred side, despite its attitude towards the remission of taxation, it has been prepared to go much faster than the resources of Government will permit. Its tendency has been to transfer to provincial revenues from local funds, the cost of beneficent activities, and restraint has had to be placed on it not to carry this tendency too far. It has come to measure the usefulness and efficiency of a Minister by the scale of new expenditure in his departments; and since this criterion is not likely to grow less popular, the Reforms cannot fail to add largely and continuously to the expenditure of Government.

10. *Allocation of funds to Reserved and Transferred Subjects.*—For the purpose of the allocation of funds, expenditure may be classified as consisting of—

(*a*) standing charges, and

(*b*) new expenditure.

The standing charges include all charges to which Government is committed and the allocation of funds for these between Reserved and Transferred subjects follow automatically the nature of the head in which they are included. New expenditure includes the cost of new services and schemes for which no standing provision exists. Except where the assent of the Finance Department is presumed, schemes of new expenditure are submitted for its concurrence, previous to the grant of administrative approval by the Administrative Department concerned. If the advice of the Finance Department differs from the proposals of the Administrative Department, the rules of executive business provide that, if the Member or Minister in charge of the Department concerned does not wish to accept the advice of the Finance Department, then he should personally discuss the case with the Finance Member and, if as a result of the discussion, it is not possible to reach an agreement, then the Member or Minister concerned may, if he so wishes, submit the case for the orders of His Excellency the Governor. In accordance with the orders of the latter, administrative approval is given or withheld as the case may be. Cases in which the advice of the Finance Department is not accepted are comparatively few and cases in which a reference has to be made to His Excellency the Governor are rare. The schedules of new expenditure include only those schemes to which administrative approval has been given and which the Departments concerned provisionally propose to include in the estimates and therefore (so far as they relate to voted expenditure)

in the list of demands to be presented to the Legislative Council. The Finance Department advises as to the amount of new expenditure which can safely be accepted, and its advice is modified, if necessary, by the Governor in Council who fixes the limit up to which schemes of new expenditure can be included. The schedule is then examined by the Governor in Council sitting with his Ministers and, if as usually happens, the amount of the provisional list is in excess of the sanctioned limit, each item is discussed in turn with the view of reaching an agreement as to which items should be included and which items should be excluded. This system has worked well in practice and during the past three years no case has occurred in which as a result of discussion it has not been possible to reach agreement. The items of new expenditure to be included in the schedules, having thus been determined by the Governor in Council sitting with his Ministers, the schedules are placed before the Standing Finance Committee for its advice. While constitutionally it is necessary to place before that committee only those items for which the provision is votable, it is the practice to submit non-votable items also for its advice. If the Committee advises against a particular item, and if, as is usually the case, Government accepts its advice, the item is excluded from the list of demands to be presented to the Council. If the Committee advises in favour of an item, that item, unless some reason subsequently arises for its exclusion, is placed in due course before the Council.

11. *Increase in expenditure on Reserved and Transferred Departments respectively.*—The extent to which the Transferred Departments have been able to secure a share of the funds available for new expenditure is evident from the figures given below. The comparison is between actuals for 1923-24, the first year with which the second Legislative Council was concerned, and the original budget estimates of 1927-28. For the main groups in which the service heads are classified the relevant figures are as follows :—

	Actuals, 1923-24.	Estimates, 1927-28.	Increase or decrease since 1923-24.
Direct demands	79	78	—1+=1·5%
Civil Administration	313	334	+21=+6·6%
Beneficent Departments ..	194	332	+138=+71%
Miscellaneous	54	66	+12=+22%

For the more important heads included in these groups the expenditure on land revenue has diminished by 1.5 per cent. ; on Excise it has increased by about 1 lakh ; on General Administration (Reserved) the increase is 11 lakhs or 9 per cent. but a considerable part of this increase is due to the transfer to this head of expenditure on the reclamation of criminal tribes for which the provision tends steadily to increase ; on Jails and Convict Settlements the expenditure has increased by 14 lakhs or 45 per cent. while on the Police the expenditure is up by only 2 lakhs or less than 2 per cent. The Beneficent Departments all show large but unequal increases. The provision for Education (Transferred) has increased by 61 lakhs or 59 per cent. ; Medical is up by 19 lakhs or 51 per cent. Public Health by 10 lakhs or 86 per cent. ; Agriculture by 43 lakhs or

149 per cent., the increase in the provision for Industries is 4 lakhs or 67 per cent. in excess of the actual expenditure of 1923-24.

The net additions to taxation since the initiation of the Reforms, allowing for the remissions made in 1925-26 and 1926-27, amount to 64 lakhs and during the same period the net reduction of the provincial contributions (exclusive of the reduction made with effect from the 1st of April 1927) amounts to 84 lakhs. These two items represent the chief additions to the resources of Government and together amount to 1,48 lakhs. Of this sum the Beneficent Departments will take 1,38 lakhs in 1927-28 apart from any grants that may be made in supplementary demands. It can therefore be claimed that the revenue from new taxation and the funds available from remissions made by the Government of India have been devoted practically in their entirety to the development of those departments which are under the charge of Ministers.

12. *General effect of the Reforms on the cost and efficiency of the Administration.*—The direct addition to the cost of the administration as a consequence of the Reforms is comparatively small. It includes cost of the salaries of the Members and Ministers and of their establishment ; the expenditure connected with the Legislative Council and its committees and some increase in the Secretariat. The indirect increase has been large. The Reforms stimulated public interest in the development of those departments which are under the charge of Ministers and, as the figures given in the last paragraph show, the increase in expenditure on these departments alone in 3 years amounted to 1,38 lakhs or as much as 14 per cent. of the total expenditure on revenue account under all heads in the year 1923-24. One reason for the increase in provincial liabilities is the natural tendency for the Ministers to include in their programmes objects of expenditure which were previously regarded as legitimate charges on the funds of local bodies. The resources of the latter are unable to keep pace with the demand for development which must therefore either lag behind in districts or towns where the local resources are small or must be subsidised from provincial revenues. The latter course has been taken in the Punjab and during the life of the late Council the progress towards provincialisation was rapid. It has been particularly marked in the increase in the grants-in-aid given by the Education Department ; in the activities of the Urban Sanitary Board ; in the schemes of rural medical relief and provincialisation of headquarter and tahsil hospitals and in the road programme, which in the first place has relieved local bodies of many roads which are now classed as arterial and in the second place has provided for subventions towards the maintenance of second class roads by local bodies. In so far as the system of grants-in-aid has been accompanied by arrangements for the supervision of their expenditure by provincial authorities, it has improved the general standard of administration ; but it is open to question whether it has not at the same time encouraged local bodies to be unduly extravagant and to look to the Provincial Government for the funds to finance all branches of development instead of trying to increase their own resources.

APPENDIX II.

Note by Sir George Anderson, Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, on the actual working of the Reforms Scheme.

I have been requested to give as complete and faithful a picture as possible of the actual working of the Reforms Scheme so far as the Department of Education is concerned during the life time of the Council which was dissolved at the end of 1926.

2. During the period of the first two Councils, there has been a very rapid expansion of education, as will be seen from the following figures of enrolment in educational institutions of the Punjab :—

Year.	Enrolment.	Increase.
1920-21	556,989	..
1921-22	626,690	69,701
1922-23	776,978	150,288
1923-24	841,903	64,928
1924-25	919,649	77,743
1925-26	1,062,816	143,167
1926-27	*1,197,816	*1,35,000
Total ..	..	640,827

*These are estimates given by Inspectors of Schools, as the actual figures have not been received.

3. These figures speak for themselves and indicate an educational awakening. Apart from this very rapid increase in the enrolment of pupils, there are other signs of an increased and an increasing enthusiasm for education such as the attendance of about 100,000 adults each year in the night schools, the voluntary application from about a thousand areas to be placed under compulsion, and a lengthening of the duration of school life in primary schools. The rapid increase in the attendance at secondary schools, especially in those located in backward areas, abundantly proves that many parents who are very poorly circumstanced are prepared to make almost any sacrifice so that their sons (but unfortunately not their daughters) shall receive the benefits of education.

4. It is difficult to say to what extent this educational awakening has been (and is) due to the political leaders, to what extent they have placed themselves at the head of an educational movement or are merely a reflection of that movement. These leaders have done much in the Council by their speeches and by their support of educational demands, but it is

probable that this movement has had its genesis in the people themselves and has not been inspired from above. Among the causes of this movement is the return of large numbers of soldiers from the War, men who have seen life and the world and are determined that their sons shall benefit by education ; the pathetic belief, so firmly and so persistently held in spite of grievous disappointment that education must necessarily bring in its train the reward of the rich things in life ; the hope, sometimes fulfilled, that education will be a protection against the wiles of the money-lender and of those who seek to take an unfair advantage of ignorance and illiteracy. Above all, the Punjab is fretting under the stigma of illiteracy which prevents its ranking among the progressive countries of the world, and is keenly anxious that this stigma shall be removed in the least possible time.

5. The Council has done much, however, to stimulate and to encourage the advance of education. First and foremost, it has evinced a very real desire for a rapid expansion and improvement of vernacular education, and in particular for the wholesale application of compulsion. The political leaders naturally and rightly feel that the continuance and persistence of illiteracy is a serious obstacle in the path of political reform. It is doubtful, however, whether these leaders (apart from a few exceptions)* have followed up their earnest speeches in the Council by leading an educational crusade throughout the province. It is significant that, though about a thousand rural areas have themselves voluntarily applied for compulsion, scarcely a single district board (and it should be remembered that many members of the Council are also members of a district board) has yet used the powers which are vested in it by the Act.

6. In the next place, the Council has taken much interest in the health and physique of our boys ; possibly because the weakening of the martial spirit and of the physical strength of the people is again an obstacle in the path of political reform. Members have therefore urged strongly and persistently for an improved system of medical inspection and treatment, for a better system of physical training and for a healthier and a more active life in schools. This is all to the good.

7. In the third place, the Council has shown itself to be a strong supporter of what is generally known as " vocational education ". Very few constructive proposals have been made, and very few of the members have made much effort to think out this difficult problem, but at the same time the Council is keenly and rightly critical of the unbalanced form of literary education which still persists in our schools, and desires the system of education to be enriched by the inclusion of more practical subjects such as agriculture, manual training and so forth.

8. In the realm of finance, the Council has shown great generosity towards education. In the days of its penury, Government did what little it could to provide additional funds, and in the days of its (comparative) wealth, resulting mainly from successive remissions of the provincial contributions to the Government of India, Government has given very large additional sums to the cause of education. But the Council has not been satisfied. Not only has it never refused an educational demand (and practically every demand has passed through the ordeal of the Finance Committee

*S. Abdul Qadir, Ch. Chhotu Ram, Ch. Lal Chand, Mr. Ganpat Rai, the late Sir Gopal Das, Bhandari, Sir Mehdi Shah, S. Tara Singh.

unscathed), but it has frequently complained that a demand was insufficient. The first Council indeed went so far as to pass a Resolution that an additional sum of Rupees 30 lakhs recurring should be given to vernacular education, and that at a time when the province was passing through a period of the most acute financial stringency.

9. Many members have voiced their opinions that they are prepared to make almost any sacrifice to the cause of education, but the proceedings of the Simla session of 1926 give cause for apprehension. In an important and critical debate, the elected members were almost unanimous in the belief that the reduction of taxation is far more urgent than the development of the province. I cannot resist quoting a passage from G. M. Trevelyan's "British History in the Nineteenth Century", in which he criticises the financial policy of the Whig Government which was in power in the early thirties of the last century :—

> "It was not understood that a progressive community, as yet grossly ill supplied with those services which must in the modern world be rendered by the central and local authorities, would obtain less benefit from reducing the public burdens than from adjusting them fairly and spending them to the best advantage. The Tories had already done their duty in cutting down the army and navy after the war. Whig retrenchment was therefore doomed to fiasco."

This passage is very pertinent to the Punjab of to-day. Retrenchment was forced on Government in the days of acute financial stringency ; and thus there now remains but little to retrench. The political leaders still think, however, that the needs of the beneficent departments can be met by a reduction in the police and in the work of general administration. Perhaps the greatest danger of the present is that, under political pressure, the bright prospects of the Punjab will be crippled by the prevalent belief that development can be met by retrenchment and that reduction of taxation is the most pressing need of the hour.

10. Council has therefore done good work and has given keen support to the advancement of education, but the value of that support and of that enthusiasm has been blunted by unfortunate considerations. In the first place, it is insufficiently understood what an important part the members of the teaching profession play in the actual elections to the Council. With a limited franchise, the teachers form a by no means insignificant proportion of the several electorates. What is far more important and dangerous is that the teachers have a political influence far exceeding their numerical value, great though the latter is. In the rural areas the schoolmaster is perhaps the best of all electioneering agents ; and many have done good (or bad) work as such. In educational circles the euphemism of "propaganda work" is well understood. During my recent tours at the end of last year (just before the elections), I was informed more than once that the teachers (who were absent at the time of my visit) were engaged in propaganda work. Candidates for election therefore realise the importance of conciliating the education vote, and the teachers themselves fully realise the political power which has been given to them. Many of the Council questions are eloquent in the truth of this contention ; and many members of the Education Department appear to think that promotion depends on political support rather than on their own good work. This is a most dangerous weapon, and one which may do serious harm to the proper advancement of education.

11. It is appropriate here to refer in particular to the University constituency. At the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford discussions, I was myself much disturbed by the suggestion that this seat should be abolished. It seemed to me that the University member would be a valuable addition to the Council, but I am now more than doubtful. In practice, the members of the teaching profession form a very large proportion of the University constituency and therefore use the University member to voice their service and other complaints. A University member who refuses to support their complaints will stand little chance of re-election. A most convincing illustration of this contention is the time-scale controversy. In the Simla session of 1926, the (then) University member bitterly attacked the (then) Education Minister because no time-scale had been introduced for the Subordinate Educational Service. The latter opposed the demand with considerable courage, but he was within an ace of downfall.

12. Far more dangerous than the political teacher is the political or communal school. It is trite and commonplace to contend that, during the period of the Reforms, there has been a heatening of communal strife and controversy. All educational discussions in the Council have been more than tinged by this most unfortunate aspect of political reform ; and the vast majority of interpellations have been based thereon. Appointments and promotions are jealously scrutinised from the communal standpoint ; and even more controversial is the distribution of grants-in-aid to privately managed communal schools. The chief bone of strife is a circular of the Ministry of Education which provides that all pupils of unrecognised schools shall pass the vernacular final test (with optional English if required) before admission to the ninth class of a recognised school. Such a measure is essential to the proper working of the secondary system of education, for the indiscriminate admission of pupils from schools of varying types and in particular from schools which are not subject to inspection and to the several rules and regulations of the Education Department would be fatal to the best interests of the high schools ; but this measure is viewed in the Council only from the political and the communal aspects.

13. In general, the Council has frequently deplored the persistence of communal strife, and a section of the Council appears to think that the remedy lies in the abolition of communal representation. On this point I have no opinions, though I cannot think that the lessons of political science have been sufficiently explored. It is possible that the constitution of Switzerland may be helpful in finding a solution to this vexed problem. What, however, is amazing is that those who are persistent in their opposition to communal electorates are themselves the most doughty champions of the communal school. It cannot be right that, in these days of communal strife, a large proportion of the boys in the province should be trained in the narrow atmosphere of a communal school. The future in education should lie with the publicly managed school, in which children of all communities shall learn to live and work in a spirit of unity.

14. The progress of the communal school therefore depends to a large extent on the support of its political adherents in the Council ; and these political adherents know well the value of these schools at the time of the elections. The educational peace and progress of more than one district have been gravely disturbed by the rival and warring schools which are the supporters of the two men who intend to seek election ; and the unfortunate Inspector of Schools who tried to steer a middle course has been

badly bitten by both parties. There are also two subsidiary results of this unfortunate tendency. In the first place, in their advocacy of their communal schools for boys, political leaders have forgotten the far more urgent need of developing girls' education. Whereas the Council Chamber has rung with angry criticism of the distribution of the loaves and fishes between the several communities, very few indeed have cared to apply for grants from the funds actually available for the promotion of girls' education. In the second place, communal strife has affected adversely the educational activities of Christian missionaries. To these men and women the province owes a deep debt of gratitude for their labours in the past, but they are now being subjected in many places to a most unfair and unworthy competition ; and this competition is actively supported by many political leaders.

15. Perhaps the greatest achievement and the most hopeful prospect of recent times has been the appeal which the Boy Scout Movement has made to the boys of the province. It has already been successful in providing healthy recreation ; it is instilling in the Scouts a love and a desire for service ; and it bids fair to raise them above the narrow limitations of caste and creed. The majority of the Council has given enthusiastic support to the movement, but there is a danger lest a minority, oblivious of the fact that the very life of the movement depends on a spirit of unity, peace and concord, may prevail in its desire that communal Boy Scout associations shall receive the recognition and support of Government. If that desire is fulfilled, then the Boy Scout movement will become a menace to unity and contentment in the province.

16. In the second Council, the majority rested with the land-owning aristocracy. Though in some respects this majority abused its power in its greed for posts and promotions and, at the very end, in its inability to discuss with reason the very contentious clauses of the Regulation of Accounts Bill, yet in the main it showed a very real and earnest desire that the backward areas and the backward communities should have better opportunities of making their legitimate contribution to the progress of the province. This majority gave an unswerving support to the policy of the Ministry of Education to achieve this object by the assessment of grants-in-aid for vernacular education on the basis of needs rather than of resources, by the provincialisation of schools, by the institution of intermediate colleges and by the attachment of vernacular training classes to rural high schools. The increased enlightenment of the countryside is a great achievement of this political party.

17. It may be urged that the Reforms have achieved the greatest measure of success in the influence which they have exercised over the work and the opinions of Government and of Government officials. In the work of administration it is necessary not only to convince oneself of the merits of a particular scheme, but also (and far more difficult) to convince others. The mere fact that such a scheme will be submitted to a Minister and later to the Council cannot but result in a greater thoroughness of work and in a larger desire to pay due attention to the public point of view. I had little direct contact with Government in the pre-Reform times, but I have little doubt that in the Reform days Government has been far more generous towards education than in the olden days. I have had many differences of opinion with successive Finance Members and Secretaries, but I cannot resist recording my appreciation of their keen desire to understand my point of view and to respond to my proposals.

18. One word more on the subject of " provincial autonomy ". In so far as this means the relaxation of irksome and unnecessary control, it is all for the better ; but I cannot believe that a policy of provincial particularism is anything but bad. A practice of inbreeding in education, as in other directions, is fatal to healthy advancement ; and the cry of Punjab for the Punjabis is most dangerous. Though the Government of India was right in relaxing its once vexatious control over education, that would appear to have been the very time in which to increase its influence and to utilise its advisory powers in education. Such has not been done with the result that each province is now going its own way, heedless and oblivious of what is being done even in a neighbouring province. India is thus unable and incompetent to speak with a certain and a united voice on education in Imperial conferences ; and Indian education is a mere patchwork of conflicting methods and ideals. The wreck of the old Central Advisory Board on the Inchcape Rock, and just at a time when it was beginning to influence educational thought and progress, was a fatal blunder. India is now tending in the direction of the Disunited States of Europe instead of in that of the United States of America.

G. ANDERSON,

Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.

APPENDIX III.

Speech made by His Excellency the Governor when addressing the Punjab Legislative Council (on its dissolution) on 25th October 1926.

I REGRET that my desire to meet you has delayed you here at a time when the claims of your canvass are so pressing ; but it was natural that I should seek an occasion to bid farewell to the Council on the conclusion of its three years' labours in this Chamber. The true assessment of the value of your labours lies with those who sent you here as their representatives ; but you must allow me, on behalf of Government, to thank you for the spirit in which you have approached your task, and for the attitude you have taken towards Government as a partner in that task. For I would feign think that, in the Punjab, we do not regard the Legislature and the administration as set in opposite and hostile camps, divided by distrust, and doomed for ever to dissension. Rather would I think of them as two agencies working to a single end, divided and indeed deeply divided at times by differences of view as to policy and method, but each prepared to yield at times to the other in order to achieve their common purpose, the welfare of a great province to whose progress both are vowed with an equal devotion. I have seen lately more than one criticism of our claim that the working of the Reforms has in the Punjab been marked by harmony and concord. We should need to take little notice of our critics if they had belonged only to that class whose political religion has but one article of faith, that agreement with Government at any time, under any condition, or in any circumstances is anathema. But our practice in the working of Reforms has been condemned by some of those who see nothing inherently wrong in co-operation with the administration ; and the precise ground of their criticism is therefore of importance. They hold that the harmony of which we boast is unreal ; that, such as it is, it has been secured only by our base truckling to communal ends, and by an unworthy betrayal of the cause of less favoured sections whose interests Government was equally bound to protect. The Governor in his selection of Ministers, and Government in lending its votes, have in order to smooth their own path, placed in power a party formed not on a basis of common economic or political interest, but combined merely for the attainment of purely communal ambitions. Now, I confess that I had not hitherto thought of my honoured predecessor as a Machiavelli, nor, conscious as I am of my own defects, am I prepared to admit precisely this form of impeachment in my own case. The duty of Government is clear. In the interests of the Reforms scheme, it is bound to secure, by any honest and proper means in its power, the efficacy of the Legislature as a working member of the constitution. To that end, Ministers must work together with something of a common policy, and if Government finds in the Council a body, whether constituted on communal or other lines, which appears sufficiently united to present on ordinary occasions a working majority in the House, it is proper that on questions relating to Ministerial action it should give reasonable support to that party. Its officers cannot serve Ministers loyally in their departments, and vote against them in the lobby. If Ministers develop policies which appear detrimental to the interests of the province, then action lies primarily with the Governor, and not with the representatives of Government in the Legislature. That is the principle on which we have acted in the Punjab, and I believe that it is

the only principle which can secure unity of action in the administration and effective working in the Legislature. I will not admit that the application of the principle has either in the legislative or administrative sphere resulted in a communal bias so pronounced as genuinely to prejudice other sections or communities. I see nothing so far but one of the inevitable consequences of representative government, a reaction in the field of administration to the influence exercised by a majority party in the Legislature ; and I believe that under any system of unrestricted representative government as applied to this province, the consequences would be far more dramatic. A day will come—and its coming is our most fervent prayer—when the communal interest which now forms such an unhappy line of cleavage, will yield place to interests representing more faithfully the needs of a progressive society. But when it comes, and parties are reconstituted on a new basis, it will still be the will of the majority which will prevail in that field of administration which the Ministers control.

You will forgive me this brief incursion into controversy ; but it is controversy which affects the reputation and position of the Legislature no less than the good faith of Government. For the rest, let me only add, that the gratitude I have ventured to express is rendered not to one party alone, but to all the members of this Council ; in rendering this acknowledgment I am far from any desire to draw any distinction between the majority party which we are alleged to have favoured, and other sections which have from time to time been opposed to them. It is during the lifetime of this Council that the Legislature secured its first non-official President, and under your guidance, Sir, and that of your distinguished predecessor, Shaikh Abdul Qadir, it has amply sustained the high traditions it had already formed. As for the legislative work achieved, I will not try to pass the whole in review, but there are some matters to which you will naturally expect me to refer. I believe that the Gurdwara Act will stand as a monument to the statesmanship of members of your Council, and an abiding proof that where issues of great gravity are at stake, party and communal views can merge in a spirit of conciliation and compromise. The Act is now coming into execution. There were elements among the Sikhs who professed that, unless they were satisfied on other points not directly connected with the management of the Gurdwaras, they would prevent the Act from coming into operation. I have never believed that these professions portended any danger to the working of the Act. It is an Act to secure for the community as a whole the management of its religious institutions. I never believed that the great body of Sikhs could be so intimidated by a small minority as deliberately to forego the opportunity which the Legislature had given them. If other questions exist—and I would remind you that the demand for the release of the few remaining prisoners is still accompanied in some quarters by the farcical demand for a reversal of the Nabha decision—they must stand on their own merits ; whatever may be our desire, in the interests of the Sikhs themselves, to see the Act in full operation, we have not in the past and we cannot to-day allow that desire to become the primary consideration in the decision of those questions. There is no lack of goodwill on our part towards their community ; all that we have said in the past of our desire for a return to our old friendly relations is true, and true with increased force to-day ; but the experience of the community itself should

suggest to it the danger of postponing the interests of Gurdwara reform to other questions in which any of its sections may be interested. I take now a second topic, equally momentous perhaps in the record of this Council, I mean the Bill for the Regulation of Accounts. It aroused a keen controversy, and controversy which, you will permit me to say, proceeded so strongly on communal lines as to cloud discussion on the many points of complexity which its drafting involved. I wish at the outset to make clear the position of Government on the Bill. We have from the first been convinced of the necessity of some measure for securing the better keeping of accounts as between certain classes of creditors and debtors. We have been convinced again that the Legislature should intervene to guarantee to the debtor some means of ascertaining exactly how his account stands and how it is composed. But we have foreseen and indeed experienced the greatest difficulty in the actual drafting of a measure which would not result in interference with the ordinary methods of keeping trade and commercial accounts, or would not prove to be so lacking in precision of definition as to involve the increase of litigation or uncertainty in its result. Above all, we have been impressed with the danger of any measure which would so seriously affect the lender as to hamper the reasonable and legitimate grant of credit to the borrower. The Bill which the Council debated was a private measure. We assisted in the debate with a view to modifying what appeared some of its more defective provisions ; the subject is one of such complexity, that no apology is needed if in the end the best efforts of Council and our own did not remove all its difficulties. Now that the Bill has passed the Council, I am charged as Governor with responsibility for giving or refusing assent, and notwithstanding any part I may have taken in the deliberations on the attitude of Government to the Bill, that responsibility remains my own. I have considered the question very anxiously, and I have finally come to the conclusion that, in its present form, the drafting of the Bill falls so far short of the requirements I have already described, that I could not conscientiously commend it for the final assent of the Governor-General. I have considered the question of drafting with friends better versed in legal matters than I can claim to be, and I have found that the changes involved were such as to preclude my returning it to the Council for reconsideration. I wish to give its supporters the assurance that we have not varied in our conviction that some measure is required for the regulation of accounts. It will remain for us to place before your successors in the form of a Government measure a Bill somewhat simpler, and possibly of more restricted scope, which will serve to secure the end in view without involving the dangers which I have apprehended in this measure.

And now, having dealt with some of the most important of the measures which stand on the records of your session, I might well respect the limits of your patience. But I must tax it further, indeed much further. I have spoken of the Legislature and the administration as partners in an effort to promote the welfare of the province ; and I would ask you to allow me to detain you while I deal with the policy attempted and some of the achievements effected during your legislative lifetime in the sphere of administration. I use that term in its widest sense, for though we respect constitutional usages, our practical working does not draw a well-defined line between the transferred and reserved branches of Government. If I have any one aim in the review I propose to undertake, it may perhaps be described in the shortest terms as an attempt to supply

an answer to that ever-insistent question of the taxpayer :—" What are you doing with our money ? " Let me develop his point more fully. " Are you " he might ask, " using the improved resources of the provincial treasury, secured partly as the result of enhanced taxation, merely for that increase in establishment, that perfecting of administrative machinery, in which Governments delight ? Will the figures of your expenditure really prove to us that you are devoting your energies and our money to the betterment of the province in the manner which we ourselves desire ? " If I attempt to answer that question, I must touch briefly on the point of finance. I will not go back to the somewhat disastrous years of the first Council ; it will suffice to say that in 1923-24 when you began your work, there were already signs of improvement in our position. By economy in expenditure, and the imposition of fresh taxation in Court-fees and Stamps, we converted our previous deficits into what, when our accounts were finally made up, eventually proved to be a surplus of 43 lakhs. In 1924-25 the water-rates were enhanced so as to yield in a full year an additional revenue of 56 lakhs, and resources were further improved by increasing the duty on urban transfers of property and taxes on motor vehicles. Distrustful of our position, or perhaps not fully realising that the tide had turned, we still kept a rigid hand on expenditure, and as a result of these measures secured a surplus which finally proved to be 115 lakhs. In 1925-26 the provincial contribution was remitted to the amount of 56 lakhs. We now realized that we were at length in a safe position to lift the embargo on financing measures required for our development ; we increased our expenditure by 50 lakhs and were able at the same time to remit 20 lakhs of taxation. But even so, owing to an unusually favourable season, we realised a surplus of 112 lakhs. Part of these recurring surpluses went to meet the deficits incurred by us in the first three years of Reforms ; but after adjusting these there remained a true revenue balance of about one crore. The existence of this balance at the beginning of the present financial year and a further remission of 28 lakhs in the provincial contribution, made it possible again to reduce taxation to the extent of 17 lakhs, and to enter on a far more liberal scale of development expenditure. We look this year to an excess of 29 lakhs in expenditure over receipts, and nevertheless hope to begin next year with a true revenue balance of 74 lakhs. Since we foresee that the Sutlej Valley Project will shortly come to fruition, we may now regard our position as stabilized for some years to come. The bad times are past ; and we can with confidence go forward on the alternative courses of reducing taxation or increasing expenditure on our development. I need not say on which side my own sympathies lie ; and I claim that the facts and figures which I shall now give you will support the faith that is in me. Let me take you back to the questions which I assumed that our tax-payer was asking us ; and I assume that the test he would apply would be the extent of our expenditure on what in the Punjab Council it is customary to call the beneficent departments ; though I confess that I do not myself like the implications of the term. One can admit the importance of the branches of work confided to Ministers, without suggesting that the extension of irrigation is less beneficent than the expansion of industries, or the impartial administration of justice less necessary than additions to our agricultural farms. It is true that in an earlier stage of our development, expenditure on civil administration, including in that head the administration of justice, the maintenance of

police, and the activities grouped somewhat loosely and not very accurately under the head of the revenue department, occupied a somewhat prominent place in our budget. One could justify this ; but it is not my immediate point ; I am concerned rather with explaining to the tax-payer the use which the Council and the Executive have together made of the growing resources of the province in the last few years. The proportions of expenditure as between the beneficent and other departments have been variously calculated ; the result depends on the items we decide to include in the former term ; but I will leave the tax-payer to draw his own conclusions from the following simple figures. The total expenditure on our revenue account in 1926-27 will exceed by 189 lakhs or 19 per cent. that of 1923-24. The increase in the cost of the ten heads grouped as " Civil Administration " and " Miscellaneous " is 31 lakhs, or a percentage increase of 9 per cent. ; the increase in what are commonly called beneficent departments is 139 lakhs, or a percentage increase of 70 per cent. To take some examples, the increase in education is 54 per cent., in medical and public health is 88, in agriculture is 107, in industries 44. But the bare statement of figures is not enough without some reference to the administrative facts of which these figures are only the corollary.

If I deal first with Education, it is because I know that there are many here who feel that no material advance which we can make, and no improvement in other aspects of life, can be of any avail, unless they are accompanied by an advance in the intellectual equipment of the generation which is to reap their benefits. The figures of the increase of boys in our schools in the last few years are no doubt known to you ; they are sufficiently impressive and greatly to the credit of our Ministry. I will give them again, though (for reasons which I shall give you) I think that they must be used with some discretion. Reading from 1921-22 onwards, the increase year by year in the numbers of boys attending school, has been 69,000 ; 150,000 ; 65,000 ; 77,000 and 143,000. The net result is that whereas in 1920-21 we had half a million boys in our schools, we had last year just over one million ; and the percentage of boys at school to the total population has gone up in the same period from just over 4 per cent. to 8½ per cent. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India has calculated that at the present rate of expansion, it would take India 40 years to reach the goal of universal education for boys. The progress in the Punjab is in advance of that of the all-India figure, and we calculate that at our present rate it would take us about 11 years to reach this goal ; if we accept the fact that universal education is in present circumstances somewhat of an unpractical ideal (since it would involve compulsion of a stringency for which we are not yet prepared), and assume the safer standard of 80 per cent., then we should, if we maintain our present advance, reach this in some six to seven years. But it is just here that I wish to indicate discretion in the use of these figures. Our real aim is not the mere bringing of boys into schools, but the removal of illiteracy ; and there is for the moment a very depressing preponderance of boys in the most junior classes. The numbers dwindle distressingly as we go up the scale ; 400,000 in the first class, 140,000 in the second, 93,000 in the third, 73,000 in the fourth. It is disproportion of this nature which, to many minds, constitutes the real argument for a stringent measure of compulsory education which would secure attendance up to a suitable age. But pending this, I am at one with the Ministry in the efforts it has taken

to improve the situation. Its policy has been to improve existing schools rather than to expand their numbers ; the ineffective one-teacher schools have gone down from 2,754 in 1922 to 600 to-day. The branch school is taking the place of the one-teacher school, and there has been a very wholesome process of converting primary into lower middle and lower middle into middle schools. I have compared our attendance at primary and middle schools with those of some other provinces ; we have 353,000 in the former against 235,000 in the latter ; and though the proportion is far from what one could wish, it compares well with the 921,000 and 57,000 respectively, of the United Provinces, and the 797,000 and 43,000 of Bihar and Orissa. But I press on Council the need for a vigorous prosecution of this policy ; we have no reason to complain of the gross figures of expansion ; but an expansion in high and middle school education, though less impressive in numbers, will in the end benefit the province far more than the most striking advance in pupils attending only lower primary classes.

There is a second aspect of educational policy, to my mind, of equal importance. I am touching here the fringe of controversy, but shall not plunge into it. If we make a reality of educating the Punjab, then we must for some years concentrate our chief efforts on the backward area. That is not, as some tell us, a consideration based on communal or sectional bias ; it is certainly not so with me. It seems almost axiomatic ; for the backward area will not only retard our intellectual progress as a whole ; it may indeed drag down the whole. It is definitely for this reason that in assessing grants to district boards for vernacular education, certain boards have been given grants on a 90 per cent. basis as against a 50 per cent. basis elsewhere. We believe again that the employment of local teachers will prove more encouraging to the backward area than that of outsiders, and have started numerous teacher classes in local high schools ; we have further sought to reduce the handicap on these areas, and to afford a stimulus to their educational progress, by a liberal provincialization of high schools at selected centres. In the last five years 50 high schools have been so provincialized ; their total will be 57 by next January. But even secondary education is not complete without its coping stone, and it is in logical sequence of the policy of wiping out the backward area that we have developed the rural intermediate college ; already we have opened seven of these institutions, and early next year hope to start three more. That process must inevitably continue, if we are to bring higher education nearer to the homes of the great mass of our people ; it is to my mind a process essential to the equalization of intellectual opportunities in the province.

I believe that we are steering the right course here ; I have every confidence that the result will justify us ; but here I must make another of my cautionary points. We are making a vigorous attack on illiteracy ; we are making some substantial advance in secondary education ; but is that enough ? There are many of us who feel that we need not only expansion, but some redirection of effort. Our people are anxious for more education ; they have begun to grasp at the opportunities we give them ; but do they get from it all the benefit for which they hope and which we desire to give them ? Education seems at the moment almost an alien influence, outside the ordinary lives of great numbers of the people, driving them from their ordinary occupations, not impelling them

to improve the every-day conditions of life, but leading them to seek others which present economic conditions make impossible of attainment. The vitalizing of education is a grave problem ; but it is one on which we have been forced to think gravely, and must think more gravely in the future. Our initial effort has been to attempt to remodel our Vernacular courses, so that they shall centre on rural science, embracing physical geography, agriculture, rural economics and the like. To this end we must begin with the teacher and end with the text-book, and I see in the schools for teachers at Ghakkar and Gurgaon the beginnings of what may become our revolution of the future. No less important in this process of vitalization are the village libraries (now 1,600 in number) under the charge of the village teacher ; and the use of the teacher as the agent of our new Rural Community Board, with its programme of lectures and lanterns, carrying to the village the lessons of the Health, Agriculture and Co-operative Departments.

I have purposely chosen to dwell on these three impressive and important aspects of educational advance and policy, for they are matters which have received and will continue to demand the close attention of Council. With the many other problems before us, the substitution of definite compulsion for our present system of local option, the progress of vocational education, the education of women, above all the question of some remodelling of the University in respect both of its constitution and its academic functions, I must take some other opportunity to speak. As for our present Council, if it has been critical of some details of our policy, it has never hesitated to vote any proposals placed before it for the support of education. The annual expenditure which in 1923-24 was just over one crore now stands at one crore and three-quarters. The most recent obligation under taken by the Council—and it is one on which I congratulate it—is the promise of assistance for founding a Commercial College ; I am glad to find that the University has fallen in with the scheme propounded to it.

I take now a second topic, Communications. On that topic, I cannot say all to you that I could wish ; but let me say this ; I believe that our roads already compare favourably with those of our neighbours ; nevertheless, they are very far from adequate to our needs. At the moment, we fail in our duty of providing the cultivator with sufficient means for bringing his produce to market ; the absence of easy and rapid means of access to the village is equally detrimental to the trader ; but above all, we need a liberal expansion of our road services if we are to give to the Punjab that facility of easy intercourse which is essential if we are to quicken its intellectual life and extend the sphere of its social and public interests. But I need not press these points ; the Council has already shown by its votes the importance that it attaches to the improvement of our communications ; and I can pass to notice the measures we have so far taken and those which we now contemplate. When the conference of 1923 sat, Government was maintaining from provincial funds about 1,200 miles of metalled road and 750 miles of unmetalled road, mainly in the hills ; the cost of maintenance was 27 lakhs. All other roads were maintained from local funds. It was decided to reclassify our roads as arterial, main and ' other ' roads ; the province was to maintain the arterial roads and give some help to local bodies to maintain the main and ' other ' roads. The immediate effect was that the province assumed charge of some 600 more miles of metalled roads (or 1,800 in all)

and nearly 1,000 more miles of unmetalled roads. The cost of maintenance was raised to 35 lakhs ; but this was for maintenance only ; it was realized that large sums would be required for the very necessary process of metalling considerable lengths of the unmetalled roads. The programme was at the time confined to the metalling of 16 miles a year. Since then our ideas have grown and the Legislature has assisted the Ministry in its endeavours to quicken up the pace of conversion. We are providing this year for the metalling of 60 instead of 16 miles at the cost (including some work on quarries and provision of machinery) of 25 lakhs, this of course being extra to maintenance. The total provision for roads, including both maintenance and construction, which was 34½ lakhs in 1923-24 stands this year at 102½ lakhs. So much for the present. But we have further ambitions ; we desire to revise our scheme of reclassification, and to take over to provincial care some 300 additional miles of metalled and over 700 miles of unmetalled road, making in all 2,104 miles of metalled and 2,533 miles of unmetalled road. If we succeed in gaining support for this scheme, the cost of maintenance will go up to 41½ lakhs yearly, and we hope to secure the necessary funds to convert the unmetalled roads at the rate of 100 miles a year. We have meanwhile revised on a liberal basis our scheme of assistance to district boards for the maintenance of their main roads ; it stands this year at 7½ lakhs. So much for roads. Then as for railways, the long period of stagnation in the railway development of the province has been broken. Partly as a result of the increased funds available to the Railway Board under the new policy of railway finance, and partly as the first fruits of the policy under which the local Government guarantees railway in which it is interested, we are now making real and substantial progress. The Kangra Valley line of 103 miles, the Shahdara Narowal line of 49 miles, the Amritsar-Narowal line of 40 miles, the Narowal-Shakargarh line of 26 miles, the Rohtak-Panipat line of 45 miles, and the Lyallpur-Jaranwala line of 21 miles are all under construction and some will be completed at an early date. The Sirhind-Rupar line (30 miles) is being taken up by the Patiala Durbar. That is a sufficiently interesting list, but I should be surprised if the next few months did not see important additions to it.

The next subject which I select is medical relief and the activities of the Health Department. In the first field, our chief achievement is perhaps the adoption in August 1925 of a five-year programme providing for the construction of rural dispensaries on a scale which, with those now existing, will give about one dispensary for every 100 square miles, or for every 30,000 of the population. This will involve the opening of 375 new dispensaries. By the end of the current year 154 of these will already have been opened, and the Ministry hopes to complete the whole programme within the period. The scheme further contemplates the provincialization of tahsil dispensaries with a view to bringing them up to a standard scale of accommodation and equipment, and the provision in each such dispensary of a female side under a Sub-Assistant Surgeon. Here progress has been less rapid, and we shall not have effected the necessary changes in more than six hospitals by the end of the year. In Public Health, we are proposing the provincialization of the Public Health School and of the service of Health Officers now engaged by district boards ; this is one of the problems which will be placed before the new Council. I have seen something of the work of the

department during the disastrous plague epidemic of last spring; the best praise which I can give it—and it is high praise—is that it has won the co-operation and support of the people among whom it is working. It is no longer an experiment, and I hope that the Legislature will take a wise and liberal interest in its extension. I give the figures of its cost to you. We spent 12 lakhs on it in 1922-23, and the budget of the present year contains a provision of 31½ lakhs.

The fourth of my subjects is the work of the new Rural Sanitary Board; and I place this close to that of the Health Department, so vital is it to the health conditions of some of our rural areas. Its primary care at the moment is the regulation and improvement of our natural drainages, the congestion of which has been undoubtedly responsible for the high incidence of malaria in many of our districts. The Drainage Board was constituted in 1918, but its functions were mainly to investigate and advise. It will not assist those who believe that our perpetual effort is to discredit the Reforms Scheme, when they learn that in April 1925 we deliberately transferred this work to the care of a Minister and a Board containing a number of non-officials, that we have given it an executive instead of an advisory capacity, and have induced the Legislature to entrust important sums of money to its care. Under the advice of the Drainage Board, we had taken up the Hudiara and Sarusti drainages and the improvement of the Gurgaon bunds; the Rural Sanitary Board is now actually dealing with the drainages of the Hazro plain and the Dasuya Tahsil, the long and important drainages of the Rohtak and Karnal Districts, and the Palwal drainage in Gurgaon, and is preparing schemes for the improvement of the area drained by the Aik nullah. The budget provision of this year is 14¾ lakhs. Lest there should be any misapprehension on the point, I must add that this is independent of the efforts made by the Irrigation Branch to counteract the effects of water-logging in the neighbourhood of our canals. We have instituted a special Bureau for research into this subject, and yearly spend considerable sums on digging of drains and the like; the expenditure was 2¼ lakhs in 1922-23 and will this year be 4½ lakhs.

I take a fifth subject, of unusual importance to this province, that of Agriculture. If the figures of our agricultural activities are not as impressive as, let us say, those of Education, it is not because there has been no progress; it is partly due to the fact that it is not so easy to show results in statistical form, but it must also be admitted that the department is now only just beginning to work up to that five-year programme which the Ministry has after careful deliberation drawn up for it. Its expenditure (and I include here the figures for Veterinary work) which was 41 lakhs in 1922-23 stands in this year's budget at just over 65 lakhs. The best figure which I can give of concrete results attained is that the area under improved wheat, which was 8 lakhs of acres in 1923, was 14½ lakhs in 1926; the area under the type of cotton which we know as American rose in the same period from 3½ to 9½ lakhs of acres. The actual development of the department in the period is largely a matter of detail. We have opened Circles at Rawalpindi and Jullundur, and are starting two experimental farms of 500 acres each at Multan and Sirsa, and demonstration farms of about 100 acres at Gurgaon, Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, Jhelum, Campbellpur and Jhang. The importance of the problem of improving lift irrigation has been recognised by the

creation of a separate engineering section, and the number of well-boring plants has been increased from 20 to 76 with a separate boring staff. But for the moment, I think that our most important development lies in the recognition of the fact that the province has hitherto paid insufficient attention to cattle-breeding. It is possible that in comparison with some other provinces, we have done much ; for many years we have maintained the Hissar Farm ; we have given out considerable areas in grants for the maintenance of improved breeds of cattle ; and we have placed some 2,000 bulls with district boards. But a radical and whole-sale improvement in our breeds of cattle is a vital economic necessity for the province, and I am glad that the Ministry has accepted this fact without reserve. We have started a separate cattle-breeding branch ; we are making preparations for instituting on a large scale Government farms devoted to the improvement of the different breeds, and I have every confidence that we shall secure liberal assistance from the Council in a development which will mean so much to the province. For the rest, I hope that nothing will be allowed to stand in the way of the steady and consistent execution of the remainder of our five-year programme. The day of doubt is past. The cultivator no longer looks with suspicion on agricultural research, nor views with amusement or perhaps even resentment our attempts to bring new ideas into a science which he holds that his forefathers mastered centuries before the west obtruded on the east. The best justification of the activities of the department and the best case for its expansion lies in the fact that cultivators now complain of the insufficiency of its establishment and demand the presence of its officers in every tahsil.

As for that essential factor in agricultural advance—I mean Co-operative activity—it is perhaps sufficient that I should give the bare figures. In 1923 there were 8,800 Primary Agricultural Societies ; there are now 12,600. Non-agricultural societies have increased from 444 to 1,800. The members of all societies have increased from 2½ lakhs to 4¼ lakhs, and the capital employed from 472 lakhs to 930 lakhs. Our five-year programme contemplates the registration of new societies at the rate of about 2,000 per annum, of which about 1,200 should be Primary Agricultural Credit Societies. Consolidation procedure is now an established fact ; in the last few years 60,000 acres have been consolidated, and we can claim that we have here set other provinces an example which they are glad to follow. I believe the Co-operative movement to be on healthy lines ; to the best of our ability we maintain its independent and non-official character, and of this much I am certain, that of the many agencies which Government has fathered, there is none which holds greater promise either for the material improvement or the moral uplift of the people. It is, by the way, an interesting fact that the members of the Primary Credit Societies are 62 per cent. Muslims, 18 per cent. Hindus, 16 per cent. Sikhs and 4 per cent. others, thus corresponding somewhat closely to the total Census figures of the population.

The last subject which I select of this type, is the Department of Industries. In discussing the development of this field of work, it must be remembered, that advance must be of a different type and achieved by different methods from those on which we rely, for instance, in the sphere of agriculture. There we already have what we may well call a vast and well-developed industry, with a very large supply of experienced labour ;

its technique no doubt is capable of immense improvement, its systems can be reorganized, its workers better educated in both a general and a special sense. But the established industry is there. Our Department of Industries has no such field to work in. We have, it is true, a number of workers in minor industries, some purely of an industrial type, others subsidiary to agriculture ; but it is still open to question whether the province in its present state of development offers a field for the exploitation of those major undertakings which demand the presence of a large amount of free capital, high degree of technical organization, and very considerable numbers of industrial labourers. It is not enough to point out to us that the province contains many men of enterprise, is not deficient in capital, and has a distressingly large number of educated unemployed. Before we can envisage the extension of major scale industries in our province, we have to be assured that industry will be more attractive to our capitalists than the use of their resources in commerce or in financing operations connected with agriculture, and that labour will be forthcoming of a class and at a price which will enable large industrial undertakings to meet outside competition. I am not convinced that at the moment all these factors are in our favour. I suggest that for the present our efforts should be directed mainly to the reorganization of our minor industries, such as handloom weaving, hosiery, carpentry, iron work and the like ; that we should give liberal assistance to the education of the artisan, mechanic and foreman class, and do our best to stimulate home and cottage industries. This policy will do much to improve the poor conditions of the workers in our existing minor industries ; it will go some way, even though it may not be a very long way, to meet the problem of unemployment of the educated, and it will certainly result in the fostering of that industrial aptitude which is essential to the success of the major industries. The great bulk of the efforts of the Ministry tends in this direction. The department is now able to register some definite progress in the execution of its programme ; six of the local industrial schools have been provincialized and six provincial schools built, the total of such schools being now 22 ; it is beginning work on two metal working and one wood working institute ; a calico printing school is being added to the dyeing school at Shahdara ; a hosiery institute at Ludhiana, with the latest type of machinery, should go far to improve the conditions in the line of home and small factory work, and the power-loom factory to be started at Shahdara should teach handloom workers that, where power is available, there are new and profitable openings for their labour. We are also making a beginning in a very promising field of work, the organization of a Women's Home Industries Branch. The total expenditure of the department shows no very considerable increase ; it is only about 9½ lakhs, having risen by a lakh in the course of the three years ; but I hope that it will make increasing demands on the Council in the near future.

So much for activities of some of the departments controlled by our Ministers. I have already given you figures which prove that they absorb the bulk of our improved resources. That process must inevitably continue in the future ; though I am not certain that mature deliberation would approve of its continuing in exactly the same proportion. I do not suggest the alarming prospect of a wholesale increase in the establishments employed on other branches of Government work, or of general increases of pay ; my meaning will be clear if I refer to a few of

the topics which have been engaging our attention on the reserved side. There is no need here to speak at length on Jail Reform, for the matter has recently been before Council, and it has seen no reason to cavil at the cost of the measures (high in itself, but of course small in proportion to what we are spending on the expansion of some other departments) which were deemed necessary for reorganization. I only pause to say, in justice to many of the officers in that department, that it would be interesting to see a report regarding the jails of other provinces drawn up by a committee constituted in the same manner as our committee, and conducting its enquiries in the same spirit ; for it admittedly gave the fullest latitude to complaints from prisoners, and paid far more attention to those complaints than to the views of officials. But I must pass on to some problems regarding law and order, and the administration of criminal justice, a matter not less important to the ordered progress of the province than advance in the beneficent departments. The five years which ended in 1920 were years of war, and for reasons which suggest themselves to every one, serious crime was unusually light. The five years which followed were, for reasons which again I need not particularise, years of exceptionally heavy crime : I am of course referring to crime of the type of murder, dacoity, robbery and burglary. There was fortunately some improvement in 1925 ; and the record of 1926, if maintained to the end of the year, will show a further recovery. Circumstances have relieved local authorities of some of the pre-occupations which interfered with this side of their work ; a vigorous and sustained campaign by both civil and police officers, with a non-official co-operation which testifies to the healthiness of the influence which those officers carry, has cleared the Central Punjab from the worst of the gangs which infested it. A special organization has been dealing with cattle theft, and we are improving the procedure for dealing with Criminal Tribes. But we are still far from our pre-war figures ; and if there is any reality in our general progress, we should not be content to accept pre-war figures as a standard. Six hundred and fifty-seven murders, 100 dacoities, 18,900 burglaries ; those are the figures of 1925, and an immense improvement is necessary before we can claim that we are giving adequate protection to life and property. Now allowing for all the reduction of criminality which we may hope will some day result from the spread of education, and from that growth of public co-operation which we shall do our best to stimulate and secure, I nevertheless feel that direct action is needed on two lines. We must improve police administration, and we must secure a more prompt and effective disposal of work by our criminal courts. Uncertainty, delay or inefficiency in criminal justice is a positive incentive to crime. As for the first point, we have published the report of the Police Committee, and it will be for your successors to debate its proposals ; as for the second, I do not wish to depreciate either the industry or the many good qualities shown by our criminal magistracy ; but in the first place, their numbers are clearly inadequate for the prompt despatch of business. Though in 1925 they disposed of seven thousand more cases than they did ten years ago, yet at the end of the year there were 10,000 more persons under trial than there were at the close of 1915. In the second place, I consider that changes are needed in the method of recruitment and training, if we are to secure the best men that the province can now offer us for this work. You have already seen something of our proposals for securing such an increase in their numbers as will allow of magistrates giving

uninterrupted attention to their criminal work ; but we shall bring the matter again before your successors. We shall before long publish the results of our discussion on other aspects of the question.

Lastly, before I leave this notice of matters relating to our general civil administration, there is one topic to which I must refer, a topic which concerns all departments and vitally affects the value of our administration to the people. An administration is judged in common estimation not entirely by the principles it holds, the objects at which it aims, or, even by the care it evinces to secure the assent of public opinion or the co-operation of public men in its operations. There is a great mass of people in whose eyes it stands or falls on the character of the officials whom it employs. It is a matter of doubt whether the insistent complaints which we receive of the growth of corruption among our officers are proof that corruption has actually increased, or whether they reflect the fact that the present generation, with an altered outlook on life and with greater facilities for the expression of its views, is refusing to accept standards in the public services which were accepted with greater equanimity in the past. It is my personal belief that the great bulk of officers in the upper ranks of our provincial services are men of integrity ; but there are exceptions, and there is undoubtedly much corruption in the subordinate ranks. Our first task is to purge the upper ranks of offending members. We have lately taken action against several officers of the Provincial Civil Service, and have dismissed the offenders, had legal opinion held prosecution to be likely to succeed, I should have preferred to take this course. We are determined to take up every case in which complaints appear to be genuine, and are considering the advisability of a special agency for enquiring into such complaints. But it must be understood that we cannot act on vague or anonymous accusation ; to make formal enquiry on such charges would, especially when communal feeling is as rife as at present unjustly compromise the reputation of men whose honour we are bound to protect. On the other hand, I can promise this ; that if responsible members of the public will personally bring to me, or to any member of Government, or to any head of department information of concrete cases of corruption sufficient to establish a *prima facie* case for enquiry, then full and thorough investigation will be made by Government. We are genuinely anxious to do our duty in the matter, if the public will do theirs.

My review has been long ; but even so, I have only been able to select some aspects of our administration ; others, perhaps not less important, I shall have to postpone. There is much that I should have liked to say about communal differences, on the vexed question of communal representation in our services, on the light which the conduct of our local bodies throws on the existence of a true sense of responsibility and public service, on the possibility of securing wider participation of the public in the work of administration by stimulating and extending action under provisions such as the Panchayat Act or the like. But these topics must wait another occasion. For the present, I can only bid you a friendly farewell. There will be many who will return to a fresh period of public service in this Chamber, to carry on in a new Council the traditions which they have already helped to establish ; there are possibly others to whom the polls may deny that privilege. But they will have the proud knowledge, that they have during their life in Council borne their

own part in shaping the destinies of this great province. They will, I hope, carry back with them into public life outside this Chamber, the consciousness of much good work achieved, the memory of debate which does not break friendship, of compromise which does not spell defeat. If so, then the public life of the Punjab will be the richer for the experiences they will bring to it. It is in no formal sense, but in all sincerity, that I express my faith not only in the value of a legislative institution such as yours, but in the value to individual members of association with its work. The area of political consciousness is rapidly growing, the sense of political responsibility is slowly deepening ; and your Chamber has become the focus of great and sustained interest throughout the province. It is from association with its work that we look not only to the spread of that wider education in the problems of administration which is essential for the fuller political life and the extended powers of the constitution of the future, but to the growth of that " general consciousness of consent " by the people at large in the policy and actions of their government which is the one sure and stable basis of political well-being and content.

APPENDIX IV.

Serial No.	Terms of Resolution passed or promise made.	Action taken.
	1924.	
1	That this Council recommends to the Government that the Tahsil at Narowal be retained in that town until the end of the financial year 1924-25. (5th January 1924.)	The Tahsil of Narowal has been retained.
2	That this Council recommends to the Government that the new University regulation proposed by the Punjab University, introducing 'Education' as a professional and theoretical subject in the B. A. course, be not approved. (28th February 1924.)	The University has been asked to reconsider the proposed regulation.
3	This Council recommends to the Government that the construction of Bhakhra Dam be taken in hand as soon as the construction of the Thal Project has sufficiently advanced to admit of the work on this project being undertaken subject to the proviso that the Council votes money, and that the project should be found suitable from the engineering and the financial point of view and has received the sanction of the Government of India. (28th February 1924.)	Detailed project estimates and plans of the Thal Canal have been completed, and it is proposed, subject to the sanction of the Government of India, to make a beginning of the construction work by digging a small canal to carry about 800 cusecs and to irrigate 130,000 acres of Thal tract. If this small experimental canal should demonstrate that the Thal soil will repay irrigation, the enlargement of the canal to the full dimensions of the scheme will be proceeded with. As regards the Bhakhra Dam Project, it is proposed to carry out further.... ....geological examinations of the Dam site as soon as arrangements for plant and staff can be made, and an estimate of the probable cost of complete exploration can be prepared.
4	This Council recommends to the Government that a committee of three be appointed to tour the villages in the south-western Punjab to examine the claims of money lenders against cultivators when the parties agree to this course and to arrive at sums which they are actually able to pay within a reasonable time. Such committee to consist of (*a*) Judge with insolvency powers, (*b*) a representative of cultivators, and (*c*) a representative of bankers. (5th March 1924.)	The Governor in Council decided after full consideration to take no action.

GOVT. LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

Serial No.	Terms of Resolution passed or promise made.	Action taken.
	1924—contd.	
5	This Council recommends to the Government to recommend to the Government of India that they may take early steps to exempt the sword from the operation in the Punjab of the Arms Act with regard to all the restrictions contained therein. (5th March 1924.)	The Governor in Council has decided to defer action for the present.
6	That this Council recommends to Government to raise during the year 1924-25 a loan of Rs. 1,50,00,000 for the purpose of providing funds for the construction of Irrigation works Capital expenditure—and other productive projects approved by the Council. (6th March 1924.)	The Governor in Council has decided to raise no loan in the Punjab this year, because money can be obtained from the Government of India @ ½% less than the interest rate which would probably be necessary for a loan.
7	This Council recommends to the Government that a loan not exceeding Rs. 50 lakhs at the rate of interest not less than that paid by Punjab Government on its borrowings be made to the Bahawalpur Darbar for construction of the Darbar's portion of the Sutlej Valley Project, and that the Punjab Government should, if necessary, raise the sum required by means of increasing the Punjab loan for 1924 from 1½ crores to 2 crores. (24th March 1924.)	It is expected that the Government of India will finance the Bahawalpur portion of the Sutlej Valley Project in future. Meanwhile the Punjab Government has advanced the amounts required by Bahawalpur for work during the first three quarters of the current year. It is anticipated that these will be repaid within the year.
8	This Council recommends to the Government that Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan be released forthwith unconditionally. (4th August 1924.)	Governor in Council ordered that the recommendations cannot be accepted.
9	This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that a residential club be provided in Lahore for the use of members of the Punjab Legislative Council. (13th November 1924.)	The recommendation has been accepted by the Governor in Council and arrangements will be made in due course to carry it out.
10	This Council has heard with extreme regret the sad news of the sudden death of the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu, late Secretary of State for India, the originator and profounder of the present scheme of reforms, whose name will ever be remembered by future generations of India with feelings of profound gratitude and	A copy of the resolution was forwarded to the Government of India for transmission to the proper quarters.

Serial No.	Terms of Resolution passed or promise made.	Action taken.
	1924—concld.	
	esteem. The House expresses its sincere sympathy and condolence on his death and recommends to the Government to convey to Mrs. Montagu and the family, the sympathy of the House on the sad and irreparable loss sustained by the family of the deceased, this country and the Empire. (17th November 1924.)	
11	This Council recommends to the Government that the right conferred by notification No. 21320 of the 1st September 1924, on the non-official members of the Standing Committee of the Legislative Council for Jails of visiting four specified jails be extended to all jails or at least to all jails in which Political, Akali or Khilafat prisoners are lodged. (20th November 1924.)	Recommendation accepted by the Governor in Council and orders issued—*vide* Punjab Government notification No. 27690, dated 10th December 1924.
12	This Council recommends to the Governor in Council to withdraw its notifications Nos. X.-1-R. I. to X.-8-R. 1. published n the "Punjab Gazette", extraordinary, of October 3, 1924, prescribing with effect from the kharif of 1924, new schedule of occupiers' rates for the chief canals in the Punjab and direct instead of collection of abiana at the rates prevailing before April 1924. (24th November 1924.)	The Governor in Council has found himself unable to accept this resolution.
	1925.	
13	This Council recommends to the Government that it should invariably offer land in exchange for any land acquired in future under the Land Acquisition Act, and that compensation in cash should be awarded only in cases where persons concerned refused to accept land in exchange. (17th January 1925.)	The matter is still under consideration. Since accepted subject to certain conditions.
14	This Council recommends to the Government that the indemnity realised from the inhabitants and municipal committee of Gujranwala under the Police Act (V of 1861) in 1919 may be refunded. (3rd March 1925.)	The Governor in Council has decided to take no action on the resolution.

Serial No.	Terms of Resolution passed or promise made.	Action taken.
	1925—contd.	
15	This Council recommends the acceptance by Government of an annual guarantee of Rs. 11,770 (subject to revision when actual cost of construction is known) for a period of 5 years on account of the proposed extension of the Lahore-Multan Trunk Telephone line to Karachi. (5th March 1925.)	The guarantee has been accepted by the Government.
16	This Council recommends to the Government that it should invariably offer land in exchange for any land required in future under the Land Acquisition Act, and that compensation in cash should be awarded only in cases where persons concerned refused to accept land in exchange. (17th January 1925.)	The Governor in Council has decided that land should be offered instead of cash, provided— (*a*) that land is available for the grant, and (*b*) that the land acquired from any one person— (*i*) bears a reasonably large proportion to the amount of land still left to him, or (*ii*) affects in an appreciable degree the possibility of his making his livelihood out of the land, or (*iii*) exceeds Rs. 4,000 in value. This decision does not apply to urban lands or save in exceptional circumstances to lands in the close vicinity of a town or mandi.
17*	This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that the non-official members of the Punjab Legislative Council be made non-official visitors of the jails within their respective constituencies. (4th December 1925.)	At present the experiment is under trial of appointing the members of the Standing Committee on Jails to be non-official visitors of all Provincial Jails. It is not proposed to extend the scope of that experiment.
18	This Council recommends to the Government so to amend the Punjab Legislative Council Electoral Rules as to remove the sex disqualification in the matter of registration on the electoral roll of persons who are entitled to vote in the elections held for the Punjab Council. (7th December 1925.)	The sex disqualification has been removed and certain regulations in connection therewith have been framed.

Serial No.	Terms of Resolution passed or promise made.	Action taken.
	1926.	
19	This Council recommends to Government that the Punjab Electoral Rules be so amended as to remove the sex disqualification in the matter of election or nomination of women as members of the Punjab Legislative Council. (21st October 1926).	The necessary amendment of the Electoral Rules has been made.
20	This Council recommends to the Government to take necessary steps to exempt the following classes of men from the restrictions in the matter of keeping swords in the province :— (*a*) all Jagirdars. (*b*) those who pay Rs. 50 as land revenue. (*c*) all income-tax payers. (*d*) title-holders. (*e*) Government servants drawing a salary of over Rs. 250 per mensem. (*f*) retired military men of and above the rank of Jamadar. (23rd October 1926.)	The recommendation was accepted by the Punjab Government and Government of India, *vide* amendment in the Indian Arms Rules, 1924, published with Government of India, Home Department (Police), notification No. F.-21/IX/27, dated the 10th March 1927.

BURMA.

Letter no. 145-E./27, dated the 14th July 1927.

From—The Offg. Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, Home and Political Department,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

SUBJECT.—*Report on the working of the reforms.*

With reference to your letter No. F. 181/27-Public, dated the 26th March 1927, I am directed to submit the report called for and to say that the Governor in Council has felt that no review of the working of the reformed constitution, political and administrative, in the years 1923—1925 would be complete without a further statement showing the results of that policy on the elections of 1925 and the new Council. The review therefore has been extended to include the period up to the end of the first session of the Legislative Council which came into being as a result of the November 1925 elections and deals generally with the political and other conditions up to the end of March 1926 and in a few points with even later developments.

2. I am in connection with this report to invite a reference to Mr. Lewisohn's letter no. 267-E./24, dated the 11th July 1924, and to say that paragraph 3 of that letter is happily still a true statement of the working of dyarchy in Burma.

A.—THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

(*i*) The Members and Ministers appointed since the institution of the Reforms in 1923 have been as follows :—

Hon'ble Finance Members.

The Hon'ble Sir William Keith, Kt., C.I.E., I.C.S., from 2nd January 1923 to 4th April 1925.

Sir James MacKenna, Kt., C.I.E., I.C.S., from 5th April 1925 to 4th August 1925.

The Hon'ble Sir William Keith, Kt., C.I.E., I.C.S., from 5th August 1925 to date.

Hon'ble Home Members.

The Hon'ble Sir Maung Kin, K.C.I.E., Bar.-at-Law, from 2nd January 1923 to 2nd October 1924.

The Hon'ble U May Oung, M.A., LL.M., Bar.-at-Law, from 12th November 1924 to 5th June 1926.

The Hon'ble Sir Joseph Maung Gyi, Kt., Bar.-at-Law, from 23rd June 1926 to date.

Hon'ble Forest Ministers.

The Hon'ble Mr. Joseph A. Maung Gyi, Bar.-at-Law, from 29th January 1923 to 11th November 1924.

The Hon'ble U Pu, Bar.-at-Law, from 12th November 1924 to 4th December 1925.

The Hon'ble Mr. Lee Ah Yain, Bar.-at-Law, from 5th December 1925 to date.

Hon'ble Education Ministers.

The Hon'ble U Maung Gyee, Bar.-at-Law, from 29th January 1923 to 4th December 1925.

The Hon'ble U Ba Yin, M.B., Ch.B., from 5th December 1925 to date.

The distribution of business is shown in the lists copies of which are attached as Appendix I. No important change in the distribution of business took place during the first three years of the Council. Since 1926, however, the control of the Excise Department has been transferred from the Forest to the Education Ministry.

(*ii*) There has been no allocation of funds to the Reserved and Transferred sides under Devolution Rule 32. No demand has yet been made nor has any necessity yet arisen for such allocation.

(*iii*) There have been no constitutional or cabinet difficulties and no resignations of Members or Ministers, arising out of such difficulties.

(*iv*) The superior staff of the Secretariat has undergone many changes. In December 1922 (*vide* 1043-A./22 of 20th December 1922 to the Government of India, Home Department) the Government of India were asked to approve of the permanent appointment of a fourth Secretary. The reasons for making this appointment permanent were elaborated in that letter and the appointment was sanctioned owing to pressure of work in all offices consequent on the introduction of the Reforms which also necessitated the employment of more experienced officers with larger powers as Secretaries to the Financial Commissioner and the Development Commissioner for certain of the subjects dealt with by those officers. The Secretaries to the Financial Commissioner and the Development Commissioner were accordingly appointed to be Deputy Secretaries to Government in July 1923 and April 1924 respectively. A Deputy Secretary was also appointed in January 1923 in the Home Department for dealing with the increasing volume of work. It was at one time felt that the work in the Secretariat proper might be reduced by appointing Heads of Departments as Secretaries to Government. The Director of Public Instruction was appointed Secretary to Government for Education in July 1923. The experiment lasted for about 4 months; it failed and no suggestion has since been made that the experiment should be repeated in that or any other Department. Further reinforcement of the Secretariat became necessary and Assistant Secretaries were appointed in the Finance and Home Departments. A Joint Secretary in the Finance and Public Works Departments was appointed as a temporary measure from 14th October 1925. The constitution of Standing Committees of the Legislative Council to deal with Roads and Buildings was followed by the temporary splitting up of the functions of the Chief Engineer, Buildings and Roads, between two Chief Engineers—one for Roads and one for

Buildings. The arrangement by which the Chief Engineers were Secretaries to Government in the Public Works Department was abolished and a final reorganisation of the Secretariat providing for seven Commission Secretaries was worked out and proposals submitted to the Government of India in October 1926 (*vide* Mr. Brander's letter no. 381-A./26, dated the 11th October 1926). This scheme was approved by the Secretary of State and has been in force from 1st May 1927.

(*v*) There has been no lack of co-operation between the Executive Government and the Legislature. The feeling of the Legislative Council has been frequently ascertained and generally followed with regard to the appointment of Special Committees to deal with subjects which from time to time seemed to need enquiries. Seven Standing Committees have been constituted. A list of them is given in Appendix II. The Standing Committees constituted in accordance with Rule 33 of the Burma Legislative Council Rules and Order 81 of the Burma Legislative Standing Orders are the Committee on Public Accounts and the Finance Committee. There has been no lack of members of the Legislative Council willing to serve on these Committees. The recommendations of the former Committee have been accepted in all cases. The few cases in which the advice of the Finance Committee has not been accepted with the reasons for not accepting it are detailed in Appendix III. The burden on the Finance Committee has been lightened by the creation of two Standing Committees, the Communications Board and the Buildings Committee. The Communications Board is divided into two Sub-Committees, one dealing with Roads and the other with Waterways. The Communications Board deals with all proposals for the improvement of existing means of communications by road or river and the construction of new roads and waterways, while the Buildings Committee examines all projects for the construction of new or for the improvement of existing Government buildings. Other Standing Committees are the Local Government Advisory Board, the Public Health Board, and the Education Advisory Board. The Finance and Public Accounts Committees meet monthly; they have functioned with outstandiug success and have, it is felt, by their representative character helped to smooth the way in the Council for the passage of budget and of other matters affecting the transferred subjects in particular. The Education Advisory Board has only recently been constituted.

The list of Special Committees is shown as Appendix IV together with a brief note of the action taken on their recommendations. No fewer than 18 Committees have been formed since the introduction of the Reforms down to the end of May 1927. The Burma Retrenchment Committee covered the whole ground of Provincial finance in the course of its enquiries; a full statement regarding the action taken on its recommendations is attached as Appendix V. These Special Committees are not always composed completely of officials and members of the Legislative Council, but, generally speaking, the practice has been to appoint to these Committees only official and non-official M.L.Cs. except in such cases as obviously require the inclusion of experts who were not available in sufficient numbers within the Council itself. The composition of these Committees has invariably been decided on by His Excellency

the Governor in Council in conference with his Ministers and the general assent to the measures proposed by these Committees and the readiness of the Council to provide money for the carrying out of the measures recommended indicates how representative the Committees have been and the large extent to which they have gained public confidence. On the 1st April 1925 an appoint ment was made of Council Secretary to the Education Minister. Mr. H. C. Khoo a prominent Member at the time of the Legislative Council, was appointed and retained the position until the elections of 1925. It was felt that the appointment had served no useful purpose and the present Ministry does not desire to repeat the experiment.

(*vi*) Apart from the general feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty regarding the future among the members of the different Public Services which marked the introduction of the Reforms and which appears to have grown less, there is nothing to report regarding the relations, between the reformed Government and the Public Services. There has been in general no lack of harmony between Members and Ministers and the Heads or the personnel of the Reserved and Transferred Departments.

(*vii*) It is impossible to say how much of any increase in the cost of administration is due to the Reforms and how much is due to inevitable administrative development and necessary increases of salaries owing to the increased cost of living. Many of the increases in salaries really dated from before the Reforms. Nor is it possible to ascribe temporary inefficiency to the Reforms. The cadres of all the Services and the conditions of service were seriously affected by the War and its aftermath, on both the Reserved and Transferred sides. There has been a steady return to efficiency, but most services are still very much under strength and the administration inevitably suffers.

(*viii*) The whole question of Local Self-Government is under consideration. A new Municipal Act has been introduced in the Legislative Council. A District Councils Act was passed in 1921, but it has not yet been possible to effect a permanent settlement of District Council finance. This has been held over pending the report of the Committee on Capitation and Thathameda which has only lately been received.

B. I.—THE LEGISLATURE.

(i) Government Legislation.

A full list of Government Bills introduced in the Legislative Council from February 1923 to February 1927.

A full list of Government Bills introduced in the Legislative Council

Government

Serial No.	Name of Bill.	Brief description of objects of Bill.	Date of introduction.	Whether passed or rejected.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Burma Habitual Offenders Restriction (Amendment) Bill, 1923.	To amend the Burma Habitual Offenders Restriction Act, 1919.	5-2-23	Passed.
2	Rangoon Police (Amendment) Bill, 1923.	Further to amend the Rangoon Police Act, 1899.	5-2-23	Passed.
3	Deputy President's Salary Bill, 1923.	To provide for the salary of the Deputy President of the Burma Legislative Council.	6-3-23	Passed.
4	Burma Village (Amendment) Bill, 1923.	Further to amend the Burma Village Act, 1907, and the Burma Rural Self-Government Act, 1921.	29-11-23	Passed.
5	Burma Embankment Act, 1923.	To amend the Burma Embankment Act, 1909.	29-11-23	Passed.
6	Burma Local Bodies Banking Facilities Amending Bill, 1923.	To extend the existing facilities for the investment and custody of the funds of local bodies with Co-operative Banks.	29-11-23	Passed.
7	Burma Rural Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1924.	Further to amend the Burma Rural Self-Government Act, 1921.	11-3-24	Passed.
8	Burma Canal (Amendment) Bill, 1924.	Further to amend the Burma Canal Act, 1905.	30-8-24	Passed.
9	Burma Land and Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 1924.	Further to amend the Burma Land and Revenue Act, 1876.	30-8-24	Rejected.
10	Rangoon Development Trust (Amendment) Bill, 1924.	Further to amend the Rangoon Development Trust Act, 1920.	30-11-24	Passed.
11	Burma Land and Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 1924.	Further to amend the Burma Land and Revenue Act, 1876.	10-3-25	Passed.
12	Upper Burma Land and Revenue Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Further to amend the Upper Burma Land and Revenue Regulation, 1889.	10-3-25	Passed.
13	Burma Village (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Further to amend the Burma Village Act, 1907.	10-3-25	Passed.
14	Police (Burma Amendment) Bill, 1925.	To amend the Police Act, 1861, in its application to Burma.	10-3-25	Passed.
15	Rangoon Rent (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Further to amend the Rangoon Rent Act, 1920.	10-3-25	Pas sed.
16	Burma Tax on Sea-passengers Bill, 1925.	To impose a tax on persons entering Burma by sea.	10-3-25	Passed.

TURE.

TION.

from February 1923 to February 1927 is given below.

Bills.

No. and year of Act if passed.	Voting.						Subsequent action taken in cases of rejection.
	For.			Against.			
	Official.	Nominated.	Elected.	Official.	Nominated.	Elected.	
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
III of 1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	
IV of 1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
II of 1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	
IV of 1924	..	..	..	..	..	..	
VI of 1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	
V of 1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	
II of 1924	..	..	..	..	..	..	
VI of 1924	..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	14	6	9	..	..	29 casting vote.	Reintroduced and passed, *vide* Serial No. 11.
V of 1924	..	..	..	..	..	..	
II of 1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	
III of 1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	
V of 1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	
VI of 1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	
I of 1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	
(Governor-General's assent has not yet been obtained.)							

Government Bills—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Bill.	Brief description of objects of Bill.	Date of introduction.	Whether passed or rejected.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
17	Burma Expulsion of Offenders Bill, 1925.	To authorise the expulsion from Burma of non-Burmans who have been convicted of criminal offences or ordered to furnish security for good behaviour.	10-3-25	Passed.
18	Rangoon University Building Trust Bill, 1925.	To provide for the constitution and powers of a Board of Trustees for the erection of the Buildings of the University of Rangoon.	11-3-25	Passed.
19	Burma Excise (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Further to amend the Burma Excise Act, 1917.	11-3-25	Passed.
20	Burma Excise (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Further to amend the Burma Excise Act, 1917.	21-9-25	Passed.
21	Burma Rural Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Further to amend the Burma Rural Self-Government Act, 1921.	21-9-25	Passed.
22	Lower Burma Town and Village Lands (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Further to amend the Lower Burma Town and Village Lands Act, 1898.	21-9-25	Passed.
23	Rangoon Port (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Further to amend the Rangoon Port Act, 1905.	21-9-25	Passed.
24	Rangoon Police (Amendment) Bill, 1925.	Further to amend the Rangoon Police Act, 1899.	21-9-25	Passed.
25	Rurma Registration of Adoptions Bill, 1926.	To provide for the compulsory registration of *Kittima* adoptions in Burma.	1-3-26	Passed.
26	Burma Courts (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	To amend the Burma Courts Act, 1922.	31-8-26	Passed.
27	Burma Medical (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	To amend the Burma Medical Act, 1915.	31-8-26	Passed.
28	Burma Outports (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	To amend the Burma Outports Act, 1914.	31-8-26	Passed.
29	Burma Forest (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	Further to amend the Burma Forest Act, 1902.	31-8-26	Passed.
30	Expulsion of Offender (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	To amend the Expulsion of Offenders Act, 1926.	31-8-26	Passed.
31	Burma Co-operative Societies Bill, 1926.	To consolidate and amend the law relating to Co-operative Societies in Burma.	7-9-26	Passed.
32	Rangoon Municipal and Burma Courts (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	To amend the city of Rangoon Municipal Act, 1922, and the Burma Courts Act, 1922.	24-1-27	Passed.
33	Burma Legislative Council (President's Salary) Bill, 1927.	To determine the salary of the President of the Burma Legislative Council.	24-1-27	Passed.
34	Burma Oilfields (Amendment) Bill, 1927.	To amend the Burma Oilfields Act, 1918.	18-2-27	Passed.
35	Burma Municipal Bill, 1927	To consolidate and amend the law relating to municipalities in Burma.	18-2-27	(Pending

No. and year of Act if passed.	Voting.						Subsequent action taken in cases of rejection.
	For.			Against.			
	Official.	Nominated.	Elected.	Official.	Nominated.	Elected.	
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
I of 1926	16	2	38	0	5	10	..
VII of 1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
IV of 1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
I of 1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
XI of 1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
X of 1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
XII of 1925	16	8	14	0	0	29	..
VIII of 1925.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
II of 1926	16	6	22	0	0	18	..
III of 1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
V of 1927.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VI of 1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
V of 1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
IV of 1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VI of 1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
IV of 1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
III of 1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
II of 1927 before the Council.)	16	6	23	..	1	27	..

Of the 35 Bills introduced one only is now pending. Thirty-three have been passed and one, the Burma Land and Revenue (Amendment) Bill, though rejected in August 1924 was reintroduced and passed in March 1925. The only Bill passed by the Council which has failed to secure the assent of the Governor-General in Council is the Burma Tax on Sea-passengers Bill,1925. Five of the Bills were pressed to a division on the Bill as a whole apart from minor amendments, but in one only, the Burma Land and Revenue (Amendment) Bill, mentioned above, was the Government defeated and that only by the casting vote of the President. The only measure of importance among those Bills which involved additional taxation is the Burma Tax on Sea-passengers Bill, 1925. The Burmans on both sides of the House were favourable to the Bill both in principle and in detail, but the Indian members interpreted the Bill as a measure likely to restrict the free entry of Indians into Burma and were supported by non-official European members of the Council who regarded the tax as likely to interfere with the free supply of labour for the rice and timber as well as other industries.

2. It is the measures dealing with law and order or public security, such as the Burma Habitual Offenders Restriction Bill, the Burma Village (Amendment) Bill, 1925, the Burma Expulsion of Offenders Bill 1925, and the Burma Oilfields Amendment) Bill, 1927, which have in general evoked most opposition and discussion. The attitude of the Opposition to such Bills has throughout been one of bitter hostility and unreasoning prejudice and the line of criticism followed has been rather that of suspecting police activity than of suggesting any reasonable way of meeting the enormous difficulties encountered by the police in this country in the suppression of crime. Judging by their utterances some politicians regard liberty as synonymous with license. The language used in the discussion on, for instance, the Burma Oilfields (Amendment) Bill, 1927, which sought to take powers to prevent agitators interfering in times of undue excitement with the population in the Oilfields, an area which is peculiarly liable to trouble, has never been surpassed for exaggeration during the Reforms.

3. The Burma Tax on Sea-passengers Bill, 1925, and the Burma Expulsion of Offenders Bill, 1925, elicited much criticism from Indian members of the Council on the ground that they were racial measures. Indian opinion in Burma is, not unnaturally, sensitive to any measure which might appear designed to hinder free intercourse between India and Burma or the right of Indians to settle freely in Burma. Experience since the passing into law of the Burma Expulsion of Offenders Bill, 1925, has however shown that the measure need have caused, as was pointed out at the time it was introduced, no apprehension whatever in the minds of respectable and law-abiding Indians in Burma.

4. The discussion on the Rangoon Port (Amendment) Bill, 1925, evoked some measure of discussion on racial lines owing to the fact that the Burmans took opportunity to press for a larger number of Burman members on the Port Trust than the position of Burmans in the trade and commerce of Rangoon warranted. The most important measure of social reform up to date introduced by way of Government legislation is the Burma Registration of Adoptions Bill, 1926, No. 25. Though opposed the opposition was based mainly on sentimental grounds.

5. There have been no cases of certification or return or reservation of Bills or the with-holding of assent save in the case of the Burma Tax on Sea-passengers Bill alluded to above, nor has there been resort to Regulations, Ordinances or other extraordinary legislative powers.

(*ii*) PRIVATE

The private bills dealt with have

Private

Serial No.	Name of Bill.	Brief description of objects of Bill.	Date of introduction.	Whether supported or opposed by Government.
1	2	3	4	5
1	Rangoon Rent (Amendment) Bill, 1923.	Further to amend the Rangoon Rent Act, 1920.	5-2-23	Supported
2	Rangoon University (Amendment) Bill, 1923.	To amend the University of Rangoon Act, 1920.	30-11-23	Supported
3	Burma Rural Self-Government (Amendment Bill, 1923.	Further to amend the Burma Rural Self-Government Act, 1921.	30-11-23	Supported
4	City of Rangoon Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1923.	Further to amend the City of Rangoon Municipal Act, 1922.	3-12-23	Supported
5	Rangoon Hackney Carriages (Amendment) Bill, 1924.	To amend the Rangoon Hackney Carriages Act, 1917.	12-3-24	Opposed
6	Rangoon Rent Bill, 1925 ..	To consolidate and amend the law with respect to the increase of rents and the recovery of possession of premises in certain cases, for the purpose of restricting for a further period, the increase of rents in the City of Rangoon.	11-3-23	Supported
7	Rangoon Rent (Amendment) Bill, 1926.	To amend the Rangoon Rent Act, 1925.	3-9-26	Opposed
8	National Sports Bill, 1927	To encourage the national sports of Burma.	3-2-27	Opposed

BILLS.

been.

Bills.

Whether passed or rejected.	No. and year of Act if passed.	Voting.					
		For			Against.		
		Official.	Nominated.	Elected.	Official.	Nominated.	Elected.
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Passed	I of 1923	..	..	..	..	..	..
Passed	III of 1924.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Passed	I of 1924	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rejected	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Passed	IX of 1925.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rejected	..	0	1	34	16	6	20
Rejected	..	0	0	21	15	4	22

2. It is a striking fact that five out of the eight Bills deal directly and only with Rangoon and no less than three of them with the question of house rent in Rangoon. The Rangoon University (Amendment) Bill, 1923, cleared the atmosphere which has been created by the years of strife following on the School strikes of 1920 and the boycott of Government and Missionary Schools. This measure, which was passed in March 1924, in its final form represented a compromise enabling all parties to join in the work of the University, and, with the main difficulties disposed of, to turn their energies to the improvement of vernacular, secondary and technical education. The agitation which resulted in the School strikes and was directed against the University under its former constitution, was a protest against certain regulations which were felt to have the result of prolonging unduly the years spent in obtaining a degree and thus in hampering the higher education of Burmans.

3. The Burma Rural Self-Government Amendment Bill, 1923, No. 3, was designed to exclude Village Headmen from the local bodies set up under the Burma Rural Self-Government Act, 1921. According to the "21" Party the Village Headmen were the minions of Government and as such had no place in the local self-government scheme. The second object of the Bill was to substitute direct election to District Councils for indirect election through Circle Boards. The Bill was circulated and local bodies consulted and by the time the Select Committee sat to consider the Bill the experience of the years 1923 and 1924 proved conclusively that the Village Headman far from being regarded as a minion of Government was in very many cases looked on by the people as not only their natural but their best representative. The Village Headman was proved to have no autocratic power which would have ensured his election to a Circle Board or District Council. Feeling also on the question of direct election to District Councils was found to be much less strong than had at first been expected. The Bill after being thoroughly thrashed out in Select Committee was found to be unnecessary and was withdrawn by leave of the Council.

4. Government opposed the Rangoon Hackney Carriages (Amendment) Bill, 1924, on the ground that the result of passing the Bill would be an attempt to give Government power to make rules which could only be *ultra vires* as affecting contractual relations. Government also opposed the Rangoon Rent (Amendment) Bill, 1926, on the ground that the emergency necessitating restriction of rents had passed. The National Sports Bill, 1927, was opposed by Government as it seemed to be a deliberate attempt on the part of its promoters to get behind the provisions of the Village and other Acts regarding permission for and control of festivals and entertainments. The Bill had very little backing and elicited very little support.

(*iii*) Financial Business.

The following statement, in order to illustrate the attitude of the Council towards the Budgets, shows the number of amendments of which notice was given, moved, withdrawn, accepted, opposed and carried, together with an analysis of the voting, the reductions involved and the amount restored. Separate statements are given for Reserved and Transferred subjects.

STATEMENT A—

Part I.—Origi-

Year. (1)	Number of amend-ments of which notice was given. (2)	Number of amend-ments moved. (3)	Number of amend-ments with-drawn. (4)	Number of amend-ments accepted by Gov-ernment. (5)	Number of amend-ments opposed by Gov-ernment. (6)	Number of amend-ments carried against Govern-ment opposition. (7)
1923-24 ..	52	26	18	5	3	1
1924-25 ..	38	30	19	2	9	1
1925-26 ..	29	25	17	*Nil*	8	*Nil*
1926-27 ..	43	15	8	*Nil*	7	1

RESERVED.

nal Grants.

Analysis of voting in respect of column (7). (8)	Analysis of voting in respect of amendments not dealt with in column (8). (9)	Total reduction involved. (10)	Amount subsequently restored by Government. (11)
		Rs.	
Ayes 40 (all elected members). Noes 37 (6 nominated, 13 elected and 18 official members).	2 amendments lost without division.	16,38,510	*Nil.*
Ayes 47 (all elected). Noes 31 (5 nominated, 8 elected and 18 officials).	Ayes 21 (all elected). Noes 41 (6 nominated, 20 elected and 15 officials) 7 amendments lost without division.	3,06,100	*Nil.*
....	(1) Ayes 36 (all elected). Noes 36 (6 nominated, 12 elected, 18 officials).	*Nil*	
	(2) Ayes 38 (all elected). Noes 38 (6 nominated, 14 elected, 18 officials).		
	(3) Ayes 37 (all elected). Noes 37 (7 nominated, 15 elected, 15 officials) (each of above lost by Chairman's votes).		
	(4) Ayes 35 (all elected). Noes 37 (6 nominated, 14 elected, 17 officials).		
	(5) Ayes 38 (all elected). Noes 40 (7 nominated, 16 elected, 17 officials).		
	(6) Ayes 36 (all elected). Noes 37 (6 nominated, 14 elected, 17 officials).		
	Two lost without division.		
Ayes 38 (all elected). Noes 33 (6 nominated, 10 elected and 17 officials).	(1) Ayes 44 (all elected). Noes 50 (8 nominated, 24 elected, 18 officials).	100	*Nil.*

STATEMENT A—

Part I.—Origi-

Year.	Number of amendments of which notice was given.	Number of amendments moved.	Number of amendments withdrawn.	Number of amendments accepted by Government.	Number of amendments opposed by Government.	Number of amendments carried against Government opposition.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1927-28 ..	42	20*	8	*Nil*	12*	*Nil*

*Including 2 ruled out by

†Analysis of voting not available as

RESERVED—*contd.*

nal Grants—contd..

Analysis of voting in respect of column (7).	Analysis of voting in respect of amendments not dealt with in column (8).	Total reduction involved.	Amount subsequently restored by Government.
(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
		Rs.	
	(2) Ayes 41 (all elected). Noes 46 (7 nominated, 20 elected, 19 officials).		
	(3) Ayes 39 (all elected). Noes 50 (8 nominated, 24 elected, 18 officials).		
	(4) Ayes 42 (all elected). Noes 45 (7 nominated, 19 elected, 19 officials).		
	(5) Ayes 42 (all elected). Noes 52 (8 nominated, 26 elected, 18 officials).		
	One lost without division.		
....	(1) Ayes 25 (all elected). Noes 42 (7 nominated, 18 elected, 17 officials).	*Nil*	
	(2) Ayes 28 (all elected). Noes 38 (6 nominated, 15 elected, 17 officials).		
	(3) Ayes 25 (all elected). Noes 40 (5 nominated, 18 elected, 17 officials).		
	(4) Ayes 25 (all elected). Noes 40 (5 nominated, 18 elected, 17 officials).		
	(5) Ayes 21 (all elected). Noes 39 (6 nominated, 17 elected, 16 officials).		
	†(6) Ayes 21, Noes. 51. †(7) Ayes 18, Noes 50. Three lost without division.		

the President.
the Council proceedings are in press.

STATEMENT A—

Part II.—Subse

Year. (1)	Number of amendments of which notice was given. (2)	Number of amendments moved. (3)	Number of amendments withdrawn. (4)	Number of amendments accepted by Government. (5)	Number of amendments opposed by Government. (6)	Number of amendments carried against Government opposition. (7)
1923-24 ..	1	1	*Nil*	..	1	1
1924-25 ...	..	*Nil*	..	..	*Nil*	..
1925-26 ...						
1926-27 ..	1	1	*Nil*	*Nil*	1	*Nil*

STATEMENT B—

Part I.—Origi-

1923-24	27	18	15	1	2	*Nil*
1924-25 ..	23	13	11	*Nil*	2	*Nil*
1925-2 ..	34	27	21	3	3	*Nil*
1926-27 ..	34	6	4	*Nil*	2	*Nil*
1927-28 ..	29	14	9	*Nil*	5	*Nil*

*Details not avail

Part II.—Subsequent

RESERVED—*concld.*

quent Grants.

Analysis of voting in respect of column (7).	Analysis of voting in respect of amendments not dealt with in column (8).	Total reduction involved.	Amount subsequently restored by Government.
(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
		Rs.	Rs.
Ayes 33 (4 nominated, 14 elected, 15 officials). Noes 35 (all elected).	....	8,93,975	8,93,975
Nil	....	*Nil*	
....	One lost without division.		

TRANSFERRED.

nal Grants.

....	(1) Ayes 33 (all elected). Noes 34 (8 nominated, 10 elected, 16 officials).	10,00,000	*Nil.*
	(2) Ayes 38 (all elected). Noes 39 (8 nominated, 14 elected and 17 officials).		
....	Ayes 27 (all elected). Noes 31 (5 nominated, 8 elected, 18 officials) 1 lost without division.	*Nil*	..
....	All 3 lost without division ..	13,00,000	*Nil*
....	(1) Ayes 40 (all elected). Noes 51 (8 nominated, 25 elected, 18 officials).	*Nil*	..
	(2) Do.		
....	*Ayes 20, Noes 54 ..	*Nil*	..
	4 lost without division.		

[a]ble at present.

Grants—Nil.

2. The outstanding feature of the first Council was the number of attacks made during the Budget discussions on the Police Administration : in general the reductions moved were directed mainly against the Police, the Public Works Department, and the Forest Department. Feeling against the Police ran high among the extremists who would brook no interference with the agitation which before the reforms and on their initiation seemed to this type of politician to be the natural concomitant of reforms. There were also attacks on the Public Works Department. Public Works expenditure loomed large in the Budget and a certain number of people thought much of this could well be diverted from the development of the country by roads, buildings and irrigation to what caught the fancy for the time being as " nation building services " such as Agriculture, Public Health, and Education.

3. The attack on the Forest Administration is susceptible of explanation only on the ground of ignorance. Forests appear to have been regarded as a gift of nature to the Province and to warrant therefore no great expenditure relative to the return. The Burman landlord does not in agriculture provide buildings or fencing for his tenants and possibly this has its bearing on the attitude towards Forest Administration, the bulk of the people failing to realize that the forests are a valuable estate mainly in so far as they are conserved and regulated to provide revenue not only for the present, but timber, fuel and revenue on a permanent basis.

4. It is significant that the attitude towards the Police, the Public Works Department and the Forest Department has changed very remarkably. Since the initiation of the Reforms there have been three important committees dealing with each of these Departments—the Police Enquiry Committee, the Burma Public Works Department (Buildings and Roads) Enquiry Committee, 1925 and the Forest Committee, and the enquiries of these Committees, as well as of the Crime Enquiry Committee, have proved to a large number of members of the Council as well as to the outside public the absolute necessity of these departments for the preservation of law and order and the conservation and development of the economic resources of the Province.

5. Large numbers of the cuts proposed under the various Budget heads have been token cuts and have been inspired by a desire for information or to ventilate purely local grievances. These have generally been withdrawn on the information being supplied or on a promise being made that the grievances stated would be looked into.

6. Mention has been made of the feeling that expenditure could be limited on the Police, *i.e.*, law and order, and on economic development, *i.e.*, on public works, in order to provide money for Agriculture, Land Mortgage Banks, Co-operation, Public Health and Education. The Council has not been slow to accept any demands for the purposes of Education and Public Health in particular : the scheme for instance for the improvement of Vernacular Education drawn up by the Vernacular Education Committee and accepted by Government involved an immediate increase in expenditure of over fifteen lakhs of rupees rising to over twenty-five lakhs in five years : this money was voted without demur. Money has also been readily forthcoming for such public health measures as have been recommended by Government and the

Council has been ready to assist local bodies as far as has been within its power.

7. The number of resolutions demanding or suggesting increased expenditure by Government is comparatively small. Details of all resolutions are given in Appendix VI and few of those deal with suggestions for a permanent increase in expenditure. Numbers 9 and 57 deal with the question of sending young Burmans to foreign countries for education and co-operation. The result of obtaining this mandate from the Council has been that the number of State scholars now regularly sent to England every year has been raised to 12.

The recommendation to assist Burma pioneer industries by means of loans from Rice Control Profits resulted in a loan of Rs. 15 lakhs being given to the Burma Spinning and Weaving Company. The Spinning and Weaving Company's properties have, in pursuance of Resolution No. 97, been taken over by Government and these properties are now being advertised for sale.

The allowances of members of Council have been the subject of debate on three occasions in March 1924, March 1926, and February 1927. The provision of a salary for the Council Secretary was the subject of Resolutions Nos. 49 and 50. The Resolution on the first occasion in March 1925 was lost owing to a technical mistake on the part of the opposition. The provision of Rs. 1,000 a month for the Council Secretary was provided in September 1925. But the Council Secretary resigned in November on his defeat at the polls and no successor has been appointed.

The financial relations of India and Burma have frequently been the subject of references by many members of the House in the course of the Budget discussions. The specific Resolutions dealing with these relations are Nos. 54, 80 and 85. Intimately connected with this are the question of the continuance of the capitation tax and *thathameda* which have been the subject of a Committee and were dealt with in Resolutions Nos. 44 and 69. The latter resolutions have been the subject of more heated discussion in the Legislative Council possibly than any other question which has arisen since the institution of the Reforms. The abolition or modification of these taxes is peculiarly bound up with the finances of local bodies which depend so largely now on provincial subventions for their existence and not on their local resources.

8. In view of the widspread feeling in 1923 that economy must be exercised to the utmost a Retrenchment Committee was appointed in May 1923 to consider every possible means for restricting unnecessary expenditure. This Committee reported in November 1923. The general comment on the proposals of this Committee was that it did everything but retrench. The fact was that save in a few instances the Committee unanimously agreed that Burma was behind hand in equipment, in personnel and in general progress in almost every direction and that far from any large economy being possible, except in certain details, the proper equipment of Burma with provision for necessary developments, to put it on a level with the development of Provinces in India, required a very large increased expenditure. Appendices VII, VIII and IX reproduce important resolutions and motions moved by the Hon'ble Finance Member regarding the Rice Control Profits, regrants of lapsed grants of Public Works Department expenditure and the exhibition in the Budget of Major Works and the provision of expenditure assigned.

(iv) RESOLUTIONS AND QUESTIONS.

1. A statement showing the total number of resolutions of which notice was given, the number disallowed, moved, adopted, not adopted and withdrawn is shown below together with a statement of questions.

LIST A.—*Resolutions.*

1	2	3		4	5	6			7	8	9
Number of sessions.	Number of Resolutions of which notice given.	Number of Resolutions disallowed by		Number of Resolutions which found a place in the ballot.	Number of Resolutions actually moved.	Number of Resolutions adopted by Council.			Number of Resolutions not adopted by Council.	Number of Resolutions withdrawn.	Talked out.
		(*a*) President.	(*b*) Governor.			(*a*) accepted by Government in original or modified form.	(*b*) in which Government was neutral.	(*c*) opposed by Government.			
9	390	49	10	199	110	22	8	10	42	27	1

NOTE.—Many Resolutions which were entered in the list of Resolutions were not actually moved owing to the absence of the members concerned, particularly during the period when members of certain parties absented themselves from the House after "walking out".

Questions.

Number of Sessions.	Number of questions of which notice was given.	Number of questions disallowed by the President.	Number of questions asked and answered.
9	2,228	299	1,701

NOTE.—Many questions which were entered in the list of questions were not actually asked owing to the absence of the members concerned.

2. The details of the resolutions are dealt with in Appendix VI in which a brief summary of the resolution and other details are given. It will be seen from the statement that the number of resolutions disallowed has not been considerable. The general lines on which resolutions have been disallowed are laid down in the Burma Legislative Council Rules, which permit—

(*a*) the Governor to disallow any resolution on the ground that it cannot be moved without detriment to the public interest or on the

ground that it relates to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Local Government, and

(*b*) the President to disallow any resolution when it does not comply with the standing orders or contravenes the rules as to the subject matter of resolutions.

3. The question disallowed have been dealt with under the Burma Legislative Standing Orders which permit the President to disallow any question when in his opinion it is an abuse of the right of questioning or calculated to obstruct or prejudicially affect the procedure of the Council or is in contravention of the Standing Orders.

4. It may be generally stated that the Council has fully exercised its powers of resolution and interpellation. A tendency to ask for information, the replies to which members did not trouble to attend the Council to hear, elicited a severe rebuke from the Hon'ble the President of the Legislative Council, Sir Robert Giles, in February 1927. He spoke in the following terms :—

> " I wish to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that in the case of 32 out of 111 questions that were on yesterday's paper for oral answers the members who had given notice were not in their places to ask their questions. I remind the Hon'ble members that every question of which notice is given involves a certain amount of time and labour and that some questions involve a very considerable amount of time and labour in preparing answers. If the Hon'ble members who have caused this expenditure of public time do not take the trouble to appear in their places to ask their questions, they are acting discourteously, not only to the members of the Government concerned, but also to the Council as a whole. I also suggest to Hon'ble members that a large number of questions are at present starred for oral answers quite unnecessarily, thus leading to a waste of the time of the Council ".

5. It has been pointed out above that many of the resolutions and still more of the questions have been moved or put to obtain information or to ventilate local grievances. Where the facts elicited in the course of discussion showed a genuine necessity for detailed enquiry Government has in most cases been able to accept the resolution or to obtain the information required by consulting local officers or in matters of provincial importance by appointing special Committees. In general opposition benches have co-operated with Government in such matters.

(*v*) Miscellaneous.

A list of motions moved for the adjournment of the House is contained in the appended statement.

Motions for Adjournment.

Object of motion.	Date.	Motion admitted or not.	Reason for non-admittance.
For the purpose of discussing matters in connection with the ex-Queen Supayalat's funeral.	15-12-1925	Not admitted	That the motion was ot in order.
For the purpose of discussing matters in connection with the situation created by the hunger strike by the Bengal detenus in charge of the Government of Burma.	2-3-1926	Not admitted	That the motion did not comply with the requirements for notice of a motion to adjourn the Council.
For the purpose of discussing matters in connection with the withdrawal from the House of the Nationalist, Swarajist and Home Rule parties.	9-3-1926	Not admitted	That the matter proposed to be discussed was not in order.
For the purpose of discussing matters in connection with the sufferings of, and the necessity of affording relief to the inhabitants of the area affected by the cyclone in the Akyab District.	3-9-1926	Not admitted	That the matter was not a recent one or of such urgent necessity as would justify the interruption of the proceedings of the Council.
For the purpose of discussing matters in connection with sending Indian troops to China without reference to the Legislature.	31-1-1927	Not admitted	That it was a matter affecting the relations of His Majesty's Government or the Government of India with a Foreign State which was not within the purview of the Council.

It will be seen that only two of these—the question of the ex-Queen Supayalat's funeral and the withdrawal from the House of the Nationalists, Swarajists and Home Rulers—are of directly provincial importance, the destruction by a cyclone in the Akyab District being a local matter, the hunger strike of the Bengal detenus in Burma an extra-provincial matter, and the sending of Indian troops to China an Imperial matter which is of particularly little concern to Burma in view of the small part which Burma plays in the composition of the Indian Army.

The following is a list of proposed amendments to Standing Orders and the results of the motions thereon :—

Amendments to Standing Orders.

No.	Summary of motion for amendment of Standing Orders.	Result of motion.
1	Proposal by a private member to amend several of the Standing Orders, chiefly with a view to removing all restrictions relating to the putting of questions and the moving of resolutions.	Referred to Select Committee and then dropped on the recommendation of that Committee.
2	Proposal by Government to amend the Standing Orders relating to the Budget and to the Finance Committee.	Adopted by the Council.
3	Proposal by a private member to amend the Standing Orders so as to provide for a warning bell being rung before the Council is adjourned for want of a quorum.	Slightly amended and adopted by the Council.
4	Proposal by Government to amend the Standing Orders so as to provide for quorums for Committees appointed by the House.	Slightly amended and adopted by the Council.

The proposal to amend the Standing Orders to provide for a warning bell being rung before the Council is adjourned for the want of a quorum was slightly amended and adopted by the Council in 1927 as the result of the sitting of the Council having been adjourned on more than one occasion owing to the lack of a quorum in the Council.

B-II.—THE LEGISLATURE.

In paragraph 5 of their letter the Government of India ask that attention should, in addition to the specific points previously detailed, be directed also to certain questions of a more general nature regarding the working of the Councils.

(*a*) As regards the extent to which the Councils represent and react on current public opinion it is early yet to offer any definite opinion. No doubt the Council represents public opinion so far as it exists and is vocal. Not much interest is, however, taken outside the Legislative Council in the proceedings of that Council.

(*b*) As for the extent to which and the means by which relations have been maintained between the members of the Councils and their constituencies one member of Council made an effort to address his constituents in a public meeting but according to the newspaper reports only the Chairman and the reporters were present. Some of the members of Council, however, have had private meetings with their leading supporters.

(*c*) In the first Council there were the following parties :—The Nationalists or Burman Party, the Karens, and the Progressives or Moderates under Mr. deGlanville and Mr. Ah Yain. The Burman and Karen parties were

formed on purely communal lines. The Europeans and Indians generally voted with Government. The Progressive or Moderate Party gradually disappeared and was replaced by pro-Government voters consisting mainly of Europeans, Indians, and nominated members. In the second Council there was a split in the Burman vote ; two new parties appeared, the Swarajists and the Home Rulers consisting of 5 and 8 members respectively, usually voting with the Nationalists against Government. The Karen vote was also split and the Karens seem to have disappeared as a party, some voting with and others voting against Government. There appeared for the first time a Ministerial Party divided into two wings, the Golden Valley Party, embracing mainly the Burman supporters of Government, and the Independent Party, embracing mainly non-Burman supporters of Government. Recently an alliance has been formed between the Nationalists, the Swarajists, and the Home Rulers under the name of the People's Party. No tendency has at any time appeared of a division of the Indian members of the Council on communal lines.

(*d*) No special conventions between the Legislature and the Executive have grown up outside the rules of business, but in the appointment of Committees of the Council it has been the usual practice to have eight members elected by the Council and four nominated by the Governor. As regards the growth of a parliamentary practice and tradition it is now practically settled that Bills are not opposed on introduction. The Council at a very early stage of its existence adopted the House of Commons practice of standing during the entry and departure from the Chair of the President, of bowing to the Chair when a member enters or leaves his place during a sitting, and of refraining from passing between a speaker and the Chair.

(*e*) The most striking feature of the Burma Council from its very institution has been the existence of a highly developed party organisation. The Nationalists contested the first elections as a party. They had a Leader and a Party Whip and regular party meetings from the outset. All other parties followed suit. There is regular consultation as to the concerted attitude to be taken on practically every measure which comes before the Council. Where members of Committees are elected not only are the members from each party decided on at the party meetings but the proportion of the Committee to be provided by each party is settled, in the great majority of cases, by agreement between the Leaders of the parties. The Finance Secretary, who is relieved of his ordinary work during the sitting of the Council, acts as Government Whip and keeps in very close touch with the Leaders and Whips of the Ministerial Party and acts as Whip for those nominated members who owe allegiance to no party. As regards consultation in respect of the priority to be given to particular items of Council business, there have been cases where by agreement Resolutions high up on the list have not been moved in order that times should be given for the discussion of Resolutions lower down in which all parties are interested.

(*f*) In the first Council the prominent party leaders were U Pu (M.L.C., Yamethin South), and U Ba Pe of the Nationalist Party and Mr. deGlanville and Mr. Ah Yain of the Progressive or Moderate Party. The policy of the

Nationalist Party was, in the main, opposition to Government measures, reduction in the number of European officials, and retrenchment of expenditure where such retrenchment could be effected without reducing the pay or number of Burmans in Government service. The policy of the Moderate or Progressive Party was support of Government tempered by friendly criticism and by opposition to extravagance.

As regards the second Council the personal policy of U Pu, who was Minister for Forests in 1925 and has been leader of the " 21 " Party in the second Council, where his party does not command a majority, has been one of opposition of the type that might be expected from an ex-Minister who no longer commands a large following. This opposition culminated on the last day of the July session of 1927 in a hastily arranged and an undignified walk-out of the few members of the People's Party who were then present. As a prelude to the walk-out U Pu read a statement in which he explained that his party felt that it could no longer attend a Council in which the wishes of the majority of the elected representatives of the people were over-ridden by a combination of official and nominated members with a minority of elected members. U Pu (M.L.C., Toungoo South), the leader of the Home Rulers (usually known as Tharrawaddy Pu) has made it his main object to represent Government as the oppressor of the people and himself as its saviour.

Mr. deGlanville, who is now President of the Council, while he was leader of the Independent Party, *i.e.*, up to February 1927, supported Government while reserving liberty to criticise the administration of Transferred Subjects.

Mr. Beng Chong of the Golden Valley Party supported Government consistently and loyally and was of the greatest assistance in gathering and keeping together supporters of the Ministry.

So far no outstanding personality has emerged from among the Burmans in the Legislative Council. None of the so-called leaders of the parties in opposition Government has been anything more than the spokesman of his party and in not a few cases the attitude of these parties in the Council has been dictated by adherents outside the Council. The role of the Opposition in politics is not understood and the series of defeats which the Opposition has sustained during the last two meetings of the Council which ended in the walk-out of July 1927 has tended to weaken rather than to strengthen its morale.

C.—The Constituencies and the Public.

(*i*) The ascertained percentage of enfranchised persons to the total population, and the percentage of votes recorded in the general elections of 1922 and 1925 and such bye-elections as have occurred up to 1927 are given in the Tables attached as Appendix X. The remarkable increase in the percentage of votes recorded to the total number of voters in 1925 over 1922 was due to the change in the attitude of what had previously been largely a non-co-operating party outside the Council. The Home Rule Party put up candidates in a large number of constituencies. Feelings ran high and the interest shown in many places is reflected in the number of votes recorded in spite of the efforts made by the more extreme party, which was mainly led by the monks, to boycott the elections.

(*ii*) Little interest is taken at present by the public in the proceedings of the Legislative Council. The proceedings while fully reported in the English newspapers are given little prominence in the vernacular press where the discussions are not recorded at any great length. The circulation of the vernacular press is comparatively small, the highest circulation of any vernacular paper being probably under 4,000. The number of people, therefore, to whom the proceedings of the Legislative Council filter through is relatively small.

(*iii*) Parties have formed themselves for the most part without particular reference to constituencies. The constituencies have accepted the parties so formed.

(*iv*) Electoral organisation in the constituencies as well as political programmes, party funds and machinery are at present in an inchoate state.

(*v*) The influence of the press on politics is small. On public opinion it appears to be increasing. The papers follow political groups, but, as pointed out above, the number of vernacular papers is relatively small, their circulation is small, and many of the papers have a very short life.

D.—Political Agitation and Parties outside the Reforms Scheme.

In Burma the Congress and Khilafat parties, as has frequently been pointed out, have little influence, in spite of the tendency of the Burman politician to imitate the cries and methods of Indian politicians. In dealing with the present political situation and the possibilities of the future a reference is necessary to the history of the non-co-operation movement in Burma. In 1921 the General Council of Burmese Associations dominated all Burmese political activity. Boycott in Burma was not an unknown form of exerting social pressure, and soon after the conviction of U Oktama for sedition in July 1921 the General Council of Burmese Associations resolved to institute a campaign of non-co-operation. The boycott specially towards the end of 1921 was directed against persons taking part in the reception of the Prince of Wales and in other directions and led to the introduction of the Anti-Boycott Bill in the Legislative Council in 1922. This excited much less opposition than might have been expected. In June 1922 the General Council of Burmese Associations resolved to take no part in the elections for the new District Councils and Circle Boards. This step resulted in the resignation of eight members of the Executive Council of the General Council of Burmese Associations including U Maung Gyee and U Pu, who became Ministers in 1923 and 1924, U Ba Pe, who became in 1923 Deputy President of the Legislative Council and Dr. Ba Yin, who became Minister of Education in 1926. The seceding party became the Moderate Party known as the "21" Party. The "21" Party who had attracted considerable support passed a resolution in favour of standing for election to the Council. The elections for the 1923 Council were held in the latter part of November 1922 and the Hlaing-Pu-Gyaw Party stood entirely aloof and in some areas conducted a boycott campaign. There was, however, no actual intimidation. The "21" Party numbered 28 out of the 79 elected members in the new Council. They became the official opposition and two of its members accepted office. The party thus became definitely pledged to a policy of co-operation and in this course it received the support of the great

majority of the *intelligentsia* of the country. The Hlaing-Pu-Gyaw Party counted on the support of the great majority of the village folk who were lured by a promise of the restoration of the Burmese dynasty and the abolition of taxes, and set themselves to organise non-co-operation in the villages and directed this largely against the authority of the Village Headman. A network of village *Wunthanu Athins* (nationalist societies) sprung up in a number of districts while the younger monks established local branches of the Sangha Sametgi. In 1923 "*Bu*" *Athins* ("*No*" Societies) began to spring up in Henzada and elsewhere, their object being definitely to refuse co-operation in any form with Government. These "*Bu*" *Athins* in August 1923 had to be declared unlawful under the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. Generally speaking the extremist party lost ground during 1923 but in June 1924 there began a movement in the Delta districts to refuse to pay taxes to Village Headmen and in that month the Anti-Boycott Act had to be extended to the Tavoy District. In July there was a recrudescence of boycotting and it was noted that everywhere the formation of societies was having the effect of introducing dissension and bitterness among the agricultural population. In August the All-Burma Union, an offshoot of the "8", a short-lived Party which emerged in April 1924, and the Hlaing-Pu-Gyaw Party held meetings in Mandalay. A procession of the latter party came into conflict with the police and out of the Mandalay *fracas* much capital was made by the younger and more excitable party of monks. In October 1924 U Oktama was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment for sedition. The movement for non-payment of taxes gradually ebbed and the non-co-operation movement lost much of its force. Sir Harcourt Butler satisfied himself personally in October 1924 that the opposition to the capitation tax was essentially political and in no sense economic. It was due largely to the monks who had been active in spreading rumours that Home Rule had dawned, that the existing Government was coming to an end, and that there would be a restoration of the Burmese Kingdom with a golden age in which taxes would cease to exist. Dissensions in the Hlaing-Pu-Gyaw Party continued in 1925 and the political situation was undoubtedly affected by the strong action taken by the Government which convinced the people that the British had no intention of leaving Burma. A movement led by U Chit Hlaing and U Pu (of Tharrawaddy) in favour of recognising Council entry at the general election to be held in November 1925 was arrested by the activities of the political monks and the Sangha Sametgi in 1925 established its control over the General Council of Burmese Associations. Soon after the last session of the Burma Legislative Council had ended in September 1925 interest began to centre in the elections to be held in the middle of November.

The results of the 1925 elections showed that the Nationalist party had become unpopular. The majority of the candidates chose to stand as Independents and the Swarajists actively opposed the Nationalists with the result that the Independents won 45 seats, the Nationalists 21 seats, and the Home Rulers and Swarajists 13 seats, the Principal Minister of the Nationalist Party being defeated by a large majority and the other Minister elected by a very narrow majority. The only Council Secretary appointed by the Nationalist Party was defeated by a very heavy majority when he sought to enter the Council and again at a bye-election in the same constituency. The position at the end of the first session of the Legislative Council in 1926, therefore was that there had been a considerable advance in the direction of co-operation by a section of the extremists.

(2) Mention has been made above of the activities of the "*Bu*" and other *Athins* and the action taken by Government under the Anti-Boycott Act. To illustrate this a list showing district by district the number of *athins* which have been proscribed and the number of prosecutions which have taken place under the Anti-Boycott Act is given as Appendix XI. The application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Anti-Boycott Act was the subject of 14 questions, shown in detail in Appendix XII, in the Legislative Council from 1923 to March 1926. Three resolutions also on the subject of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Anti-Boycott Act were moved in 1923 and 1925. The first of these resolutions was :—

> "That this Council recommends to the Government to cancel the notification extending the Criminal Law Amendment Act to Henzada and Tharrawaddy districts" ;

and was discussed on the 28th November 1923. In the course of the discussion the Hon'ble the Home Member (the late Sir Maung Kin) gave the English translation of the oath which was taken by the "*Bu*" *Athins* which is as follows :—

> "From to-day to the end of my life and so long as Home Rule is not attained, I will work for Home Rule heart and soul without flinching from duties even if my bones are crushed and my skin torn ; if I fail to work for Home Rule, may I die on land from the dangers of land, and on water from the dangers of water ; may I suffer in Hell permanently just as permanently as the stump of a tree sticking out of the ground ; I will not bid for fisheries or *tari* shops or *kazaw* shops ; I will not drink intoxicating liquor or take to opium ; I will not co-operate with Government ; if I co-operate with Government may I suffer in Hell permanently ; if a member of a *Bu Athin* is in trouble and requires my assistance I will help him, not avoiding the sun or rain, without wearing an umbrella or shoes ; I will not use the wearing apparel of foreign make ; I will not marry foreigners ; if a member of a *Bu Athin* does an act and so infringes the law, and Government asks about it, I shall say 'no.'

The motion was lost by the casting vote of the President, the voting being Ayes 37 and Noes 37.

The second resolution on this subject was—

> "That this Council recommends to the Government to cancel the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act"

and was discussed on the 23rd September 1925. The discussion was short and the motion was lost by 37 to 39 votes.

The third resolution on the subject was :—

> "That this Council recommends to the Government to take immediate steps to release forthwith all political prisoners and all prisoners convicted under the Anti-Boycott Act unconditionally."

The motion was discussed on the 25th September 1925 and was lost by 32 to 41 votes.

APPENDIX I.

The following statements show the subjects detailed in Schedule I of the Devolution Rules which have been allotted by His Excellency the Governor of Burma to the Hon'ble Members and Ministers.

In column 2 of the Statements.—"Part II" means Part II of the Statement in the Local Government's General Department Circular No. 24 of 1927.

List of Subjects in charge of the Hon'ble the Finance Member.

No. (1)	Subject. (2)
	Part I.—*Central Subjects.*
1	(*a*) Defence of India, and all matters connected with His Majesty's Naval, Military and Air Forces in India, or with His Majesty's Indian Marine Service or with any other force raised in India, other than military and armed police wholly maintained by the Local Government.
	(*b*) Naval and military works and cantonments.
2	External relations, including naturalisation and aliens, and pilgrimages beyond India.
3	Relations with States in India.
4	Political charges.
5	Communications to the extent described under the following heads, namely:—
	(*a*) (*i*) railways in so far as they are not classified as provincial subjects under Entry 6 (*i*) (*d*), Part II;
	(*ii*) extra-municipal tramways in so far as they are not classified as a provincial subject under Entry 6 (*i*) (*d*), Part II;
	(*c*) inland waterways, to an extent to be declared by rule made by the Governor-General in Council or by or under legislation by the Indian legislature.
6	Shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on inland waterways in so far as declared to be a central subject in accordance with Entry 5 (*c*).
7	Light-houses (including their approaches), beacons, lightships, and buoys.
8	Port quarantine and marine hospitals.
9	Ports declared to be major ports by rule made by the Governor-General in Council or by or under legislation by the Indian legislature.
10	(*b*) Telephones (including Wireless installations).
11	Customs, cotton, excise duties, income-tax, salt, and other sources of all India revenues.
12	Currency and coinage.
13	Public debt of India.
14	Savings Banks.
15	The Indian Audit Department and excluded Audit Departments, as defined in rules framed under section 96D(1), Government of India Act.
17	Commerce, including banking and insurance.
18	Trading companies and other associations.
19	Control of production, supply and distribution of any articles in respect of which control by a central authority is declared by rule made by the Governor-General in Council or by or under legislation by the Indian legislature to be essential in the public interest.

APPENDIX I—*cond.*

No.	Subject.
(1)	(2).
20	Development of industries, in cases where such development by a central authority is declared by order of the Governor-General in Council, made after consultation with the Local Government expedient in the public interest.
21	Control of cultivation and manufacture of opium, and sale of opium for export.
22	Stores and stationery, both imported and indigenous, required for Imperial Departments.
24	Geological survey.
25	Control of mineral development, in so far as such control is reserved to the Governor-General in Council under rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and regulation of mines.
34	Ecclesiastical administration, including European cemeteries.
35	Survey of India.
36	Archæology.
40	All-India Services which are employed in the Departments under his charge.
41	Legislation in regard to any provincial subject, in so far as such subject is in Part II stated to be subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, and any powers relating to such subject reserved by legislation to the Governor-General in Council.
43	Regulation of ceremonial, titles, orders, precedence, and civil uniform.
44	Immoveable property acquired by, and maintained at the cost of, the Governor-General in Council.
46	All matters expressly excepted by the provisions of Part II from inclusion among provincial subjects. (*i*) Matters arising under the Cantonment Act, 1910 (*vide* Entry 1, Part II). (*ii*) Ancient Monuments as defined in section 2 (1) of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, which are for the time being declared to be protected monuments under section 3 (1) of that Act, unless excluded by Notification in the *Gazette of India* [*vide* Entry 6 (*i*) (*a*), Part II].
	PART II.—*Provincial Subjects.*
6	(*i*) Administrative approval to the construction of buildings required for the use of departments under his charge. (*ii*) Residences of the Governor of the Province. (*iii*) Construction and maintenance of provincial buildings used or intended for any purpose in connection with the administration of departments under his charge.
7	(*i*) Irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and water power; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature with regard to matters of inter-provincial concern or affecting the relations of a province with any other territory.
8	Land Revenue Administration, as described under the following heads, namely:— (*a*) assessment and collection of land revenue; (*b*) maintenance of land records, survey for revenue purposes, records-of-rights; (*c*) laws regarding land tenures, relations of landlords and tenants, collection of rents; (*d*) * * * * * * * * (*e*) lands improvement and agricultural loans; (*f*) colonisation and disposal of Crown lands and alienation of land revenue; and (*g*) management of Government estates (includes the Rangoon Development Trust).
9	Famine relief.

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

No. (1)	Subject. (2)
15	Land acquisition ; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature.
20	Non-judicial stamps, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, and judicial stamps, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, as regards amount of court-fees levied in relation to suits and proceedings in the High Courts under their original jurisdiction.
24	Development of mineral resources which are Government property, subject to rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, but not including the regulation of mines.
27	Stores and stationery, subject in the case of imported stores and stationery, to such rules as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council.
30	Ports, except such ports as may be declared by rule made by the Governor-General in Council or by or under Indian legislation to be major ports.
31	(*i*) Inland waterways including shipping and navigation thereon so far as not declared by the Governor-General in Council to be central subjects, but subject as regards inland steam-vessels to legislation by the Indian Legislature and Provincial Marine. (*ii*) Inland waterways—maintenance and improvement.
36	Excluded areas— (*a*) Subjects which in non-excluded areas are dealt with by Finance Member.
41	Treasure trove.
43	Provincial Government Presses.
46	Local Fund Audit, that is to say, the audit by Government agency of income and expenditure controlled by local bodies.
47	Control, as defined by Devolution Rule 10,* of members of all-India and provincial services serving within the province ; and control, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, of public services within the province other than all-India services— (*i*) Burma Commission. (*iv*) Other Services— (*a*) Public Works Department ; Irrigation Branch. (*b*) Burma Land Records Service.
48	Sources of provincial revenue, not included under previous heads, but connected with subjects included in this list whether— (*a*) taxes included in the Schedules to the Scheduled Taxes Rules ; or (*b*) taxes not included in those Schedules, which are imposed by or under provincial legislation which has received the previous sanction of the Governor-General.
49	Borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province ; subject to the provisio of the Local Government (Borrowing) Rules.

* "10. The authority vested in the Local Government over officers of the public services employed in a Governor's Province shall be exercised in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with reserved subjects by the Governor in Council and in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with transferred subjects by the Governor acting with the Minister in charge of the department: provided that—

(*a*) no orders affecting emoluments or pensions, no order of formal censure, and no order on a memorial shall be passed to the disadvantage of an officer of an all-India or provincial service without the personal concurrence of the Governor; and

(*b*) no order for the posting of an officer of an all-India service shall be made without the personal concurrence of the Governor."

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

No.	Subject.
(1)	(2)
50	Imposition by legislation of punishments by fine, penalty, or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province relating to provincial subjects included in this list; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature in the case of any subject in respect of which such a limitation is imposed under these rules.
51	Any matter which, though falling within a central subject, is declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province— (ii) Provincial Statistics and Provincial Statistical Memoirs regarding subjects included in this list. (iii) Preservation and Translation of Ancient Manuscripts.
52	Matters pertaining to a central subject in respect of which powers have been conferred by or under any law upon a local Government.

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

LIST OF SUBJECTS IN CHARGE OF THE HON'BLE THE HOME MEMBER.

No.	Subject.
(1)	(2)
	PART I.—*Central Subjects.*
5	Communications to the extent described under the following heads, namely :—
	(*b*) aircraft and all matters connected therewith.
10	(*a*) Posts (and) telegraphs, including wireless installations.
16	Civil law, including laws regarding status, property, civil rights and liabilities, and civil procedure.
23	Control of petroleum and explosives.
26	Botanical survey.
27	Inventions and designs.
28	Copyright.
29	Emigration from, and immigration into, British India, and inter-provincial migration.
30	Criminal Law, including criminal procedure.
31	Central police organisation.
32	Control of arms and ammunition.
33	Central agencies and institutions for reaserch (including observatories), and for professional or technical training or promotion of special studies.
37	Zoological survey.
38	Meteorology.
39	Census and statistics.
40	All India Services—
	(i) Indian (Imperial) Police Service.
	(ii) Indian Medical Service (Jail Department).
41	Legislation in regard to any provincial subject, in so far as such subject is in Part II stated to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature, and any powers relating to such subject reserved by legislation to the Governor-General in Council.
42	Territorial changes, other than inter-provincial, and declaration of laws in connection therewith.
45	The Public Service Commission (Government of India Act, section 96C.)
46	All matters expressly excepted by the provisions of Part II from inclusion among provincial subjects—
	(iii) Regulation of Mines (*vide* Entry 24, Part II).
47	All other matters not included among provincial subjects under Part II.
	PART II.—*Provincial Subjects.*
5	Education; Provided that—
	(*a*) the following subjects shall be excluded, namely—
	(i) Such Universities constituted after the commencement of these rules as may be declared by the Governor-General in Council to be central subjects, and
	(ii) Chiefs' Colleges and any institutions maintained by the Governor-General in Council for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or of other public servants or of the children of such members or servants; and
	(*b*) the following subjects shall be subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, namely—
	(i) the control of the establishment and the regulation of the constitutions and functions of Universities constituted after the commencement of these rules, and
	(ii) the definition of the jurisdiction of any University outside the province in which it is situated.

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

No. (1)	Subject. (2)
6	(i) Public works (other than those falling under Entry 14 and residences of the Governor) included under the following heads, namely—
	* * * * * * * *
	(iii) Construction and maintenance of provincial buildings used or intended for any purpose in connection with the administration of departments dealing with Reserved Subjects.
17	Administration of justice, including constitution, powers, maintenance and organisation of courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction within the province; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature as regards the High Court, and courts of criminal jurisdiction.
18	Provincial law reports.
19	Administrators-General and Official Trustees; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature.
26	Industrial matters included under the following heads, namely— (*a*) factories; (*b*) settlement of labour disputes; (*c*) electricity; (*d*) boilers; (*e*) gas; (*f*) smoke nuisances; and (*g*) welfare of labour, including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health and accident), and housing; subject as to heads (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*) and (*g*) to legislation by the Indian legislature.
32	Police including railway police; subject in the case of railway police to such conditions as regards limits of jurisdiction and railway contributions to cost of maintenance as the Governor-General in Council may determine.
33	The following miscellaneous matters, namely— (*d*) control of poisons; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature; (*e*) control of motor vehicles; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature as regards licenses valid throughout British India.
34	Control of newspapers, books and printing presses; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature.
35	Coroners.
36	Excluded areas— (*b*) All other subjects.
37	Criminal tribes; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature.
38	European vagrancy; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature.
39	Prisons, prisoners (except State prisoners), and reformatories; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature.
44	Elections for Indian and provincial legislatures; subject to rules framed under sections 64 (1) and 72A (4), Government of India Act.
45	Regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature.

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

No.	Subject.
(1)	(2)
47	Control, as defined by Devolution Rule 10,* of members of all-India and provincial services serving within the province; and control, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, of public services within the province other than all-India services— (ii) Burma Civil Service. (iii) Burma Frontier Service. (v) Burma Police Service.
48	Sources of provincial revenue, not included under previous heads but connected with subjects included in this list whether— (*a*) taxes included in the Schedules to the Scheduled Taxes Rules; or (*b*) taxes not included in those Schedules, which are imposed by or under provincial legislation which has received the previous sanction of the Governor-General.
50	Imposition by legislation of punishments by fine, penalty or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province relating to any provincial subject included in this list; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature in the case of any subject in respect of which such a limitation is imposed under these rules.
51	Any matter which, though falling within a central subject, is declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province— (i) Provincial Gazetteers. (ii) Provincial Statistics and Provincial Statistical Memoir regarding subjects included in this list. (iv) Preparation, publication and distribution of the Provincial Code.
52	Matters pertaining to a central subject in respect of which powers have been conferred by or under any law upon a local Government.

* "10. The authority vested in the Local Government over officers of the public services employed in a Governor's Province shall be exercised in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with reserved subjects by the Governor in Council and in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with transferred subjects by the Governor acting with the Minister in charge of the department: provided that—

(*a*) no orders affecting emoluments or pensions, no order of formal censure, and no order on a memorial shall be passed to the disadvantage of an officer of an all-India or provincial service without the personal concurrence of the Governor; and

(*b*) no order for the posting of an officer of an all-India service shall be made without the personal concurrence of the Governor."

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

LIST OF SUBJECTS IN CHARGE OF THE HON'BLE THE FOREST MINISTER.

No.	Subject.
(1)	(2)
	PART II.—*Provincial Subjects.*
6	(i) Public works (other than those falling under Entry 14 and residences of the Governor) included under the following heads, namely :— (*a*) construction and maintenance of provincial buildings used or intended for any purpose in connection with the administration of departments dealing with Transferred Subjects and care of historical monuments, with the exception of ancient monuments as defined in section 2 (1) of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, which are for the time being declared to be protected monuments under section 3 (1) of that Act : provided that the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, remove any such monument from the operation of this exception ; N.B.—*Applications for Administrative Approval to the construction of buildings should be addressed to the Secretary in the Administrative Department concerned.* (*b*) roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, and causeways, and other means of communication, subject to such conditions as regards control over construction and maintenance of means of communication declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of military importance, and as regards incidence of special expenditure connected therewith, as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe ; (*c*) tramways within municipal areas ; and (*d*) light and feeder railways and extra-municipal tramways, in so far as provision for their construction and management is made by provincial legislation ; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature in the case of any such railway or tramway which is in physical connection with a main line or is built on the same gauge as an adjacent main line.
10	Agriculture, including research institutes, experimental and demonstration farms, introduction of improved methods, provision for agricultural education, protection against destructive insects and pests and prevention of plant diseases ; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature in respect to destructive insects and pests and plant diseases, to such extent as may be declared by any Act of the Indian legislature.
11	Civil Veterinary Department, including provision for veterinary training, improvement of stock, and prevention of animal diseases ; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature in respect to animal diseases to such extent as may be declared by any Act of the Indian legislature.
12	Fisheries.
13	Co-operative Societies.
14	Forests, including preservation of game and all buildings and works executed by the Forest Department ; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature as regards disforestation of reserved forests.
16	Excise, that is to say, the control of production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase, and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs, and the levying of excise duties and license fees on or in relation to such articles, but excluding, in the case of opium, control of cultivation, manufacture and sale for export (*vide* Entry 21, Part I).
25	Development of industries, including industrial research and technical education.
27	Stores and stationery, subject, in the case of imported stores and stationery, to such rules as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council.
	* * * * * * * *
	(ii) when required for transferred Departments.

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

No.	Subject.
(1)	(2)
33	The following miscellaneous matters, namely :— (*b*) prevention of cruelty to animals ; (*c*) protection of wild birds and animals.
40	Pounds and prevention of cattle trespass.
42	Zoological Gardens.
47	Control, as defined by Devolution Rule 10,* of members of all-India and provincial services serving within the province ; and control, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, of public services within the province other than all-India services. PART I.—All-India Services— (*a*) Imperial Forest Service. (*b*) Indian Forest Engineering Service. (*c*) Indian Agricultural Service. (*d*) Indian Veterinary Service. (*e*) Indian Engineering Service, Buildings and Roads. PART II.—Provincial Services— (*a*) Burma Forest Service. (*b*) Burma Excise Service. (*c*) Burma Agricultural Service. (*d*) Burma Verterinary Service. (*e*) Burma Engineering Service. PART III.—Subordinate Services— (*a*) Subordinate Forest Service. (*b*) Subordinate Excise Service. (*c*) Subordinate Agricultural Service. (*d*) Subordinate Veterinary Service. (*e*) Subordinate Engineering Service.
48	Sources of provincial revenue, not included under previous heads, but connected with subjects included in this list, whether— (*a*) taxes included in the Schedules to the Scheduled Taxes Rules ; or (*b*) taxes not included in those Schedules, which are imposed by or under provincial legislation which has received the previous sanction of the Governor-General.
50	Imposition by legislation of punishments by fine, penalty, or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province relating to any provincial subject included in this list ; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature in the case of any subject in respect of which such a limitation is imposed under the Devolution Rules.

* "10. The authority vested in the Local Government over officers of the public services employed in a Governor's Province shall be exercised in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with reserved subjects by the Governor in Council and in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with transferred subjects by the Governor acting with the Minister in charge of the department : provided that—

(*a*) no orders affecting emoluments or pensions, no order of formal censure, and no order on a memorial shall be passed to the disadvantage of an officer of an all-India or provincial service without the personal concurrence of the Governor ; and

(*b*) no order for the posting of an officer of an all-India service shall be made without the personal concurrence of the Governor."

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

No.	Subject.
(1))	(2)
51	Any matter which, though falling within a central subject, is declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province.
	* * * * * * * * * * * * *
	(ii) Provincial Statistics and Provincial Statistical memoirs regarding subjects included in this list.
	* * * * * * * * * * * * *
52	Matters pertaining to a central subject in respect of which powers have been conferred by or under any law upon a local Government.

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

LIST OF SUBJECTS IN CHARGE OF THE HON'BLE THE EDUCATION MINISTER.

No. (1)	Subject. (2)
	PART II.—*Provincial Subjects.*
1	Local self-government, that is to say, matters relating to the constitution and powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts (other than the Rangoon Development Trust), district boards, mining boards of health and other local authorities established in a province for the purpose of local self-government, exclusive of matters arising under the Cantonments Act, 1910; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature as regards— (*a*) the powers of such authorities to borrow otherwise than from a provincial government, and (*b*) the levying by such authorities of taxation not included in Schedule II to the Scheduled Taxes Rules.
2	Medical administration, including hospitals, dispensaries, and asylums, and provision for medical education.
3	Public health and sanitation and vital statistics; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature in respect to infectious and contagious diseases to such extent as may be declared by any Act of the Indian legislature.
4	Pilgrimages within British India.
5	Education (except technical education and reformatory schools): provided that— (*a*) the following subjects shall be excluded, namely:— (i) Such Universities constituted after the commencement of these rules as may be declared by the Governor-General in Council to be central subjects, and (ii) Chiefs' Colleges and any institution maintained by the Governor-General in Council for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or of other public servants or of the children of such members or servants; and (*b*) the following subjects shall be subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, namely:— (i) the control of the establishment and the regulation of the constitutions and functions of Universities constituted after the commencement of these rules, and (ii) the definition of the jurisdiction of any University outside the province in which it is situated. N.B.—*Applications for Administrative Approval to the construction of buildings should be addressed to the Secretary in the Administrative Department concerned.*
6	(i) Public works (other than those falling under Entry 14 and residences of the Governor) included under the following heads, namely:— (*a*) construction and maintenance of provincial buildings used or intended for any purpose in connection with the administration of departments under the charge of Hon'ble Minister for Education; (*b*) roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, and causeways, and other means of communication, subject to such conditions as regards control over construction and maintenance of means of communication declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of military importance, and as regards incidence of special expenditure connected therewith, as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe;
7	(ii) Water-supplies (for towns and projects for Sanitary Works).
21	Registration of deeds and documents; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature.

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

No.	Subject.
(1)	(2)
22	Registration of births, deaths and marriages ; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature for such classes as the Indian legislature may determine.
23	Religious and charitable endowments.
28	Adulteration of foodstuffs and other articles ; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature as regards import and export trade.
29	Weights and measures ; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature as regards standards.
33	The following miscellaneous matters, namely :— (*a*) regulation of betting and gambling ; (*f*) control of dramatic performances and cinematographs, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature in regard to sanction of films for exhibition.
42	(i) Libraries and Museums.
47	Control, as defined by Devolution Rule 10*, of members of all-India and provincial services serving within the province ; and control, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, of public services within the province other than all-India services. PART I.—All-India Services— (*a*) Indian Medical Service (except Jail Department). (*b*) Indian Educational Service. PART II.—Provincial Services— (*a*) Civil Assistant Surgeons. (*b*) Burma Educational Service. PART III.—Subordinate Services— (*a*) Subordinate Medical Service. (*b*) Subordinate Educational Service.
48	Sources of provincial revenue, not included under previous heads but connected with subjects included in this list whether— (*a*) taxes included in the Schedules to the Scheduled Taxes Rules ; or (*b*) taxes not included in those Schedules, which are imposed by or under provincial legislation which has received the previous sanction of the Governor-General.

* "10. The authority vested in the Local Government over officers of the public services employed in a Governor's province shall be exercised in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with reserved subjects by the Governor in Council and in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with transferred subjects by the Governor acting with the Minister in charge of the department : provided that—

(*a*) no orders affecting emoluments, or pensions, no order of formal censure, and no order on a memorial shall be passed to the disadvantage of an officer of an all-India or provincial service without the personal concurrence of the Governor ; and

(*b*) no order for the posting of an officer of an all-India service shall be made without the personal concurrence of the Governor."

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

No.	Subject.
(1)	(2)
50	Imposition by legislation of punishments by fine, penalty, or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province relating to any provincial subject included in this list; subject to legislation by the Indian legislature in the case of any subject in respect of which such a limitation is imposed under these rules.
51	Any matter which, though falling within a central subject, is declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province— (ii) Provincial Statistics and Provincial Statistical Memoirs regarding subjects included in this list.
52	Matters pertaining to a central subject in respect of which powers have been conferred by or under any law upon a local Government.

APPEN

STANDING

Serial No.	Name of Committee.	Date of Constitution.	Orders constituting the Committee.
1	2	3	4
1	Finance Committee	17-4-23	Finance Department Notification No. 23, dated the 17th April 1923.
2	Committee on Public Accounts ..	15-6-23	Rule 33, Burma Legislative Council Rules, Finance Department Notification No. 39, dated the 15th June 1923.

DIX II.

COMMITTEES.

Revised orders, if any.	Action taken in pursuance of recommendations made.	Remarks.
5	6	7
Appendix D, Burma Budget Manual, Volume II.	For proposals not accepted, please see post.	
Appendix E, Burma Budget Manual, Volume II, Burma Legislative Standing orders Nos. 26— and 81A.	All proposals accepted.	

Name of Committee.	Date of Constitution.	Whether formed in pursuance of a Resolution in the Legislative Council or a promise by a member of Government.	Number of members.
1	2	3	4
3. Communications Board ..	17-12-23	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	23
Sub-Committees.			
Roads Committee	..	Do.	12
Water-ways Committee ..	..	Do.	12
4. Buildings Committee ..	21-8-24	Do.	12

DIX II—*contd.*

Officials.		Non-Officials.		Date of Report.	Action taken.
M.L.Cs.	Non-M.L.Cs.	M.L.Cs.	Non-M.L.Cs.		
5	6	7	8	9	10
2	..	21	..	7th February 1924.	The Board and its Committee were constituted in November 1923 to assist Government in shaping its policy for the development of communications and to scrutinise or initiate projects in pursuance of that policy and to determine the order of priority in construction of projects which it has approved. The Board also controls the provision voted by the Legislative Council for expenditure on communications and is responsible for the preparation of the annual Communications Budget.
2	..	10	..	First meeting 10-1-24.	
1	..	11	..	Do.	
2	1	9	..	The first meeting was held on the 20th November 1924 and since then 16 meetings have been held, the last being on the 8th April 1927.	The Committee which was constituted in August 1924, originally approved of building projects costing Rs. 20,000 or over but under the latest resolution issued in Burma Public Works Department memorandum No. 1625—690-Wks., dated the 21st March 1927, building projects costing over Rs. 10,000 are submitted to it for approval. The Committee also gives it approval to the list of new works proposed for inclusion in the following year's Provincial Budget.

Serial No.	Name of Committee.	Date of Constitution.	Orders constituting the Committee.
1	2	3	4
5	Local Government Advisory Board.	23-8-24	Local Government Department Resolution No. 300U24, dated the 23rd August 1924.
6	Public Health Board of the Burma Legislative Council.	27-8-24	Department of Public Health circular No. 32 of 1924, dated the 27th August 1924.
7	Education Advisory Board ..	2-3-26	Education Department Resolution No. 131Q26, dated the 2nd March 1926.

DIX II—*contd.*

Revised orders, if any.	Action taken in pursuance of recommendations made.	Remarks.
5	6	7
..	Proposals generally accepted.	
..	The Board makes no recommendations but approves of the payment of grants to Local Bodies for Public Health Schemes.	
..	..	

APPEN

LIST OF PROPOSALS TO WHICH THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN EFFECT

N. B.—This statement does not include cases which were disapproved by the Finance meeting or by any other Standing Committee of the Legislative Council within whose

Number and date of Meeting. (1)	Department and Item. (2)	Nature of proposal and expenditure involved. (3)
Sixth Meeting, 19th October 1923.	Home and Political Department; Item (3).	Construction of a ward for eight female prisoners and additions and alterations to the Jail Buildings, Magwe, at an estimated cost of Rs. 20,181, and provision of funds in the Budget Estimate for 1924-25.
Twenty-seventh Meeting, 4th June 1925.	Home and Political Department; Item (4).	Entertainment of staff for the Labour Statistical Bureau for Burma at a total cost of Rs. 30,221-6-0 *per annum*, the actual cost in 1925-26 being estimated at Rs. 14,000.

DIX III.

OTHERWISE THAN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ADVICE OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Committee at one meeting, but approved by the Finance Committee at a subsequent purview they fell.

Recommendations of the Committee. (4)	Action taken by the Local Government. (5)	Reasons for the action taken by the Local Government. (6)
The Committee considered that the proposal should be revised on the assumption that no female prisoners would in future be kept in the Magwe Jail.	The Local Government sanctioned the project at a revised estimated cost of Rs. 19,332.	(1) The undesirability of sending casual female prisoners from Magwe to Thayetmyo Jail which is reserved for habitual female prisoners. (2) The indefinite postponement on account of financial stringency of the project to construct a new female jail at Toungoo.
The Committee by a majority advised that the appointment of a Labour Officer would produce no useful results and that the scheme should not be proceeded with.	The Local Government for the reasons set out in the next column decided to give effect to the scheme.	(1) That the Government might have information regarding wages and conditions of labour to enable it to facilitate agreement between employers and labourers without recourse to strikes and lock-outs. (2) That both the Government and the public might be in a position to appreciate the merits of labour disputes. (3) That Government might be in a position to meet the requests of the League of Nations International Labour Office for Labour Statistics. *Note.*—The Finance Committee subsequently approved the continuance of the Bureau during 1926-27 at a cost of Rs. 69,584 at its Thirty-second Meeting on the 29th September 1925.

Number and date of Meeting.	Department and Item.	Nature of proposal and expenditure involved.
(1)	(2)	(3)
Thirty-third Meeting, 23rd December 1925.	Department of Agriculture, Excise and Forests; Item (2).	Creation of a temporary appointment of Director of Works, Buildings, for a period of two years on the pay of a Chief Engineer and eligible for the special pension, involving an increased expenditure of Rs. 5,400 in the first year and Rs. 6,900 in the second year, the appointment of a Deputy Chief Engineer for Buildings being abolished from the same date.
Thirty-fourth Meeting, 29th December 1925.	Department of Education, Local Government and Public Health; Item (4).	Reconsideration of the proposal to increase the cadre of the Burma Educational Service Selection grade by one appointment to provide for the post of Secretary, Educational Boards, with effect from the 1st March 1926, at an average cost of Rs. 9,000 *per annum*.
Thirty-fourth Meeting, 29th December 1925.	Home and Political Department; Item (1).	Entertainment of a temporary additional Police Force for a period of fifteen months with effect from the 1st January 1926 to deal with extraordinary outbreaks of crime in the province, involving an expenditure of Rs. 84,170 *per annum*.
Forty-first Meeting, 7th July 1926.	Department of Education, Local Government and Public Health, Item (4).	Proposal to make grants to Night Schools in Rangoon on a *per capita* basis at an estimated cost of Rs. 5,650.

DIX III—*contd.*

Recommendations of the Committee. (4)	Action taken by the Local Government. (5)	Reasons for the action taken by the Local Government. (6)
Two members of the Committee were prepared to accept the proposal as it stood. Six members considered the appointment unnecessary and the rest concurred in a suggestion that the appointment should be approved on the understanding that the work of the officer selected should be restricted to Rangoon and its neighbourhood.	The Local Government sanctioned the appointment of a temporary Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government for two years from the 1st February 1926.	Owing to the expansion of construction due to the demands of all departments for additional buildings and to the urgent necessity, for increasing and improving the road communications of the Province, it was not possible for a single officer to give adequate attention to the details of the numerous projects involved and to exercise sufficient financial control in order to secure the execution of the required works with due expedition and economy.
The Committee by a majority considered that the post need not be made permanent and suggested that the proposal should be brought up again a year hence.	The Local Government decided to sanction the post on a permanent footing.	Since the dissolution of the Burma Educational Syndicate, experience had proved that a permanent officer to undertake the duties formerly performed by the Registrar of the Syndicate in connection with public examinations was an absolute necessity.
Six members of the Committee disapproved the proposal: five were in favour.	The proposal was given effect to for the reason set out in the next column.	In view of the abnormal increase in crime the temporary increase in strength was necessary for the maintenance of law and order.
The Committee approved the expenditure but considered that the basis of help should be other than *per capita*.	The Local Government did not accept the Committee's recommendation for the reasons set out in the next column.	The Committee's recommendations were not accepted because in the Local Government's opinion, any distribution other than *per capita*, was not feasible.

Number and date of Meeting.	Department and Item.	Nature of proposal and expenditure involved.
(1)	(2)	(3)
Forty-fifth Meeting, 7th November 1926.	Department of Education, Local Government and Public Health, Item (4).	Proposal to increase the amount of contribution payable under the Hospital, Finance Scheme to the Mandalay Hospital Committee during 1926-1927 and 1927-28 by Rs. 36,671.
Fifty-second Meeting, 6th April 1927.	Finance and Revenue Department, Item (9).	Proposal to give a contribution of Rs. 12,000 towards the cost (Rs. 23,962) of closing the breach in the village bund near Thabyechaung along the left bank of the Irrawaddy River in the Ma-ubin District.

DIX III—*contd.*

Recommendation of the Committee. (4)	Action taken by the Local Government. (5)	Reasons for the action taken by the Local Government. (6)
The Committee considered that no relief in any form should be granted from Provincial Funds to the Mandalay Municipal Fund until the Municipal administration in Mandalay has been thoroughly overhauled.	The porposal was given effect to for the reasons set out in the next column.	The Committee's view was not accepted because its acceptance would have involved the closing down of the Mandalay Hospital and would not have effected the Mandalay Municipal Committee.
The Committee considered that the whole cost of the scheme should be borne by Government on the distinct understanding that Government did not thereby commit itself to take over the future maintenance of the work or of the embankment.	The Committee's recommendation was not accepted fully for the reasons set in the next column.	As the villagers had offered to contribute Rs. 6,000 towards the cost of the work, the Local Government agreed to contribute the balance (Rs. 17,962).

Name of Committee.	Date of constitution.	Whether formed in pursuance of a Resolution in the Legislative Council or a promise by a member of Government.	No. of members.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Burma Retrenchment Committee	16-3-23	Formed in pursuance of a Resolution in the Council.	9
Crime Enquiry Committee ..	8-5-23	Formed in pursuance of a Resolution in the Council.	7
Vernacular Education Committee	20-12-23	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers. *N. B.*—A Resolution was proposed but withdrawn.	20
Industrial Finance Committee ..	1-2-24	Formed in pursuance of a Resolution in the Council.	8
Committee on the question of opening an Intermediate College in Upper Burma.	17-6-24	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	10
Committee on Secondary and Intermediate Education.	5-8-24	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	10
University Buildings Committee	29-8-24	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	15
Forest Committee	11-9-24	Formed in view of the fact that U Pu, the Leader of the Nationalist Party, gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the organization of the Forest Department and the Forest Minister had agreed to the necessity of such a Committee.	9

DIX IV.

COMMITTEES.

Officials.		Non-officials.		Date of Report.	Action taken.
M.L.Cs. (5)	Non-M.L.Cs. (6)	M.L.Cs. (7)	Non-M.L.Cs. (8)	(9)	(10)
1	3	5	..	13-11-23	A statement regarding action taken on recommendations is attached as Appendix V.
..	2	5	..	26-9-23	The recommendations of this Committee have been generally accepted by the Local Government.
1	2	5	12	23-6-24	The Report contained 61 recommendations and Government has come to a decision on 22 of them and given effect to some. Among the recommendations accepted and given effect to is the main one, *viz.*, improvement in the emoluments of teachers.
1	..	4	3	21-5-24	The Local Government accepted the recommendations of the Committee that, although those connected directly or indirectly with agriculture would probably have first claim on financial aid from Government, other selected industries might suitably be supported if a reasonable scheme for their development were put forward.
4	1	4	1	24-7-24	The main recommendations of the Committee, *i.e.*, as regards location and management were accepted and the Intermediate College, Mandalay, was opened in 1925 under the management of the University of Rangoon.
2	4	2	2	June 1926	The main recommendation was that "the prime need of the Educational System of Burma is an efficient institution for the training of teachers of all kinds coupled with an increase of pay." Government has accepted the first part of the recommendation and has the second part under consideration.
4	2	6	3	7-5-25	Government accept the main recommendation that a University Building Trust should be constituted and most of the subsidiary recommendations. Effect was given by passing into law Burma Act VII of 1925 to which the Governor-General's assent was communicated in Government of India Legislative Department letter no. 141—25-G., dated the 7th April 1925.
1	1	5	2	1-12-25	The Government of Burma (Ministry of Forests) found itself in substantial agreement with the greater number of recommendations contained in the Report.

Name of Committee.	Date of constitution.	Whether formed in pursuance of a Resolution in the Legislative Council or a promise by a member of Government.	No. of members.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Floods Enquiry Committee ..	21-11-24	Formed in pursuance of a Resolution in the Council.	3
Burma Public Works (Building and Roads) Enquiry Committee, 1925.	17-4-25	Formed in pursuance of an undertaking given in the Burma Legislative Council on the 22nd March 1924 when the Budget grant for 41—Civil Works for the year 1924-25 was voted.	6
Land Mortgage Banks ..	29-9-25	Formed in pursuance of a Resolution in the Council.	8
Capitation and *Thathamada* Enquiry Committee.	18-5-26	Formed in pursuance of Resolutions in the Council.	8
Interruption of Communications Enquiry Committee.	10-9-26	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	8
Play Grounds Committee ..	30-9-26	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	8
Committee on the Extension of Scoutcraft and Physical Training.	18-12-26	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	8
Technical and Vocational Education Committee.	1-4-27	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	14
Land Revenue Bill Committee ..	18-4-27	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	9
Committee on Classical Burmese	27-5-27	Formed by His Excellency the Governor in Council acting with his Ministers.	10

DIX IV—*contd.*

Officials.		Non-Officials.		Date of Report.	Action taken.
M.L.Cs. (5)	Non-M.L.Cs. (6)	M.L.Cs. (7)	Non-M.L.Cs. (8)	(9)	(10)
..	1	2	..	13-5-27	Under consideration. Co-opted. 10 Non-official M. L. Cs. 1 Non-official non-M.L.C.
2	1	2	1	4-5-26	The Government of Burma found itself in substantial agreement with the greater number of the recommendations contained in the Report.
2	2	2	2	17-5-26	The Committee was appointed in September 1925 to study the proposals for a Land Mortgage System which Mr. S. G. Grantham, I.C.S., Special Officer, Land Mortgage Banks, embodied in a draft bill. A revised bill was submitted by the Committee on the 17th May 1926. On the 9th September 1926, the Local Government directed that the draft bill should be further examined by Mr. Grantham and then sent to the Government Advocate for examination. The examination by the Government Advocate is now over and steps are being taken to obtain the sanction of the Governor-General to introduce the Bill in the Council.
1	..	7	..	1-4-27	Under consideration.
2	4	1	1	21-12-26	The Government of India have been addressed regarding an increase to the Irrigation Department. The Chief Engineer, Irrigation and Railway officials are going into the question of building for the main railway line and the river training works are being attended to.
1	3	1	3	Not reported yet.	
..	2	..	6	Not reported yet.	
1	3	1	9	Not reported yet.	
..	4	5	..	23-5-27	Under consideration.
1	3	..	6	Not reported yet.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COMMITTEE

Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposal.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				5.—*Land Revenue.*
1	3	II	2	Complete introduction of Revenue Committee's proposals for reform in the Settlement and Land Records Departments should be expedited.
				6.—*Excise, Opium and Salt.*
2	6	III	2	Number of Inspectors employed in charge of Opium Shops should be reduced.
3	7	*ib.*	3	Abolition of special clothing for Excise peons ..
4	7	*ib.*	4	Increase of Excise staff necessary for effectual prosecution of present Excise and Opium Policy.
5	7	*ib.*	5	Cost of Excise Commissioner and his office should be included in the demand for contribution from Central to expenditure on the Salt Administration.
				7.—*Stamps.*
6	9	IV	1	Possibility of increasing Stamp duties should be examined by Finance Department should increased taxation be required.
				8.—*Forests.*
7	10	V	1	Fixed day should be appointed once or twice a month on which Chief Conservator of Forests may meet Minister to discuss pending cases and general policy.
8	10	*ib.*	1	Amalgamation of Conservators' Offices with Chief Conservator of Forests' Office and creation of two Central Offices at Rangoon and Maymyo.
9	10	*ib.*	1	Possibility of reducing number of Conservators should be considered when department has returned to normal condition.
10	10	*ib.*	1	Possibility of appointing increased number of Burma Forest Service Officers to Divisional charges should be further investigated.

DIX V.

AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON.

Decision of Local Government.	Remarks.
Effect has or is being given to such of the Revenue Committee's proposals as the Local Government has decided to adopt.	
Accepted. Inspectors are being gradually replaced by Deputy Inspectors, as vacancies occur in the cadre of the former. Accepted. Effect has been given to the proposal. Accepted. Effect is being given to this proposal gradually. Increase of staff for some districts has already been sanctioned. Proposals regarding some other districts are under consideration. Accepted. The Government of India have sanctioned an increased contribution on this account.	
Draft Bill has been prepared for discussion. Kept pending till it is decided whether legislation should be proceeded with. No action can or should be taken on this subject till the Government of India have decided whether non-judicial stamps are to be made a central subject either wholly or in part.	
Unnecessary, as Chief Conservator of Forests meets Minister whenever he wants.	
The concenfration of Conservators' offices, both in Rangoon and Maymyo, has been carried out. The amalgamation of Conservator's offices was tried as an experimental measure at Maymyo. It proved a failure and was subsequently abandoned. The Forest Enquiry Committee, 1925, considered this proposal and recommended a review of the position with regard to the possibility of reducing the number of territorial Conservators. The Local Government in June 1926 decided that the position should be re-examined three years hence, if this had not already been done in the ordinary course of things.	
Officers of the Burma Forest Service are being appointed to Divisional charges as occasions arise, due regard being paid to their seniority and fitness.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM-

Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposals.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				8.—*Forests*—contd.
11	10	V.	1	Cadre of Forest Engineers should be re-examined and no further recruitment made without further justification.
12	11	*ib.*	2	Question of extent to which Government should trade in timber should be examined.
13	12	*ib.*	3	The accounts of departmental trading should be maintained on strictly commercial lines.
14	13	*ib.*	4	Principle of fixed allotment for Forest Expenditure, capable of expansion in favourable years should be introduced.
15	13	*ib.*	4	Increased supervision over Forest subordinates is required to prevent leakage of revenue.
16	14	*ib.*	6	Preliminary discussion between Forest Department, Civil Officers and representatives of General Public should be initiated to consider best method of providing fuel at reasonable cost to the public with a view to the final examination of the question by a small committee.
				9.—*Registration.*
17	15	VI	1	Effect should be given to the proposal to adopt the Bombay system of photographing documents.
				14, 15 and 16.—*Irrigation.*
18	16	VII	1	Experienced Chartered Accountant should be employed to construct system of Commercial Accounts for Irrigation Department.
19	16	VII	1	Possibility of simplifying present system of Audit, should be examined.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of Local Government.	Remarks.
No further appointments are being made. The Forest Enquiry Committee, 1925, recommended that should additional Forest Engineers be ever necessary in future, they should be recruited on a temporary basis. The Local Government decided that this question should be considered when the necessity arises. Shipment of timber to England has been stopped. Departmental extraction of teak is confined now to the Myatmaka Division, operations in the Katha Division having been closed down this year. Departmental extraction of hardwoods is confined to special timber on a small scale for experimental purposes for export where such cannot be obtained conveniently from local traders. Departmental extraction of firewood will not be undertaken except in cases of extreme urgency. Accepted. A system of *pro forma* commercial accounts has been introduced and is being maintained side by side with the Government accounts. The proposal is incompatible with the present system under which the Legislative Council votes the allotment.	
Supervision is being steadily increased as the increases to the Indian Forest Service and the Burma Forest Service cadres sanctioned in 1920 are made and trained officers become available. The Local Government has accepted the view that no further action is possible unless and until the initiative comes from the people themselves and steps have been taken to enlist the sympathy of the people in the matter.	
The proposal has been abandoned.	
Not accepted. In paragraph 36 of his report, Mr. Kaula, an expert in Public Works Accounts, states that the ordinary system as now existing is simple and suitable for the general work of the Department.	
Accepted. A report on the subject by Mr. Kaula is still under the consideration of Government.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM-

Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposals.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				14, 15, 15.—*Irrigation*—con'd.
20	16	VII	2	Expenditure on non-productive Irrigation Works should be calculated and annual cost of their maintenance shown separately in the Budget.
21	16	*ib.*	2	Productive works should be shown together in accounts whether Capital Accounts are maintained for them or not.
22	16	*ib.*	2	Separate accounts be kept for all works or groups of works whether Capital Accounts have hitherto been maintained or not.
23	17	*ib.*	3	Small Committee of Local Officers of Irrigation and Land Records Departments should be appointed to prepare for trial in one major canal tract a scheme for amalgamating the present separate staff of Canal and Land Records Surveyors and Inspectors.
24	18	*ib.*	5	Offices of Superintending Engineers should be amalgamated with that of the Chief Engineer.
25	18	*ib.*	5	Compilation of Divisional Accounts should be centralised in Mandalay and Rangoon.
				22A.—*General Administration.*
26	20	VIII	1	Effect should be given to the detailed proposals contained in a summary forwarded to the Chief Secretary of economies suggested for Commissioners' and Deputy Commissioners' Offices.
27	21	*ib.*	3	Reduction in number of Divisions should be effected by delegating some of Commissioners' powers and duties to Deputy Commissioners.
28	22	VIII	5	Model bye-laws for Municipalities and District Councils should be prepared by some centralised agency and not by Commissioners.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of local Government.	Remarks.
Accepted. Arrangements have been made to give effect to these proposals.	
Ditto.	
Ditto.	
Accepted. The amalgamation scheme has been introduced in the following Public Works Department Divisions: Shwebo Canal, Ye-lu Canal, Môn Canals, Kyaukse Irrigation, Mandalay Canal.	
Effect has been given to— (*i*) the amalgamation, combined with the reduction of the clerical establishment, of the offices of the Superintending Engineers, Northern and Southern Irrigation Circles in Maymyo ; and (*ii*) a reduction in the office establishment of the Superintending Engineers, Delta Circle, in Rangoon ; and (*iii*) the amalgamation with the Chief Engineer's office.	
This proposal is not specially examined in Mr. Kaula's report, in which it has been stated that the existing system under which accounts are prepared in the Divisional Office is advantageous. The proposal is not likely to lead to any retrenchment.	
A saving of about Rs. 33,000 per annum has already been effected.	
Such delegations as are possible have been effected ; but the result is infinitesimal. The possibility of reducing the number of Divisions has been examined, and it has been decided not to reduce the number. Accepted.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM-

Serial No.	Reference to Report. Page.	Chap.	Para.	Summary of Proposal.
				22.—*General Admenistratian*—contd.
29	23	VIII	6	Possibility of reducing number of Subdivisional Officers by various methods should be examined periodically.
30	24	*ib.*	7	Posts of Treasury Officer in charge of second and third class treasuries should be transferred from Provincial to Subordinate Civil Service.
31	24	*ib.*	7	Question of recruitment for Burma and Subordinate Civil Service should be examined with a view to proper classification of posts to be filled and revision of present methods of rectruitment. Selection followed by competitive examination suggested as best method for ordinary direct recruitment.
				B.—*Legislative Council.*
32	24	VIII	8	Post of Assistant Secretary, Legislative Council, should be abolished.
33	26	..	12	Secretariat Procedure should be examined by a capable business man, imported, if necessary, from England.
34	26	*ib.*	13	Capacity to act as Under Secretary should be an essential qualification in all future appointments of Secretariat Registrars.
35	27	*ib.*	14	Effect should, where possible, be given to reductions of Secretariat establishments proposed by the Hon'ble Finance Member.
36	27	*ib.*	15	Policy of appointing Heads of Departments to be Secretaries to Government should be continued only if experiment in case of Director of Public Instruction proves successful.
37	28	*ib.*	16	An additional Deputy Secretary should be appointed in the Finance Department while Budget is under preparation.
38	28	*ib.*	16	Delegations under Devolution Rule 28 should be made to utmost extent consistent with efficiency.
39	28	*ib.*	16	Rule requiring formal sanction of Legislative Council to transfers from one major head to another to enable work to be carried out by the agency of another department should be abolished.
40	28	*ib.*	16	Funds for Public Works required by a department should be shown in the Budget statement of that department though not voted therein.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of local Government.	Remarks.
The proposal has been abandoned.	
Ditto.	
The principle of recruitment by competitive examination has been accepted.	
The post has been revived.	
Not accepted, on grounds of economy.	
Accepted.	
Reductions have been effected.	
Accepted. Experiment proved unsuccessful and has been discontinued.	
Accepted.	
The matter is under consideration.	
Except in cases where two or more major heads are included within a single grant (when the Finance Department can sanction such transfers) the proposal is incompatible with Devolution Rule 38 (1). The classification in the Public Account has closer reference to the department in which the expenditure occurs than to the object of the expenditure. Details of each major work are now given in each part of the Budget in charge of a Hon'ble Member or Minister in accordance with the new scheme of budgetting for Public Works.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM-

Serial no.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposal.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				B.—*Legislative Council*—contd.
41	28	VIII	16	Provision should be made in Budget for a reserve fund sufficient to cover all definitely known requirements of the expiring Budget.
42	29	*ib.*	17	The Maymyo exodus should be restricted to two months in the hot weather.
				D.—*The Financial and Development Commissioners.*
43	30	VIII	19	Development Commissioner should be retained and a title of Financial Commissioner (Development) substituted.
44	31	*ib.*	20	Development Commissioner should submit cases direct to the Hon'ble Finance Member.
				E.—*Local Audit Department.*
45	32	VIII	23	Complete overhaul of system of local fund audit ..
				24-A.—*Administration of Justice.*
46	33	IX	1	Candidates for Burma and Subordinate Judicial Services should be chosen by a Selection Board and placed on results of subsequent competitive examination.
47	33	*ib.*	2	Government of India should be asked to cancel executive orders restricting powers of District Magistrate, Rangoon, to enable him to try all cases triable by District Magistrates outside Rangoon, and thereby save half time of one Judge of the High Court.
				B.—*Law Officers.*
48	34	IX	4	Possibility of reducing cost of Law Officers should be considered when existing contracts expire.
				25.—*Jails.*
49	36	X	5	Experiment should be made with a jail system which would be a real deterrent to the prisoner.
50	37	*ib.*	6	Government quarries should be used to provide a regime of real hard labour for the worst classes of criminals.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of local Government.	Remarks.
The object of this recommendation is met by the resolution adopted by the Legislative Council on the 31st August 1926 authorising expenditure up to the technical sanction of each major work as revised from time to time by the sanction of competent authority. Not accepted ; the establishments accompanying Secretaries have been reduced to Stenographers and one clerk while Under Secretaries are ordinarily restricted to six weeks in Maymyo.	
The appointment of Development Commissioner has been sanctioned as a permanent measure. The Development Commissioner is now known as Financial Commissioner (Transferred). This practice is no longer in force consequent on the creation of the appointment of Secretary, Revenue Department, with effect from the 1st May 1927.	
Local Fund Audit has recently been taken over by the local Government in the Finance Department and it has been decided to wait until the new arrangements have settled down before considering the possibilities of revising the system.	
Accepted.	
Government of India who were addressed, did not agree to the total removal of the restriction but modified their executive orders and permitted the District Magistrate, Rangoon, to pass sentences of imprisonment exceeding four years in cases under Chapters XII and XVII of the Indian Penal Code.	
Will be borne in mind.	
The proposal is incompatible with the recommendations of the Indian Jails Committee. A camp jail at Alon, Upper Chindwin District, has been constructed and one at Mokpalin is under construction.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM-

Serial no.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposal.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				25.—*Jails*—contd.
51	37	X	8	Paddy required for jail consumption during financial year should be purchased in February or March of previous financial year.
52	37	*ib.*	8	Area cultivated by jails should be increased to provide more food stuffs.
				26.—*Police. A—Civil Police.*
53	38	XI	2	Suggestion that detailed travelling allowance and contingent bills should be translated in the Accountant-General's office should be further examined.
54	38	*ib.*	2	Three Deputy Inspectors-General of Police should be retained till reorganization is completed.
55	38	*ib.*	2	District Superintendent of Police's work in light districts should be undertaken by Assistant Superintendent of Police or Deputy Superintendent.
56	40	*ib.*	4	District and Subdivisional Officers' orderlies should be abolished.
57	41	*ib.*	5	Small Committee of three officials should conduct an exhaustive examination into the working of the Police and make recommendations for its reorganization.
				B.—*Rangoon City Police.*
58	42	XI	6	Pay of constables must shortly be increased to Rs. 25—35.
59	42	*ib.*	7	Possibility of obtaining recruits for sub-inspectorships from Upper Burma schools should be examined.
60	43	*ib.*	9	Rangoon Corporation should contribute to the cost of supervision of Hackney Carriage Department by the Assistant Commissioner and Commissioner of Police.
61	43	*ib.*	9	Rangoon Corporation should meet a share of cost of the Motor Vehicle Department.
62	43	*ib.*	10	Ground floor of Police buildings other than reporting stations should be let as shops or offices.
63	43	*ib.*	10	Railway cases should be prosecuted by ordinary prosecuting staff and not by Sub-Inspectors of Railway Police.
64	43	*ib.*	11	Appointment of Committee to enquire into the working of City Police desirable.
				D.—*Criminal Investigation Department.*
65	44	XI	13	Second Personal Assistant to Deputy Inspector-General should be abolished.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of local Government.	Remarks.
Accepted and effect given to the proposal.	
Accepted and effect being given to the proposal wherever possible.	
Not proceeded with.	
There are at present five permanent and two temporary Deputy Inspectors-General of Police (including the Deputy Inspector-General, Railways and Criminal Investigation, and the Commissioner of Police, Rangoon). Given effect to.	
Do.	
Accepted and effect given to the Committee's recommendations.	
To be increased to Rs. 30—38. Given effect to.	
Not accepted.	
Not proceeded with.	
Do.	
Will be borne in mind.	
Accepted.	
See Serial No. 57.	
Not accepted.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM-

Serial No.	Reference to Report. Page.	Chap.	Para.	Summary of Proposal.
				D.—*Criminal Investigation Department*—contd.
66	44	XI	13	Finger print work should be placed directly under Deputy Inspector-General with Deputy Superintendent in charge.
				27.—Ports and Pilotage.
67	45	XII	2	Use made of Government launches should be scrutinised by responsible officer once a year.
68	45	*ib.*	2	Grouping of launches under control of Deputy Commissioner should where possible be substituted for allotment to departments.
69	45	*ib.*	2	At stations where there is a Port Officer all Government vessels should be put under his charge.
70	45	*ib.*	3	Where public steamer services are adequate, use of Government launches should be restricted.
71	45	*ib.*	3	Running cost of launch should be debited to the budget of the department to which the launch is attached.
72	45	*ib.*	3	Expenditure on launches required by a department should be shown in the budget of that department though not voted therein.
73	46	*ib.*	4	Proper costing system should be introduced in the Government Dockyard.
74	46	*ib.*	5	Certain retrenchments indicated by the Principal Port Officer should be carried out.
				31.—*Education—Primary.*
75	51	XIV	4	Local expenditure on Primary education should be supplemented by Provincial grants-in-aid which should not exceed two-thirds of total expenditure.
76	51	*ib.*	4	Lower Burma District Cesses and Rural Police Act, 1880, should be amended to permit District Council to impose annual cess not exceeding 30 per cent. and house-tax on persons not liable to cess.
77	51	*ib.*	4	Amounts contributed from Provincial Funds to local authorities for educational purposes should appear in the Education Budget and not under 41—Civil Works.
78	51	*ib.*	5	Provincial contribution to local funds for education should be fixed and paid without fail so that local bodies may know their position and pay teachers accordingly.
79	52	*ib.*	6	Government should prescribe minimum standard of attainment which all local authorities must reach as a condition of Government assistance.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of local Government.	Remarks.
Not accepted.	
The Burma Government Launch Rules regulating the use of Government launches have been issued in which effect has been given to the recommendations of the Committee.	
Accepted for such launches as are attached to departments.	
Accepted.	
Accepted. The system has been introduced.	
The State Yacht Establishment has been abolished. The proposals contained in the other three items of expenditure have been given effect to.	
Permanent settlement of provincial contributions on poverty basis has been announced.	
The question is being examined by an officer on special duty.	
Accepted.	
Do.	
Accepted. This is already the practice.	

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Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposal.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				Anglo-Vernacular and High School.
80	53	XIV	8	Fees payable in Anglo-Vernacular and High Schools should be raised and made uniform for Primary, Middle and High Schools standards, rates to vary with wealth of locality.
81	53	*ib.*	8	Scholarships should be provided in all schools for boys especially capable of profiting by secondary education but unable to pay fees.
82	54	*ib.*	9	All boys in High School standards should be enabled to obtain a thorough grounding in the elements of physical science.
83	54	*ib.*	9	Possibility of utilising Anglo-Indian women teachers to give instructions in English in Middle standards as well as in Primary standards should be considered.
84	54	*ib*	10	Schools with English as sole medium of instruction, like English school at Maymyo, should be started elsewhere with a view to improve knowlege of English.
85	54	*ib.*	10	Reluctance of Burman graduates to enter teaching profession should be investigated and pay and prospects improved if necessary.
86	55	*ib.*	11	Working of experimental appointment of Director of Public Instruction as Deputy Secretary to Government should be carefully watched.
87	55	*ib.*	11	The two Deputy inspectors of Schools for drawing and manual work should be abolished.
88	55	*ib.*	11	Substantial increase in the grants now given to the (*a*) Boy Scout and (*b*) Girl Guide movements.
				Insein Engineering Institute.
89	57	XIV	12	Passed students of the Institute should be admitted to the University course of B.Sc. Engineering on passing examination in English composition for I.Sc. course.
90	57	*ib.*	13	University should utilise such members of Institute staff as are suitable for degree course.
				University.
91	58	XIV	17	Scheme for construction of University buildings should be pushed forward with utmost expedition.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of local Government.	Remarks.
The question has been raised in Dr. Clark's scheme for a Training College which is under the consideration of the local Government.	
Accepted so far as is feasible.	
Accepted. A beginning was made in 1924 in Rangoon, Akyab, Bassein and Moulmein.	
Accepted. The sanctioned scheme for the Women's Educational Service provides for 40 female teachers.	
Secondary and Intermediate education has been reviewed by a Committee. The Report of the Committee is now under the consideration of the local Government.	
Accepted. Pay of Senior Masters was raised from Rs. 175—5—225 to Rs. 175—5—225—10—275 in 1924. A further revision is under the consideration of the local Government in connection with Dr. Clark's scheme for a Training College and the Report of the Secondary and Intermediate Education Committee.	
The experiment has been abandoned.	
Not accepted pending reorganization of teaching of drawing.	
(*a*) Raised from Rs. 7,000 in 1923-24 to Rs. 38,500 in 1927-28. (*b*) Raised from Rs. 400 in 1923-24 to Rs. 4,440 in 1927-28.	
Under consideration.	
Do.	
Accepted. The work is in charge of a Building Trust appointed under the Rangoon University Building Trust Act, 1925.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM

Serial No.	Reference to Report. Page.	Chap.	Para.	Summary of Proposal.
				University—contd.
92	59	XIV	17	Cost of necessary buildings which should not exceed 150 lakhs should be taken as a loan from the Rice Control Profits.
93	59	*ib.*	18	Erection of new hostels should commence at once and funds be provided at November Session of Legislative Council.
94	60	*ib.*	19	Curriculum for Science Honours course requires considerable revision.
95	61	*ib.*	20	University should have power to appoint members of its staff on short-term contracts in special cases.
96	61	*ib.*	20	Appointment of whole-time Vice-Chancellor ..
				32—*Medical.*
97	62	XV	1	Out of six Civil Surgeoncies allotted to Indian Medical Service which the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals is prepared to fill with Civil Assistant Surgeons, two should be converted into posts of Pathologist and Gynæcologist at Rangoon.
98	62	*ib.*	1	Reduction of 13 temporary Assistant Surgeons and replacement of Military by Civil Assistant Surgeons.
99	62	*ib.*	1	Sub-Assistant Surgeons of 20 years' service and over should be allowed to retire on pension till surplus over sanctioned strength has been absorbed.
100	62	*ib.*	2	Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals should have regular day at fixed intervals for interview with Minister.
				33—*Public Health.*
101	64	XVI	2	Scheme for Public Health Institute recommended ..
102	64	*ib.*	2	Public Health Department should be manned as far as possible by Burmans.
103	65	XVI	4	Director of Public Health should have regular day at fixed intervals for interview with Minister.
				34—*Agriculture.*—A.—*Agricultural Department.*
104	67	XVII	3	Acceptance of Director of Agriculture's proposals for retrenchment.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of local Government.	Remarks.
Accepted.	
Accepted and given effect to.	
The substitution of three years' Honours courses for the present two years' Honours courses is likely to be effected in June 1928.	
The University has power to appoint teachers on short-term contracts. There has been no necessity yet for consideration of such an appointment.	
Whole question of cadre will depend on orders passed on Lee Commission Report. Number of Indian Medical Service now much short of sanctioned cadre and not likely to increase.	
Ditto ditto.	
Proposals for increasing the cadre which will absorb the present excess over the sanctioned strength are under consideration.	
Accepted.	
Accepted. The Harcourt Butler Institute of Public Health was formally opened by His Excellency the Governor of Burma on the 14th January 1927. Accepted.	
Accepted.	
These proposals and the recommendations of the Agriculturai Committee have been considered by the local Government and orders have been passed accepting the proposals with certain modifications.	

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Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposal.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				34—Agriculture—A.—Agreculture Department—oontd.
105	67	XVII	3	Appointments of Principal, Agricultural College and Deputy Director, Stock Breeding, should be filled without further recruitment.
106	67	*ib.*	3	Veterinary Officer employed as Superintendent, Stock Breeding, should be reverted to Veterinary Department.
107	67	*ib.*	3	Director of Agriculture should be a member of the Indian Agricultural Service.
108	67	*ib.*	4	Mandalay Dairy Farm scheme should be abandoned .
109	67	*ib.*	5	Possibility of reducing number of circles should be kept in view after the work of the department has become stabilised.
110	67	*ib.*	5	Provincial Service Officers should be employed as Deputy Directors in leave and other temporary vacancies.
111	67	*ib.*	5	Ultimate objective of Mandalay Agricultural College should be production of officers with qualifications equal to those of present Deputy Directors.
				B.—*Veterinary Department.*
112	68	XVII	6	Mr. Cameron's scheme for reorganization should receive early and sympathetic consideration.
113	68	*ib.*	7	Additional local dispensaries for treatment of ordinary ailments should be opened.
114	68	*ib.*	8	Use should be made of Lahore Veterinary College, if reorganization scheme there proves successful, for training superior officers of the department.
115	68	*ib.*	8	Proposal to remove the Veterinary School to the vicinity of the Mandalay Agricultural College should be considered.
				C.—*Co-operative Societies Department.*
116	69	XVII	10	No allowances (special pay) should be granted to members of Provincial and Subordinate Services in this department.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of local Government.	Remarks.
The appointment of Principal, Agricultural College, has been filled without further recruitment. It has been decided that Stock Breeding operations in Burma should be conducted by the Agriucultural Department and the Deputy Director of Agriculture, East Central Circle, is now in charge of the Tatkon Stock Breeding Farm. Accepted.	
Effect has been given to this proposal.	
The scheme has been abandoned. Accepted.	
Do.	
Do.	
Accepted.	
The local Government has agreed with the Development Commissioner that for the present it is inadvisable to open more dispensaries until the reorganization of the Insein Veterinary School and of the Civil Veterinary Department is completed. Accepted.	
Not accepted. Rejected by the Agricultural and Veterinary Department Committee.	
A special pay of Rs. 50 is granted to members of the Subordinate Civil Service (Co-operative Branch) when holding appointments of Assistant Registrars and Probationary Myoôks (Co-operative Branch) when holding a charge of Junior Assistant Registrar get a special pay of Rs. 50 *per mensem* ; but these special pays merely follow the policy adopted in other Departments for officers occupying posts of greater responsibility.	

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Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposal.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				C.—Co-operative Societies Department—contd.
117	69	XVII	11	Proportion of future vacancies in the appointments of Assistant Registrars should be filled by direct recruitment.
118	70	*ib.*	12	Normal budget of the department should not exceed 5 lakhs during the next few years.
				35.—*Industries.*
119	71	XVIII	1	Possibility of encouraging manufacture of the products of Cottage Industries in other countries should be considered by the Superintendent.
				37.—*Miscellaneous Departments.*
120	72	XIX	1	Departmental proposals for abolition of temporary staff and reduction of permanent District Establishment should be accepted.
				41.—*Civil Works.*
121	74	XX	1(*a*)	Concentration of Superintending Engineers at Maymyo and Rangoon, and amalgamation of their offices with the Chief Engineer's Office.
122	75	XX	2	Scheme for seven Superintending Engineers stationed at Rangoon and Maymyo should be accepted.
123	76	*ib.*	3	For new works there should be a definite scheme providing for the expenditure of a definite sum annually over a period of years in respect both of roads and Government buildings.
124	76	*ib.*	3	Small Committee should be appointed to draw up scheme and an Act passed to secure funds by means of loans.
125	77	*ib.*	4	Schemes for new projects should be brought before the Finance Committee after administrative approval has been accorded and before detailed plans are prepared.
126	77	*ib.*	5	Chief Engineer should be given full powers of reappropriation for expenditure on sanctioned projects.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of local Government.	Remarks.
Accepted.	
Accepted.	
Accepted.	
The Temporary Establishment stationed in Rangoon to deal with the rail and river-borne trade of the province has been retained for one year more to obtain full benefit of experiment. Reduction of permanent staff accepted.	
Accepted.	
Accepted.	
Do.	
In respect of Communications, the preparation of a scheme has been assigned to the Communications Board ; and in respect of buildings to a Government Buildings Committee which is being constituted. The constitution of both bodies provides for approximately a two-thirds unofficial majority. Consequent on the constitution of the Communications Board and the Buildings Committee, new projects will not in future be placed before the Finance Committee. The submission of schemes to the Communications Board or Buildings Committee will in future be regarded as indicating that they are administratively approved. Detailed plans will not be prepared until the schemes have been passed by the Board or Committee. This proposal is incompatible with the scheme outlined in the Resolution adopted by the Legislative Council on 31st August 1926.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM

Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposals.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
127	77	XX	5	Lump sum allotment should be entered in Budget representing probable amount of balances likely to lapse at end of current year, to be at Chief Engineer's disposal for completing unfinished works.
128	78	*ib.*	6	Executive Engineers should have full powers of reappropriation in case of repairs for which lump sum allotment should be granted.
129	78	*ib.*	6	Superintending Engineers should have full power of reappropriations in respect of all other works under Repairs head.
130	78	*ib.*	6	Executive Engineers should have power to engage temporary establishment for efficient and economical expenditure of Budget allotments.
131	78	*ib.*	6	Local audit combined with control of Superintending Engineer should suffice to secure honest working.
132	78	*ib.*	6	Close and regular scrutiny of rates paid for work should be maintained.
133	79	*ib.*	7	Whole question of Public Works Department accounts should be examined by experienced Chartered Accountants with a view to the construction of a system suited to the department.
134	79	*ib.*	8	Public Works Department services should be recruited on principle of permanent nucleus with majority of officers on temporary contracts.
135	80	*ib.*	9	Insein Engineering Institute should be constituted so as to supply the department with efficient subordinate service.
136	80	*ib.*	9	Physical science classes should be provided from eighth standard upwards in all High Schools.
137	80	*ib.*	9	Pay of Subordinate Engineering Service should be raised to Rs. 100—350.
138	80	*ib.*	9	Rates in Government Engineering Service should coincide with qualifications possessed by normal student leaving each of Government educational establishments, *e.g.*, Insein Institute qualifying for Subordinate Service; ordinary University degree for Provincial Service and honours degree for Indian Service.
139	81	*ib.*	10	Peripatetic departmental organization should tour the Province to instruct present subordinates.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of Local Government.	Remarks.
The same remarks as against item 41 apply here.	
Accepted.	
Do.	
Executive Engineers have power to engage Works charged Subordinates on rates of pay up to Rs. 100 *per mensem* in each case, under existing orders.	
The proposal was considered by Mr. Kaula. He thought that the extra cost would be enormous. The proposal has been dropped. Accepted. A Quantity Surveyor and an Assistant Quantity Surveyor are now employed in investigating the rates paid for work done in different parts of the Province. The staff under them is also to be increased. An investigation into the working of Public Works Accounts has just been completed by an Audit Officer at the instance of the Finance Department. and his report is under consideration.	
Accepted.	
Accepted. Action is being taken.	
See Serial No. 82.	
Proposals have been submitted to the Finance Department to revise the pay of the Burma Subordinate Engineering Service to Rs. 120—350 for Overseers and Rs. 80—150 for Sub-Overseers. Accepted.	
Not accepted.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM

Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposals.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
140	81	XX	11	Departments possessing technical staff should maintain and repair their own buildings, provided no increase is required.
141	81	*ib.*	11	Resident Engineer should be appointed for large institutions to maintain connected buildings, provided further examination shows real saving.
142	81	*ib.*	11	Petty annual repairs other than structural should be given out to contract by departmental officer concerned.
143	81	*ib.*	12	Possibility of employing jail labour in new quarries and on road construction should be considered.
144	82	*ib.*	13	All cases of replacement or repair within the Budget allotment for a particular road which tend to improve the same road should be within the power of the Executive Engineer.
145	82	*ib*	14	Chief Engineer should be allowed full discretion to place contracts whether locally or in England.
				46.—*Stationery and Printing.*
146	83	XXI	2	Transfer of Jail Press to Insein should be expedited ..
147	83	*ib.*	3	Proposals for the introduction of new forms should be jealously scrutinised.
148	84	*ib.*	4	Increased use of duplicating machines advocated in order to economise printing.
				47.—*Miscellaneous.*
149	85	XXII	1	Director of Publicity should be provided with a competent translator on his own staff.
150	85	*ib.*	1	Attempt should be made to secure a Burman successor when the present Director of Publicity's tenure of office has expired.
151	85	*ib.*	1	Director's work should include publication of pamphlets
152	85	*ib.*	1	Government should examine the possibility of basing payments for Government advertisements on circulation in preference to present system of fixed rates.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of Local Government.	Remarks.
The principle is accepted and will be carried out in the case of the Post and Telegraph Department next year.	
Accepted.	
Do.	
Do.	
Do.	
The proposal cannot be accepted, as it is incompatible with the Stores Rules prescribed by the Secretary of State.	
Proposal to build a new Jail Press at Insein has been abandoned on score of expense. Improvements in Rangoon Jail are now contemplated.	
Accepted.	
Accepted. Sixteen Gestetner Rotary Duplicators have already been installed in various offices in pursuance of this scheme.	
Accepted.	
Do.	
Do.	
Question has been examined, and present system considered preferable.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM

Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposals.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				Allowances.
153	86	XXIII	1	Result of examination of existing allowances, whether by Finance Department or small Committee, should be laid on the table of the Legislative Council.
154	86	*ib.*	1	Present recipients of allowances should be given opportunity of showing cause for retention.
155	86	*ib.*	1	Officers occupying Government quarters in Rangoon should draw the same rate of compensatory allowance as officers provided with free quarters after rents have been recalculated on fair capital value.
156	86	*ib.*	1	Rates of Rangoon compensatory allowance should be examined by a small Committee.
157	87	*ib.*	2	When an officer travels by lower than sanctioned class he should draw one and not two fares of sanctioned class.
158	88	*ib.*	4	Leave admissible under ordinary leave rules should be reduced.
				Pay of Provincial and Subordinate Services.
159	89	XXIV	1	Pay of Burma Educational Service should be raised to Rs. 300—20—800 with Selection grade of 7 per cent. on Rs. 850—10—900.
160	89	*ib.*	1	Pay of Subordinate Educational Service should be raised to Rs. 150—275.
161	89	*ib.*	1	Pay of Head Masters of Middle Schools should be raised to Rs. 250—10—300.
162	89	*ib.*	1	Maximum pay of Senior Masters should be raised from Rs. 225 to 250.
163	89	*ib.*	1	Present time-scales of pay with modifications proposed by Committee should be standardised and not reviewed till marked change in general cost of living has taken place.
				Burmanization of the Services.
164	92	XXV	3	Position of each department should be carefully examined to ascertain how far posts reserved for Imperial Services can be provincialized.
165	92	*ib.*	3	Secretary of State should prescribe minimum number of Europeans required for each service, who should be placed in separate cadres to which non-Europeans should not be admitted.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of Local Government.	Remarks.
The statement showing the result of the examination of certain allowances drawn in this Province has been laid before the Legislative Council as recommended by the Retrenchment Committee. Present recipients of allowances are under existing orders protected against loss.	
Revised rules regulating the grant of Rangoon Compensatory Allowance and House Allowance to Government servants under Administrative control who are stationed in Rangoon have been issued.	
Not accepted.	
The question is under the consideration of the Government of India.	
No final decision has yet been arrived at, but the question will be reconsidered in connection with the organization of the new Superior Educational Service.	
Pay of Deputy Inspectors and Senior Masters is now Rs. 175—275.	
Raised from Rs. 225—10—275 to Rs. 250—10—300 with effect from the 1st March 1925. The maximum has been raised to Rs. 275.	
Accepted.	
Superseded by the Lee Commission's recommendations.	
Ditto ditto.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM

Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposals.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
166	93	XXV	4	For non-Europeans method of entry into Superior Services should be through Provincial Service.
167	93	*ib.*	4	Time-scale of pay for non-European Deputy Commissioners should be Rs. 1,325—75—1,700 and for Commissioners Rs. 1,800—100—2,300.
168	93	*ib.*	4	For Superior Judicial Service time-scale should be as for Deputy Commissioners without Judicial pay.
169	93	*ib.*	4	For other Superior Services pay of non-European cadre should be minimum of present Superior Service time-scale for superior appointments with maximum in Agricultural, Engineering and Forest Services of Rs. 1,200, and in Police and Educational Services of Rs. 1,150.
170	93	*ib.*	4	Heads of Departments should draw same pay as Commissioners, Superintending Engineers, Conservators of Forests and Deputy Inspectors-General of Police should draw Rs. 1,300—100—1,800.
171	93	*ib.*	4	Strength of selection grades in Provincial Services should decrease with provincialization and ultimately be abolished.
172	93	*ib.*	4	Allocation of superior appointments between European and non-European cadres should be reviewed every five years and new minimum fixed for European Officers by the Secretary of State.
173	93	*ib.*	4	Officers holding posts of equal importance should be regarded as equal in official status to whichever cadre they belong.
				The Budget.
174	95	XXVI	1	Expenditure on purely Administrative Departments should be restricted to lowest limit compatible with maintenance of full efficiency.
175	96	*ib.*	3	Cost of Public Works which are intended to secure regular profit on money spent should be debited to loans.
176	96	*ib.*	3	Cost of Public Works which bring no direct return in cash but are of direct benefit to the Province should be met from loans provided that care be taken not to incur unduly heavy expenditure on their account.

MITTEE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of Local Government.	Remarks.
Superseded by the Lee Commission's recommendations.	
Ditto ditto.	
Ditto ditto.	
Ditto ditto.	
Ditto ditto.	
Ditto ditto.	
Ditto ditto.	
Ditto ditto.	
Accepted.	
These recommendations are accepted in principle in so far as they are consistent with the Local Government (Borrowing) Rules and with the principle that revenue expenditure should not be financed from loans.	

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROPOSALS OF THE BURMA RETRENCHMENT COM

Serial No.	Reference to Report.			Summary of Proposals.
	Page.	Chap.	Para.	
				Rice Control Profits.
177	101	XXVII	1	Rice Control Profits Fund should be rigidly maintained as a loan fund and reinstated to full original amount.
178	101	*ib.*	1	All disbursements from Rice Control Profits should be treated as loans and the departments concerned made to provide for interest and sinking funds in their Budgets.
179	101	*ib.*	1	Statement showing position of funds similar to that on page 103 of the Committee's Report should be incorporated in annual Budget statement with separate accounts showing interest and sinking fund charges.
180	101	*ib.*	1	Loans repaid should be added to permanent assets of the Province and not included in the ordinary revenues.
181	101	*ib.*	1	Statement showing amount of money out on loan should accompany Budget.
182	105	XXVIII	2	Scheme for construction of new Lunatic Asylum, Rangoon, should be revised so as to reduce cost to a reasonable sum.
183	105	*ib.*	2	Further expenditure on Mergui sea wall should be delayed until there is some certainty that additional trade will be created.
184	105	*ib.*	2	Scheme for proposed Kyatkon tank, Myingyan District should be reconsidered.

MITTE AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT THEREON—*contd.*

Decision of Local Government.	Remarks.
The Public Accounts Committee at its sixteenth meeting held on the 19th April 1927 recommended that the *pro forma* accounts of the Rice Control Profits Fund should cease to be maintained and that all distinction in the Accounts between expenditure debited to Ordinary Revenues and to Rice Control Profits should cease. Necessary action will be taken to give effect to this after the adoption by the Legislative Council of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee.	
Accepted.	
A Committee was appointed and the scheme has been curtailed as far as practicable.	
The scheme has been curtailed as far as is practicable.	
Scheme has been abandoned.	

APPEN

DETAILS OF

Serial No.	Brief Summary.	Date on which moved.	Accepted or opposed by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Recommendation to appoint a Committee to consider causes of violent crimes in villages.	5-2-23	Neutral .. ..
2	Recommendation to release all political prisoners in Burma.	16-3-23	Accepted as amended by Government.
3	Recommendation to appoint a Committee to consider retrenchment in expenditure.	16-3-23	Opposed .. ..
4	Recommendation to permit local bodies to deposit funds with Co-operative Banks.	17-3-23	Accepted as amended by Government.
5	Recommendation to appoint a Committee to enquire into distress and poverty of agriculturists.	17-3-23	..
6	Recommendation to appoint a Committee to examine and report on labour condition.	23-3-23	..
7	Recommendation to provide additional expenditure up to eight lakhs on Burma Section of British Empire Exhibition.	24-3-23	Accepted as amended ..
8	Recommendation that reports of Council Proceedings and Agenda papers be printed in English and Burmese.	27-11-23	..
9	Recommendation to send young Burmans to foreign countries for education.	27-11-23	Accepted as amended ..
10	Recommendation to provide five University Scholarships.	27-11-23	Neutral on amended resolution.
11	Recommendation to cancel Notification extending the Criminal Law Amendment Act to certain districts.	28-11-23	Opposed .. ..
12	Recommendation to appoint a Committee for collecting information regarding oil-fields in Burma.	29-11-23	..
13	Recommendation to extend Jury System to large centres.	29-11-23	..

DIX VI.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whether adopted or rejected by Council.	Analysis of voting for and against.					
	For			Against.		
	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Adopted		Official	members	did not	vote.	
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	..	..	37	8	2	5
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Original Resolution withdrawn. Amended Resolution rejected.	4	6	18	4	..	32
Lost	..	..	37	15	6	16
				President's casting vote.		
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Serial No.	Brief Summary.	Date on which moved.	Accepted or opposed by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
14	Recommendation regarding extraction of timber.	30-11-23	Round table Conference promised.
15	Recommendation that provision be made in the Budget of not less than two lakhs of rupees for loans to Co-operative Building Societies.	30-11-23	Accepted .. ..
16	Recommendation that a trust with a large non-official majority be appointed to administer Rice Control Profits Fund.	3-12-23	..
17	Recommendation to assist Burma Pioneer Industries by means of loans from Rice Control Profits and as a start to give a loan to Burma Spinning and Weaving Company. Resolution amended as follows :— First part—to give a loan to Burma Spinning and Weaving Company. Second part—to appoint a Committee to consider how far recommendations of the Indian Industrial Committee for the grant of financial assistance by Government to Industries should be adopted in Burma.	3-12-23	Original Resolution withdrawn. First part of amended Resolution. Second part.
18	Recommendation regarding Burmese representation on Rangoon Development Trust Board and regarding appointment of a Committee to report on land value, etc., of trust lands.	3-12-23	Resolution amended. Not accepted.
19	Recommendation to abolish the post of Director of Publicity.	4-12-23	Not accepted .. ..
20	Recommendation regarding Finance Committee publications.	4-12-23	Partly disallowed ..
21	Recommendation regarding authorisation of appropriation of lapsed expenditure.	11-3-24	Accepted .. .. ..

RESOLUTIONS—*contd.*

Whether adopted or rejected by Council.	Analysis of voting for and against.					
	For			Against.		
	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Withdrawn	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried.						
Amended Resolution carried	..	..	33	15	4	4
Lost	..	..	24	16	6	9
Partly withdrawn ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Serial No.	Brief Summary.	Date on which moved.	Accepted or opposed by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
22	Recommendation regarding expenditure out of Rice Control Profits.	11-3-24	Accepted .. ..
23	Recommendation regarding Railway connection with Arakan.	26-3-24	..
24	Recommendation regarding motor-car services between Thatôn and Pa-an.	26-3-24	Opposed .. ..
25	Recommendation regarding Council Members' Allowances.	26-3-24	Neutral .. ..
26	Recommendation regarding Government Prosecutors.	26-3-24	..
27	Recommendation regarding method of admission to services under Government.	27-3-24.	..
28	Recommendation regarding appointment of Labour Committee	27-3-24	Opposed .. ..
29	Recommendation regarding publication of Municipal and District Board reports in Burmese.	26-8-24	..
30	Recommendation regarding eviction of *Mayin* cultivators.	26-8-24	Do. .. ..
31	Recommendation regarding economic condition of people of Burma.	26-8-24	..
32	Recommendation regarding opium consumption (in two parts).	26-8-24	First part opposed ..
			Second part opposed ..
33	Recommendation regarding retention of 3rd Grade Pleadership Examination.	27-8-24	Accepted .. ..
34	Recommendation regarding Rice Control Profits for Land Mortgage Banks.	27-8-24	Accepted as amended ..
35	Recommendation regarding recording of Burmese speeches.	27-8-24	Accepted .. ..
36	Recommendation regarding constitutional reforms for Burma.	28-8-24	Neutral .. ..
37	Recommendation regarding appointment of Committee to enquire and report on the cause of annual floods in Burma.	28-8-24	Accepted .. ..

RESOLUTIONS—*contd.*

Whether adopted or rejected by Council.	Analysis of voting for and against.					
	For.			Against.		
	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	..	..	39	15	7	7
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	..	..	37	15	7	7
Do.	..	..	36	15	7	9
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	1	1	39	7	6	10
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Serial No.	Brief Summary.	Date on which moved.	Accepted or opposed by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
38	Recommendation regarding appointment of domiciled Indians to Provincial Services.	29-8-24	Opposed .. ..
39	Recommendation regarding reduction in number of Range Deputy Inspectors-General of Police.	29-8-24	Do. .. ..
40	Recommendation regarding translation into Burmese of Rulings and Circulars of High Court.	29-8-24	Do. .. ..
41	Recommendation regarding reopening of Burma Section of British Empire Exhibition in 1925.	30-8-24	Neutral .. ..
42	Recommendation regarding appropriation of unexpended sums under the heads 8—Forests.	30-8-24	Accepted .... ..
43	Recommendation regarding offer of £10,000 by British Empire Exhibition authorities to Burma.	28-2-25	Neutral .. ..
44	Recommendation regarding abolition of capitation-tax.	11-3-25	Accepted as amended ..
45	Recommendation regarding rickshaws in Rangoon.	12-3-25	Do. .. ..
46	Recommendation regarding free grant to Shwedagon Pagoda Trustees.	12-3-25	Opposed .. ..
47	Recommendation regarding political offenders.	12-3-25	Do. .. ..
48	Recommendation regarding all Sessions Trials by Jury except in backward areas.	12-3-25	Do. .. ..
49	Recommendation regarding salary of Council Secretaries.	24-3-25	Neutral .. ..
50	Recommendation regarding salary of Council Secretaries.	22-9-25	Accepted .. ..
51	Recommendation regarding cancellation of notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.	23-9-25	Opposed .. ..
52	Recommendation regarding appointment of Government Prosecutors.	23-9-25	Accepted as amended ..
53	Recommendation regarding carrying out of former resolution to register all non-Burman opium consumers.	23-9-25	Government explained that previous resolution has already been given effect to.

RESOLUTIONS—*contd.*

Whether adopted or rejected by Council.	Analysis of voting for and against.					
	For.			Against.		
	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Lost	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	..	..	40	15	6	9
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	13	8	10	1	..	33
Carried unanimously ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	4	7	..	..	29
Carried	16	6	17	..	..	29
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	1	23	16	5	7
Do.	..	..	19	16	5	13
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	37	15	7	17
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	..	..	..	..

Serial No.	Brief Summary.	Date on which moved.	Accepted or opposed by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
54	Recommendation regarding allocation to Burma of Export duty on Rice and Excise duty on Petrol and Kerosine-oil.	23-9-25	Opposed .. ..
55	Recommendation regarding provision of more poling stations in Rural constituencies.	23-9-25	Accepted as amended ..
56	Recommendation regarding the abolition of the Ring Fence Fuel Reserve in Myaungmya District.	24-9-25	Opposed .. ..
57	Recommendation regarding sending of two Burmans to the Co-operative College, Manchester, for training.	24-9-25	Accepted .. ..
58	Recommendation regarding appointment of expert Committee to enquire into and report on the financial relations between India and Burma.	24-9-25	..
59	Recommendation regarding Annual Bounty to Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd.	24-9-25	..
60	Recommendation regarding appointment of Committee to enquire into and report on grievances of poor cultivators of the Pogwe Tract in Myaungmya District.	24-9-25	Opposed .. ..
61	Recommendation regarding delegation of powers to Excise Advisory Committee.	25-9-25	Do. .. ..
62	Recommendation regarding release of Political Prisoners and Prisoners under the Anti-Boycott Act.	25-9-25	Do. .. ..
63	Recommendation regarding qualifying Examination for Pleadership Examination.	25-9-25	Do. .. ..
64	Recommendation regarding retention of 3rd Grade Pleadership Examination.	26-9-25	Do. .. ..
65	Recommendation regarding shelter for Deck Passengers at the Port of Rangoon.	26-9-25	..

RESOLUTIONS—*contd.*

Whether adopted or rejected by Council.	Analysis of voting for and against.					
	For.			Against.		
	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	..	..	38	15	7	14
Lost	..	1	15	15	5	22
Do.	..	..	32	16	6	19
Do.	..	1	27	15	5	9
Carried	..	..	32	14	6	13
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..

Serial No.	Brief Summary.	Date on which moved.	Accepted or opposed by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
66	Recommendation regarding abolition of Book-makers and limiting of Race meetings.	26-9-25	Opposed .. ..
67	Recommendation regarding interpretation and translation into Burmese of speeches, etc., in the Chamber (in two parts).	2-3-26	First part opposed .. Second part opposed ..
68	Recommendation regarding grant to National Schools.	2-3-26	Opposed .. ..
69	Recommendation regarding abolition of *Thathameda*-tax.	2-3-26	Accepted as amended ..
70	Recommendation regarding raising of the Daily Allowance to non-Official members of the Burma Legislative Council.	12-3-26	Neutral .. ..
71	Recommendation regarding release of prisoners sentenced in Mandalay case.	3-3-26	Opposed .. ..
72	Recommendation regarding opening of Land Mortgage Banks.	4-3-26	..
73	Recommendation regarding appointment of a Committee to examine Land Policy and Land Administration of Government.	4-3-26	Opposed .. ..
74	Recommendation regarding abolition of the post of the Development Commissioner.	5-3-26	Do. .. ..
75	Recommendation regarding preparation of correct Electoral Rolls for the Indian Constituencies of the Burma Legislative Council.	8-3-26	..
76	Recommendation regarding appointment of Political Prosecutions Standing Advisory Committee.	9-3-26	Opposed .. ..
77	Recommendation regarding metalling of certain roads in Katha District.	1-9-26	Accepted .. ..
78	Recommendation regarding amendment to Rule 25 under the Burma Forest Act, 1902.	1-9-26	Opposed .. ..

RESOLUTIONS—*contd.*

Whether adopted or rejected by Council.	Analysis of voting for and against.					
	For.			Against.		
	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Talked out	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	30	16	6	21
Do.	..	..	36	16	6	18
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Resolution as amended carried.	16	6	24	..	..	32
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	20	16	6	19
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	34	16	5	17
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	26	15	6	22

Serial No.	Brief Summary.	Date on which moved.	Accepted or opposed by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
79	Recommendation regarding cessation of registration of non-Burmans as Opium Consumers.	1-9-26	Opposed .. ..
80	Recommendation regarding exemption from the contribution to Meston Award.	1-9-26	Neutral .. ..
81	Recommendation regarding prohibition and consumption of opium except for medicinal purposes in Burma.	1-9-26	Opposed .. ..
82	Recommendation regarding establishment of a village in the Tonye Forest Reserve and cultivation of two or three thousand acres therein.	2-9-26	Do. .. ..
83	Recommendation regarding appointment of a Committee to examine the Burma Municipal Act and the Rules framed thereunder.	2-9-26	.. ..
84	Recommendation regarding appointment of a Co-operative Board.	2-9-26	Opposed .. ..
85	Recommendation regarding financial assistance from the Government of India.	3-9-26	Neutral .. ..
86	Recommendation regarding amendment of certain rules under the Burma Village Act.	4-9-26	Opposed .. ..
87	Recommendation regarding prohibition of illicit manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor and smuggling of opium.	6-9-26	Do. .. ..
88	Recommendation regarding sitting for the 3rd Grade Pleadership Examination without necessary educational qualifications.	6-9-26	Accepted .. ..
89	Recommendation regarding enquiry into the tenure of freehold land in Monywa Town converted into State land at the last settlement.	31-1-27	Opposed .. ..

RESOLUTIONS—*contd.*

Whether adopted or rejected by Council.	Analysis of voting for and against.					
	For.			Against.		
	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Lost	..	..	35	16	7	21
Carried	..	..	25	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	29	16	7	19
Do.	..	..	22	15	8	23
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	26	16	8	26
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	23	16	5	26
Do.	..	..	35	16	7	25
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	28	16	6	15

Serial No.	Brief Summary.	Date on which moved.	Accepted or opposed by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
90	Recommendation regarding continuance of Rent Control in Rangoon.	31-1-27	..
91	Recommendation regarding application of Dhamathats to Marriages between Burmese women and foreigners.	31-1-27	..
92	Recommendation regarding retention of the third Grade Pleadership Examination till the end of 1930.	1-2-27	Opposed .. ..
93	Recommendation regarding appointment of elected members of the Burma Legislative Council as Jail visitors within their respective Constituencies.	1-2-27	Do. .. ..
94	Recommendations regarding State management of Burma Railways.	1-2-27	Neutral .. ..
95	Recommendation regarding removal of sex disqualification.	1-2-27	Opposed .. ..
96	Recommendation regarding closure of all Hlawza shops in Burma on the expiry of their licenses in 1927.	3-2-27	Do. .. ..
97	Recommendation regarding taking over by Government of Burma Spinning and Weaving Co.'s properties in full satisfaction of the loan to the Company.	14-2-27	Neutral .. ..
98	Recommendation that the Institution of Land Mortgage Bank be expedited.	14-2-27	..
99	Recommendation that Book-makers be prohibited at Race Meetings throughout Burma.	14-2-27	Opposed .. ..
100	Recommendation regarding suspension of collection of Land Revenue and Capitation Taxes in 1927-28 in areas affected by the floods in the Insein District.	15-2-27	Do. .. ..

RESOLUTIONS—*contd.*

Whether adopted or rejected by Council.	Analysis of voting for and against.					
	For.			Against.		
	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	28	16	6	16
Do.	..	..	10	15	4	11
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	1	30	15	6	25
Do.	..	..	24	15	6	18
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	30	16	7	23
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..

Serial No.	Brief Summary.	Date on which moved.	Accepted or opposed by Government.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
101	Recommendation regarding continuance of Concessions regarding qualifications for third Grade Pleadership or holding of a supplementary examination in December 1927.	15-2-27	..
102	Recommendation regarding abandonment of proposal to create a new district to be called the Nyaunglebin District.	15-2-27	Opposed .. ..
103	Recommendation regarding construction of Bund Road from Monywa in the Lower Chindwin District to Amyin in the Sagaing District to prevent floods.	15-2-27	..
104	Recommendation regarding appointment of a representative Committee to enquire and to report on the Drink and Drug Traffic in Burma.	15-2-27	Opposed .. ..
105	Recommendation regarding Revision of pay of Land Records Department.	16-2-27	.. ..
106	Recommendation regarding holding of separate Session of Council for Budget business.	16-2-27	Neutral .. ..
107	Recommendation regarding payment of daily allowance to Members of the Burma Legislative Council residing in Rangoon.	16-2-27	Do. .. ..
108	Recommendation regarding the use of Stocks for confinement of dangerous criminals and drunkards arrested by Headmen.	17-2-27	Opposed .. ..
109	Recommendation regarding withdrawal of the new rules increasing the process-fees.	17-2-27	.. ..
110	Recommendation regarding alleged decline of the Cotton Spinning and Weaving Industry in Burma.	17-2-27	Opposed .. ..

RESOLUTIONS—*concld.*

Whether adopted or rejected by Council.	Analysis of voting for and against.					
	For.			Against.		
	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.	Officials.	Nominated.	Elected.
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	..	..	..	..
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	27	16	4	10
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	28	16	6	19
Withdrawn after Government explanation.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lost	..	..	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX VII.

Resolution regarding expenditure out of Rice Control Profits moved by the Hon'ble Finance Member on the 11th March 1924 and passed by the Legislative Council.

(1) that the expenditure on works which has been debited to loans from the Rice Control Profits be examined by the Finance Committee of this Council, and that it be decided which items in that expenditure should be finally debited to these Profits ;

(2) that so much of the expenditure in question as is not finally debited to the Profits be treated as a permanent loan taken by the Government ;

(3) that the amount which would be payable as interest on this loan if raised in the open market, together with payments received from the Rangoon Development Trust and the Rangoon Port Trust and other approved borrowers on account of loans made to them from the Profits be credited annually to a separate account ;

(4) that the expenditure which it is proposed to debit to this Account be presented to the Legislative Council in a separate series of Demands for Grants and be excluded from the Demands for the Grants under the ordinary heads, in order to emphasize the control of the Legislative Council over the utilisation of the money, so that it shall be used only for purposes specially approved by the Council and shall not be diverted to purposes not so approved ; and

(5) that the expenditure provided for by this series of grants be confined to material assets, such as Buildings, Roads, Irrigation works and the like, and adequately secured loans bearing interest, for whatever purpose made and whether indeterminate or for a term of years.

APPENDIX VIII.

Resolution regarding Authorisation of appropriation of Lapsed Expenditure moved by the Hon'ble Finance Member on the 11th March 1924 and passed by the Legislative Council.

That in the case of any major work under any of the following heads which is incomplete on the 31st of March, this Council authorises the appropriation subsequent to the 31st March to that work of the difference between the provision made for that work in the budget estimate of the previous year and the sum actually expended out of the provision during that year on the express conditions that the amount so authorised does not exceed the net saving under the total grant for the head concerned during that year and that a supplementary estimate for the amount of the difference will be placed before the Council at its first meeting after the 1st April :—

15. Other revenue expenditure financed from ordinary revenue.

27. Ports and Pilotage.

41. Civil Works.

55. Construction of Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage works.

The difference between Heads 15 and 55 is that for works falling under 55 capital accounts are kept while for works falling under 15 no capital accounts are kept.

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APPENDIX IX.

Resolution regarding Expenditure on Major Works moved by the Hon'ble Finance Member on the 31st August 1926 and passed by the Legislative Council.

When the allotment for Major works under any Major head of Account is less than the amount required to complete these works within the sanctioned estimates and the progress of construction is such that, unless checked, the expenditure is likely to exceed the allotment this Council authorises the appropriation of such additional amount as is necessary, subject to the following conditions :—

(1) that every major work with the amount of the sanctioned estimate and, in the case of a work in progress the expenditure incurred on the work up to the latest date for which figures are available shall be shown in the budget ;

(2) that the excess expenditure over the allotment shall be reported to the Council during the session next following the date on which it is ascertained ;

(3) that such excess expenditure shall not cause the Provincial balance to be overdrawn at the end of the financial year ;

(4) that the allotment shall be expended solely on the major works entered in the budget ; and

(5) that the ordinary rules for regularising any excess over the sanctioned estimate for any individual work shall continue to apply.

APPEN

Statement showing the Results of Elections in

Name of Constituency.	Total population according to the Census of 1921.	Total number of registered votes in		Percentage of enfranchised persons to population at	
		1922.	1925.	1922 General election.	1925 General election.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Akyab Town (General Urban) ..	576,430	1,800	1,795	13·8	13·6
Akyab Indian Community (Indian Urban).		1,415	1,754		
Akyab District East (General Rural).		36,638	27,957		
Akyab District West (General Rural).		39,549	47,063		
South Arakan (Kyaukpyu and Sandoway) (General Rural).	311,902	8,900	28,344	2·9	9·1
Insein (General Rural) ..	293,083	35,807	38,431	12·2	13·1
Hanthawaddy East (General Rural).	364,624	20,567	25,055	10·8	11·6
Hanthawaddy West (General Rural).		18,681	17,255		
Tharrawaddy North (General Rural).	492,429	35,348	32,701	14·9	14·3
Tharrawaddy South (General Rural).		37,895	37,591		
Pegu North (General Rural) ..	445,620	30,660	20,020	15·7	12·8
Pegu South (General Rural) ..		39,312	37,206		
Prome (General Urban) ..	371,575	2,542	2,496	12·9	14·8
Prome (General Rural) ..		45,372	52,334		
Bassein (General Urban) ..	489,473	2,470	2,491	13·6	14·5
Bassein (Indian Urban) ...		825	1,992		
Bassein (General Rural) ..		48,632	52,255		
Bassein (Karen Rural) ..		14,789	14,347		
Henzada (General Urban) ..	550,920	1,927	1,075	14·0	14·3
Henzada North (General Rural)		39,771	35,335		
Henzada South (General Rural)		35,260	42,635		
Myaungmya (General Rural) ..	370,551	37,521	38,905	14·0	14·1
Myaungmya (Karen Rural) ..		14,546	13,561		
Ma-ubin (General Rural) ..	330,106	37,812	36,241	15·8	16·0
Ma-ubin (Karen Rural) ..		14,394	16,601		
Pyapon (General Rural) ..	288,994	36,891	34,538	12·8	12·0
Toungoo North (General Rural)	381,883		28,157	13·1	15·8
Toungoo South (General Rural)		50,403	32,289		
Thaton (General Rural) ..	471,100	26,238	30,681	12·0	13·5
Thaton (Karen Rural) ..		30,170	33,140		
Moulmein (General Urban) ..	417,910	3,073	3,715	14·7	16·2
Moulmein (Indian Urban) ..		1,392	2,200		
Amherst (General Rural) ..		46,049	52,675		
Amherst (Karen Rural) ..		10,866	9,081		

* It is assumed that each person

DIX X*d*

Burma to the Provincial Legislative Council.

Total number of votes recorded in		Percentage of votes recorded to the total number of voters in the register at		No. of seats for each constituency.		No. of candidates in the election held in	
1922.	1925.	1922 General election.	1925 General election.	1922.	1925.	1922.	1925.
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
..	899	..	50·1	1	1	1	2
772	1,153	54·6	65·7	1	1	2	3
1,527	2,353	4·2	8·4	1	1	2	3
..	11,005	..	23·4	1	1	1	3
..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1
1,636	4,957	4·5	12·9	1	1	3	6
474	2,746	2·3	10·9	1	1	2	4
..	5,397	..	31·3	1	1	1	3
..	4,576	..	14·0	1	1	1	4
1,622	6,312	4·3	16·8	1	1	2	6
4,644	4,642	15·1	23·2	1	1	2	2
1,052	10,653	2·7	28·6	1	1	2	2
327	1,532	12·9	61·4	1	1	2	4
636	8,383	1·4	16·0	1	1	2	4
171	..	6·9	..	1	1	2	1
..	1,114	..	55·9	1	1	1	2
1,518	7,236	3·1	13·8	1	1	2	4
..	2,971	..	20·7	1	1	1	2
229	557	11·9	51·8	1	1	2	2
614	4,134	1·5	11·7	1	1	2	3
1,746	4,678	4·9	11·0	1	1	2	2
1,294	4,214	3·4	10·8	1	1	2	3
..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1
2,740	5,787	7·2	16·0	1	1	3	3
2,252	..	15·6	..	1	1	2	1
958	2,601	2·6	7·5	1	1	4	4
..	8,191	..	29·1	1	1	1	2
..	12,339	..	38·2	1	1	1	2
1,487	2,645	5·7	8·6	1	1	7	4
916	1,392	3·0	4·2	1	1	2	2
518	3,510	8·4	47·2*	2	2	4	4
..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1
..	4,864	..	9·2	1	1	1	3
..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1

voting cast two votes.

Name of Constituency.	Total population according to the Census of 1921.	Total number of registered votes in		Percentage of enfranchised persons to population at	
		1922.	1925.	1922 General election.	1925 General election.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Tavoy (General Urban) ..	156,786	3,721	3,693	5·5	13·7
Tavoy (General Rural) ..		20,547	17,855		
Mergui (General Rural) ..	135,465	10,799	13,741	8·0	10·1
Thayetmyo (General Rural) ..	255,406	37,838	40,352	14·8	15·8
Pakokku East (General Rural) ..	465,771	62,388	61,909	20·3	16·7
Pakokku West (General Rural)		32,024	16,036		
Minbu (General Rural) ..	274,302	53,793	58,582	19·6	21·4
Magwe West (General Rural) ..	423,252	49,619	57,982	22·5	23·9
Magwe East (General Rural) ..		45,572	43,042		
Mandalay (General Urban) ..	356,621	14,397	18,042	17·2	18·4
Mandalay (Indian Urban) ..		939	1,363		
Mandalay (General Rural) ..		46,008	46,083		
Sagaing East (General Rural) ..	326,908	31,830	31,303	21·0	21·9
Sagaing West (General Rural) ..		36,738	40,268		
Shwebo East (General Rural) ..	391,284	42,170	43,380	28·0	25·9
Shwebo West (General Rural) ..		67,505	58,000		
Lower Chindwin East (General Rural).	342,880	32,412	37,402	19·6	22·1
Lower Chindwin West (General Rural).		34,729	38,398		
Kyaukse (General Rural) ..	142,677	33,373	30,453	23·4	21·3
Meiktila East (General Rural) ..	289,897	29,074	23,371	20·9	18·5
Meiktila West (General Rural) ..		31,397	30,130		
Yamethin North (General Rural)	323,189	35,216	36,825	19·3	20·6
Yamethin South (General Rural)		27,083	29,872		
Katha (General Rural) ..	253,725	64,559	47,793	25·4	18·8
Myingyan North (General Rural)	442,008	54,534	59,245	18·4	20·9
Myingyan South (General Rural)		26,915	33,341		
Rangoon East (General Urban)..	341,962	3,392	6,879	7·7	12·2
Rangoon West (General Urban)		6,101	11,967		
Rangoon East (Indian Urban) ..		10,124	11,983		
Rangoon West (Indian Urban) ..		6,838	11,033		
					Bye-
Mandalay	356,621	61,344	..	17·2	..
Rangoon	341,962	26,455	..	7·7	..
Lower Chindwin	342,880	..	75,800	..	22·1
Tavoy	156,786	..	21,548	..	13·7
Magwe	423,252	..	101,024	..	23·9

* It is assumed that each person voting cast

† It is assumed that each person voting cast

Total number of votes recorded in		Percentage of votes recorded to the total number of voters in the register at		No. of seats for each constituency.		No. of candidates in the election held in	
1922.	1925.	1922 General election.	1925 General election.	1922.	1925.	1922.	1925.
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
..	2,477	..	67·1	1	1	1	2
2,126	6,905	10·3	38·7	1	1	2	3
627	..	5·8	..	1	1	3	1
945	2,212	2·5	5·5	1	1	4	3
1,285	2,242	2·1	3·6	1	1	3	3
1,317	..	4·1	..	1	1	2	1
8,238	11,191	5·3	2·0	1	1	3	4
2,348	11,798	4·7	20·3	1	1	6	4
1,684	8,378	3·7	19·5	1	1	3	6
4,230	12,147	9·8	22·4*	3	3	6	10
..	843	..	61·8	1	1	1	2
4,988	7,580	10·8	16·4	1	1	3	2
1,375	5,315	4·3	17·0	1	1	4	4
1,016	5,282	2·8	13·1	1	1	2	3
870	2,937	2·1	6·8	1	1	3	3
1,084	5,278	1·6	9·1	1	1	8	6
..	8,157	..	21·8	1	1	1	4
..	6,070	..	15·7	1	1	1	2
10,803	5,081	32·4	16·7	1		3	2
205	1,690	0·7	7·23	1	1	3	5
408	1,997	1·3	6·6	1	1	4	3
5,661	4,547	16·1	12·3	1	1	5	4
1,214	2,766	4·5	4·1	1	1	3	9
10,201	9,894	15·8	20·7	1	1	9	4
..	6,734	..	11·4	1	1	1	2
..	4,761	..	14·3	1	1	1	3
2,193	6,956	37·3	50·5†	2	2	3	5
4,533	11,307	37·1	47·2†	2	2	5	6
6,996	12,413	34·5	51·8†	2	2	8	7
4,286	10,138	31·3	45·9†	2	2	6	4
ELECTIONS.							
1923		1923		1923		1923	
..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
1924		1924		1924		1924	
1,724	..	6·5	..	1	..	3	..
	1925		1925		1925		1925
..	7,249	..	9·6	..	1	..	6
	1926		1926		1926		1926
..	2,844	..	13·2	..	1	..	2
	1927		1927		1927		1927
..	4,971	..	4·9	..	1	..	2

three votes.
two votes.

Statement showing the Results of Elections relating to Non-territorial constituency.

Nature and name of constituency.	Number of seats.	Candidates nominated.		Number of voters on the electoral roll.		Number of votes polled.	
		1922.	1925.	1922.	1925.	1922.	1925.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Anglo-Indian ..	1	2	2	2,631	3,875	769	1,065
European	1	1	1	3,671	3,281	..	..
Burma Chamber of Commerce.	2	2	2	72	68	..	..
Burmese Chamber of Commerce.	1	1	1	21	27	..	..
Chinese Chamber of Commerce.	1	1	1	1,562	1,591	..	..
Rangoon Trades Association.	1	2	1	36	33	32	..
Rangoon University ..	1	1	1	84	133	..	..

APPENDIX XI.

List showing district by district number of athins declared unlawful and prosecutions sanctioned since 1923 under the Burma Anti-Boycott Act, 1922.

Name of Districts.	Unlawful Associations.			Prosecutions sanctioned since 1923 under the Anti-Boycott Act.
	Number of Associations declared unlawful since 1923.	Number withdrawn since.	Balance.	
Yamethin	1	1	..	13
Tavoy	8	8	..	10
Thaton	1	..	1	*Nil*
Magwe	1	1	..	3
Upper Chindwin	35	..	35	9
Henzada	166	120	46	*Nil*
Tharawady	47	34	13	7
Prome	21	15	6	5
Thayetmyo..	44	44	..	1
Myaungmya	..	..	..	3
Pakokku	..	..	..	5
Mandalay	..	..	..	7
Shwebo	..	..	..	16
Sagaing	..	..	..	13
Lower Chindwin	..	..	..	15
Meiktila	..	..	..	5
Mergui	..	..	..	4
Minbu	..	..	..	2
Hanthawaddy	..	..	..	1
Myingyan	..	..	..	5
Total	303	223	101	124

APPENDIX XII.

Questions in the Burma Legislative Council regarding the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Anti-Boycott Act.

Q. 36. Mr. NARAYANA RAO (*Rangoon East Indian*): 5th February 1923. (*a*) Has the Government received any communication from the Akyab *Sangha Samaggi* requesting the Government either to release U. Nagainda, a Buddhist Monk convicted under the Anti-Boycott Act, or to change the rigorous imprisonment into a simple one?

(*b*) If so, will the Government be pleased to inform the House what action has been taken on the above appeal?

Q. 45. MAUNG SU (*Mandalay Town*): 5th February 1923. Will the Government be pleased to inform the Council to how many and which districts have the provisions of the Burma Anti-Boycott Act, 1922, been extended: the number of prosecutions under the said Act; the number and class of the accused persons involved in those cases and the nature of punishments inflicted on them?

Q. 58. MAUNG PO HLA (*Bassein Town*) for Mr. TAW SEIN KO (*Nominated*): 26th November 1923. Will Government be pleased to state the number of persons convicted under the Anti-Boycott Act and the nature and length of the sentences? Will Government be pleased to consider the advisability of releasing these prisoners, where good conduct in jail is shown and a promise given of future good behaviour?

Q. 245. Mr. TAW SEIN KO (*Nominated*): 11th March 1924. Have the *Bu Athins* in the Henzada and Tharrawaddy Districts been suppressed or dispersed? What is their number and what is the extent of their membership? Is their object revolutionary or merely to gain adherents through coercion and terrorism?

Q. 287. Mr. NARAYANA RAO (*Rangoon East Indian*): 11th March 1924. Will Government be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of prosecutions under the Anti-Boycott Act in 1923; and

(*b*) the sentence given in each particular case which ended in a conviction?

Q. 246. Mr. TAW SEIN KO (*Nominated*): 11th March 1924. With reference to the Hon'ble the Home Member's statement in Council on the 27th November last, that "all the accused in the abortive rebellion of Tet Kywe in the Shwebo District are prominent members of their respective *Wunthanu Athin*, which provided funds for their defence," has any judicial, administrative or departmental action been taken against these abetting *Athins*?

Q. 346. Mr. TAW SEIN KO (*Nominated*): 25th August 1924. How many Monks were convicted under the Anti-Boycott Act during the last three years and how many were released on tendering an apology before or after being committed to prison?

Q. 114. U THAW (*Tharrawaddy North*) : 21st September 1925. Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of *Bu Athins* or other Associations notified by the Local Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act ?

Q. 6. U MRA TUN (*Akyab Town*) : 1st March 1926. Will the Government be pleased to place on the table statements showing the number of prosecutions, convictions, acquittals and withdrawals of cases under the Burma Anti-Boycott Act, 1922, for the years 1922, 1923, 1924 and 1925 ?

Q. 65. U THEIN MAUNG (*Prome Rural*) : 1st March 1926. Will Government state the districts—

(*a*) to which the Anti-Boycott Act is still extended ;

(*b*) in which associations were still declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act ; and

(*c*) the number of associations that are still notified as unlawful associations in each district ?

Q. 64. U THEIN MAUNG (*Prome Rural*) : 5th March 1926. Will Government state—

(*a*) the names of persons undergoing imprisonment in Burma at present for political offences and under Anti-Boycott Act ;

(*b*) the sentence inflicted on each of them ; and

(*c*) the balance sentence still to undergo.

Q. 217. Mr. L. H. WELLINGTON (*Tavoy Town*) : 19th March 1926. (1) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a petition to the Deputy Commissioner, Tavoy, asking that action be taken against one Maung Zon of Thinbawseik Quarter, Tavoy, under the Anti-Boycott Act was thrown out by that officer without submitting the matter to the Local Government in spite of the fact that the police reported that there was every chance of a conviction in the event of a prosecution ?

(2) If so, will the Government be pleased to state what action it proposes to take in the matter ?

Q. 55. U NI (*Prome Town*) : 31st January 1927. Will the Government be pleased to state the names and description of associations in the Prome Town and District and in other districts against which the notifications declaring them unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act have not been withdrawn and the reasons why the said notifications have not been withdrawn yet ?

Q. 82. U. NI (*Prome Town*) : 10th February 1927. Will the Government be pleased to state its reasons why the Anti-Boycott Act has not been repealed even now and how long it intends to preserve the same ?

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

Letter No. 1219-C., dated the 12th August 1927.

From—The Offg. Chief Secretary to Government,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

SUBJECT :—*Working of the Reforms.*

As requested in Mr. Dunnett's letter No. F.-181|27-Public, dated the 26th March 1927, I am directed to submit a report on the working of the Reformed Constitution in Bihar and Orissa for the period 1923—1926.

2. There is no objection to the publication of the report ; in fact, it has been written with that end in view.

REPORT ON THE REFORMED CONSTITUTION.

PERSONNEL OF THE REFORMED GOVERNMENT.

1. The following changes have taken place in the personnel of the reformed Government since April 1923.

His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler was granted leave from the 27th of March to the 25th of July 1925 and during his absence the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, Vice-President of the Executive Council, acted as Governor. On the expiry of Sir Henry Wheeler's term of office as Governor, His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson assumed charge from the 7th of April 1927.

When the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson acted as Governor from the 27th of March to the 25th of July 1925 the Hon'ble Mr. E. L. L. Hammond acted as member of the Governor's Executive Council in charge of the subjects previously in the charge of the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson and the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha acted as Vice-President of the Executive Council. The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson's term of office as Member of the Executive Council expired on the 3rd of December 1925 and the Hon'ble Mr. E. L. L. Hammond was appointed Member in his place while the Hon'b'le Mr. S. Sinha was appointed Vice-President. Mr. Sinha's term of office expired on the 17th of June 1926 and the Hon'ble Mr. Hammond was appointed Vice-President. The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Keshav Prashad Singh of Dumraon was appointed Member of Council and administered the subjects of which the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha had been in charge. On the resignation of the Hon'ble Mr. Hammond of his office as Vice-President and Member of the Executive Council the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur was appointed Vice-President and the Hon'ble Mr. J. D. Sifton was appointed Member in charge of the subjects previously in the charge of the Hon'ble Mr. Hammond with effect from the 7th of April 1927.

There has been no change in the Ministers and the Hon'ble Sir Saiyid Muhammad Fakhr-ud-din and the Hon'ble Babu Ganesh Dutt Singh have remained in charge of the Transferred Departments.

Distribution of business.

2. The only change of importance in the distribution of business that has been made since the previous report is that Excise was transferred from the portfolio of the Minister of Education to that of the Minister of Local Self-Government. The change was made partly by reason of the fact that the former being a Muhammadan felt some difficulty in dealing with the subject. In the Executive Council the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha and his successor the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Keshav Prashad Singh of Dumraon continued to hold charge of the Finance, Judicial and Irrigation Departments. The Civilian members held charge as before of the Appointment, Political and Revenue Departments.

Allocation of funds to Reserved and Transferred Departments.

3. There has been no necessity to utilize the procedure prescribed in Devolution Rule 32 for occasions on which the members of the Executive Council and the Ministers fail to agree with regard to the distribution of funds. In Bihar and Orissa, as is shown at page 167 of the Muddiman Committee's Report, the Transferred Departments, have been more liberally treated relatively to the Reserved Departments than in any other province. The following table shows, for each year since the introduction of the Reforms, the distribution in the budget of funds for new schemes between the two sides of the Government :—

Year.	Provision for new schemes.				Total.
	Reserved.		Transferred.		
	Recurring.	Non-recurring.	Recurring.	Non-recurring.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1921-22	5	645	81	15,24	22,55
1922-23	53	3,62	16	6,69	11,00
1923-24	1,30	8,55	11,68	16,59	38,12
1924-25	94	8,43	8,36	14,28	32,01
1925-26	1,00	6,78	13,48	31,27	52,53
1926-27	35	13,83	8,81	44,60	67,59
1927-28	42	3,77	1,21	11,36	16,76
Total ..	4,59	51,43	44,51	1,40,03	2,40,56

4. Thus 90 per cent. of the new recurring and 73 per cent. of the new non-recurring expenditure has been incurred in the Transferred Departments.

5. Of the total sum of Rs. 82,68 voted by the Council for supplementary demands during the last 6 years Rs. 40,20 have gone to the Transferred and Rs. 42,48 to the Reserved Departments.

6. It was not till the preparation of the budget for the year 1925-26 that the proposals for new expenditure outran the funds available. This disproportion became most marked in connexion with the current year's budget, after a series of years during which the fact that there was money in the balance and that all the Ministers' demands had been met down to the year 1924-25 had obscured the precarious nature of the provincial resources. Such funds as were available this year were distributed at a joint meeting of Government, at which, as will be seen, the lion's share for both recurring and non-recurring purposes went to Transferred Departments.

7. The above remarks relate to new expenditure. Of the total expenditure the larger share is still on the Reserved Departments, though the share of the Transferred Departments has risen from 32 to 40 per cent. since 1921-22. The criticism is not infrequently heard in Council that too much is being spent on the Reserved side and that the money would be better spent on the nation-building departments, for instance the Industries Department. But it cannot seriously be urged that the expenditure on the Reserved Departments in Bihar and Orissa is extravagant. The expenditure has habitually been kept at the lowest possible figure, as the generally infructuous report of the Provincial Retrenchment Committee showed. The services which form the frame work of the whole structure are on the Reserved side, and it is not possible to look for a reduction in the present scale of Reserved expenditure without a general sacrifice of efficiency. If the Transferred expenditure overtakes the Reserved on the present distribution of services between the two sides, it will be because the larger part of any increase of revenue that occurs is made over to the Transferred Departments.

Constitutional or Cabinet difficulties and the resignation on such grounds of Members or Ministers.

8. The relations between the Governor and the Executive Councillors and Ministers and between the latter *inter se* have continued cordial. Since the resignation of the Hon'ble Mr. Madhu Sudhan Das, the post of Minister of Local Self-Government has been held by the Hon'ble Babu Ganesh Dutta Singh while the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Fakhr-ud-din has held the post of Minister since the inauguration of the Reforms.

9. There have been no constitutional difficulties in the relations between Sir Henry Wheeler and the members of his Government although the local politicians and press have tried to invent them. The latter have stated that His Excellency never so much as pretended to work on the basis of a unitary Government and that joint meetings between the two halves of the Government were extremely rare. As a matter of fact 80 per cent. of the formal meetings of Government in Sir Henry Wheeler's time were joint meetings. There was no need for weekly meetings either of the Council or the Ministers as there was no business to justify them.

but His Excellency saw each of the members of his Government practically once a week and on other occasions when they had business to discuss with him. He frequently saw two Members or two Ministers together in an informal way. All letters from the Government of India were seen on both sides and all the fortnightly reports on the political situation. Both sides were consulted on legislation and questions of social and general interest were frequently circulated on both sides. Sir Henry Wheeler explicitly repudiated the suggestion that the Ministers have ever been kept in the dark about what was going on nor did they ever complain that this was so.

10. Another accusation made in the Legislative Council and repeated by the press is that the Ministers have no real power and have been constantly overruled. This also is untrue ; His Excelleney did on occasions, differ from the recommendations of the Ministers but such occasions have been few, looking to the volume of business which goes through daily. He had occasion to make suggestions which they accepted ; but speaking broadly the Ministers have been allowed to run their departments in their own way. The most important legislation on the transferred side recently has been the amendment of the Municipal and Local Self-Government Acts. Both Bills contained provisions which His Excellency and many officials thought unwise and which events are fast proving, to be so. On the financial side, the most salient features have been the lion's share allotted to the transferred side and the large grants to local bodies ; in both the hands of the Hon'ble Ministers are apparent. On the Education side the most noteworthy developments have been in connection with the University and Patna College. In both the action taken has followed the recommendation of the Minister. In fact, this complaint has not emanated from the Ministers but from those who have made it their business to abuse them.

Reinforcement and Readjustment of the Secretariat.

11. The post of Fifth Secretary temporarily created in 1921 was made permanent in 1924. The post of Secretary to Council which had since 1921 been held by a member of the Judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service has not, as was at one time intended, been included in the cadre of that service, but on the post becoming vacant in 1924, an Indian barrister was appointed. The Assistant Secretary to the Council is also an Indian barrister.

Standing Committees appointed at the instance of the Legislature and Council Secretaries.

12. A marked feature of the work of the first Council was the non-official demand for the appointment of Committees to explore the whole field of administration, especially on the transferred side. Thus one committee examined the question of primary and secondary education, including *inter alia* such important questions as the medium of instruction, the teaching of English in middle schools and the transfer of control of these schools to local bodies ; another dealt with vocational training ; a third dealt with the policy and organisation of the Agricultural Department, while a fourth was convened by the Minister to advise regarding the future excise policy. On the reserved side a committee was appointed to consider the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions while another endeavoured to solve the problem of the development of the

mineral resources of the province. Finally a Retrenchment Committee made a detailed examination of all branches of the administration with a view to effecting economy. This very complete survey having been made by the first Council there was a lull in the demand for committees during the lifetime of the second Council though two committees were constituted by the Minister of Education, one to consider the question of development of vernaculars and the other to consider the development of Sanskrit Education. The third Council has also carried a resolution demanding a committee on the administration of the Son canals and another committee is to investigate the causes of depression in the coal industry.

These committees have assisted the Ministers to formulate their policy in the transferred departments ; further while throwing a considerable volume of work on the officers of Government concerned and making a heavy call upon their patience, they have served an educative purpose in ventilating popular fallacies concerning the administration and also in bringing members of the Council into touch with the practical problems of the various departments. They have also demonstrated that a committee is not a panacea for all difficulties.

13. Under the first Council there had been only two standing committees one for the reserved and one for the transferred side. In the second Council this arrangement was altered and separate standing committees were appointed for each department, or group of departments, *e.g.*, Police, Judicial and Jails, Land Revenue and Forests, and Irrigation, on the Reserved side, Roads and Buildings, Medical and Public Health, Education, Excise, and Development (Agriculture, Co-operative Credit and Industries, etc.), on the Transferred side. A standing committee was not necessary for Local Self-Government as a statutory committee already existed. Of these standing Committees, the Member or Minister in charge is chairman and the Secretary of the Department concerned also attends, and a number of non-official members elected by the Council. These committees are called as occasion requires and their chief work is to consider new schemes included in the budget and supplementary estimates. They have usually, at least on the transferred side, agreed to the proposals placed before them. Thus in January 1926 the Education and Development Standing Committees approved respectively of all the 52 and 21 projects placed before them and in 1927, 15 educational and 14 development proposals were approved. The Medical and Public Health Committee did little work and in fact none has yet been appointed in the present Council.

The main use of the standing committee is to enable Government to explain their proposals to a smaller circle and in a calmer atmosphere than that of the Council Chamber. On the transferred side the members have usually refrained from opposing schemes on which they have been consulted ; but one criticism made of the work of these committees is that they only meet shortly before the Council session and at a time when it is too late to modify the proposals put before them. A system of quarterly meetings might be more satisfactory but it would not be easy to get members together.

14. The Public Accounts Committee has met regularly to consider the Audit and Appropriation reports on the Provincial Accounts. The Committee originally consisted of three official and six non-official members but in 1923 one of the official members was replaced by another non-official,

and since then the Committee has consisted of two official and seven non-official members. The attendance has been reasonably satisfactory. To begin with the Committee was handicapped by a lack of knowledge of the structure of Government accounts and the methods of audit. Several of the members, however, are now acquiring a useful working knowledge and the appointment of the Committee for the whole life of the Council instead of for a year at a time should effect a further improvement in this direction. It may perhaps be said that it is the personal aspect of these reports in which members show the keenest interest.

In addition to the contents of the Audit and Appropriation Reports the Committee has recently been considering the Auditor General's proposals regarding the future form of these reports a matter which was referred to them by the Finance Department. The reports of the Committee have generally been accepted by the Council without discussion, but the presentation of their last report on the Appropriation Report for 1924-25 was the occasion of a lively discussion in the first session of the third Council. The drafting of the report of the Committee has hitherto been done by one of the official members, and no difficulty has been experienced in conveying the intention of the committee without causing friction with the executive Government. In some cases the committee has thrown out suggestions of which the local Government have been glad to avail themselves. Generally speaking it has been content to criticise with a view to future action and has avoided provocative challenges of particular decisions of Government.

15. No Council Secretaries have yet been appointed.

Relations between the Reformed Government and the Public Services.

16. The inauguration of the Reforms Scheme coincided with a period of virulent attack on the services. The atmosphere thus created was most unfavourable for the successful initiation of the Reforms. There was a general despondency especially among the members of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police which led a number of officers to seek employment elsewhere. Six officers of the Indian Civil Service, three of the Indian Educational Service and 10 per cent. of the Imperial Police took proportionate pension and their example would certainly have been followed by others if the right to this concession had not been extended to 1929.

This pessimistic outlook has been to a considerable extent removed. So far as the Ministers are concerned, officers in immediate touch have come to understand that their experience is valued and their assistance appreciated. At the same time, there has been a revival of confidence in the services that Government will protect them from unfair attack, while hostile criticism by the extreme left of the Council has lost much of its sting by reason of its obvious perversity. In fact such criticism has recently changed its target and is levelled more constantly at the popular representatives in the Government itself than at the superior Government officers.

There remains, however, a considerable strain of nervousness concerning Council criticism especially among the officers of the Provincial Services. On this subject the Inspector-General of Police observes "I feel that all police officers as well as myself find it difficult to look straight ahead regardless of consequence. Perhaps the rash are thereby steadied, but the strong are weakened by a tendency to avoid responsibility knowing that strong

action however correct usually will be subjected to hostile and unreasonable criticism ". An officer of the Provincial Civil Service puts forward a similar view : " In our relations with the Ministers we are always obsessed with the idea that the Ministers have not only to listen to, but also to keep in good humour, the members of the Legislative Council ".

The ingrained determination of the Legislative Council not merely to control policy but to meddle in details of the executive administration is directly responsible for this feeling that Government officers are now required to serve two masters. Even more serious is the feeling of insecurity in the case of services working directly under the transferred departments ; their very existence depends upon the annual vote of the Council and though in the last resort the Governor might interfere to save a service, it is felt that neither the Governor nor the Minister might avail to save individual appointments. There is solid ground for the fear in the past action of the Council, and the inevitable result is the tendency of members of these services to regard individual members of the Council in some degree as masters of their fate, an attitude leading to demoralization and fatal to good work.

The position of the district officer has definitely changed for the worse. It is true that the poison gas let loose by the non-co-operation movement has passed and in many districts the personality of the district officer has reasserted itself : but the new system has inevitably diminished his efficiency. In the pre-reform days the district officer was actuated by the guiding principle of improving the district of which he was in charge and he had power in his manifold capacities to give effect to his ideas. But this idealism cannot survive the complete transfer of his responsibilities in the sphere of local self-government, and has to some extent been replaced by an attitude of half cynical criticism. The prophecy of Mr. Montagu that the district officer would find a worthy substitute for his past position in the training of men who can relieve him of much of his burden is far from realisation. The modern politicians, as elected to the district boards and municipalities, have no desire to be trained. They resent interference and it is not possible for the district officer to continue making futile attempts to improve matters. This is where the Reforms touch him most nearly and as he sees the structure built up by his predecessors in the district boards and municipalities travelling down the easy descent to chaos and bankruptcy, he has strong doubts of the wisdom of the policy that the people should learn by their mistakes. The people who pay the cost of these mistakes have not the remotest conception that they have even had the opportunity of making mistakes and pathetically reproach Government and its officers for allowing these things to be. The growing centralization of administrative matters and the consequent extension and improvement of the Secretariat appointments also re-act upon the efficiency of the district officer who knows that political reasons, of which he is left in ignorance, and on which he has no opportunity to comment, will be allowed to thwart his efforts towards practical efficiency.

The local officers feel that less interest is taken by the higher authorities in district work and that interest is centred in politics. They also feel that they are working under a temporary constitution which may be changed for better or worse after a brief period, when practical experience will again be subordinated to political expediency, and there is little to be done for the present but to " mark time ".

17. Apart from this uneasiness and from mistrust of Council influence and interference, the relations between the members of the Services and the members of the Reformed Government with whom they have been brought into contact have been harmonious in the past four years. The Heads of Transferred Departments and Secretaries acknowledge the readiness of Ministers to discuss questions of importance and to attach full weight to their opinion and experience. The Ministers themselves consider that the relations between them and the public services were generally smooth. In this connection they have noted as follows :—

> " As we were anxious to have co-operation of the public services, our differences used to be settled by discussion. The orders passed by us were carried out without apparent resentment. There were occasional protests from the local officers when the Reformed Government did not act according to their wishes."

Such protests from local officers were not unknown even in pre-Reform days.

The personnel of the officers of the All-India Services has undoubtedly suffered from the Reforms. Premature retirement has robbed the small provincial cadre of numerous officers of great promise at a time when they could ill be spared and from all sides the tale is told that the more recent recruits are not of the quality which the services formerly attracted.

General effect of the Reforms on the cost of the Administration.

18. In a previous report the additional recurring expenditure directly due to the Reforms was estimated at Rs. 3,70,000. Non-recurring expenditure on buildings including residences for the Ministers at Ranchi and at Patna and quarters for the members of the Council is estimated at eight lakhs of rupees. The expense of an election every third year is approximately Rs. 1,40,000.

As previously stated the expenditure indirectly due to the Reforms cannot be estimated.

Effect of the Reforms on the efficiency of the Administration.

19. It would hardly be in place to discuss in detail the results of the increased Indianisation of the services, nor is it possible at this early stage before the new recruits have risen to posts of responsibility to give any definite appreciation. The provincialisation of the services in the Transferred Departments, though an integral part of the whole scheme, is still in the early stages. Reference has been made above to the loss sustained by Government through the resignation of experienced officers.

20. The most noticeable feature of the last three years has been the grave deterioration in the administration of local bodies, which is dealt with in detail in a subsequent paragraph. The direct effects of this maladministration are there described. There is also an indirect effect in that the public which has only a very hazy idea of the nature of the reformed constitution and its working, regards it as a proof of the inefficiency of Government that these abuses are allowed and this feeling reacts upon the other branches of administration.

There is nothing comparable to this land slide in other departments. To deal first with the Reserved Departments. The insistent demand for funds for the nation-building departments, has undoubtedly led

Government to curtail expenditure on the Reserved Departments to the minimum consistent with maintaining the previous standard of efficiency. The standard may have been maintained but there has been no progress and stagnation may lead to deterioration. For example, the expenditure in the Police budget is every year vigorously attacked. To avoid swelling the total, funds for necessary reforms have been obtained by reducing existing expenditure rather than by asking the Council to vote new money and it is to be noted that though the number of police is lower in proportion to the population than in any province in India, the total force has been reduced since 1921 by nearly 800 officers and men, in order to provide a living wage for the remainder. The institution of a detective school and the employment of a detective staff, measures which are really necessary to cope with organised crime have been held up. The housing of the police in suitable barracks and stations is still an urgent matter, but the amount of money assigned for the purpose annually is insufficient.

21. Matters of land revenue, administration and administration of justice are at present stationary. The policy which finds favour with the council is to abolish all supervising officers on the executive side, such as Commissioners, Deputy Inspectors-General and Superintending Engineers. The Council apparently are blind to the wholesale fall in the standard of administration which would inevitably result. A marked feature of the Council is the inability to come to any final decision on any debatable matter. As an example reference may be made to the history of tenancy legislation as given in this and the previous report. The Bengal Tenancy Act needs amendment in certain points, not of major importance ; with an assured majority Government would have passed an act which would have been fair to both sides ; in the present Council Government have been forced to wait till the outstanding points of difference have been settled by the parties themselves and the experience of the last six years shows that there is little hope of such settlement. There may be compensating advantages in getting questions of this kind settled by the people themselves rather than by an outside authority but a Government which cannot carry into effect measures which are necessary for good administration fall short of the old standard of efficiency. Another example of obstruction due to ignorance may be cited. All proposals of Government to deal with the problem of deforestation of Chota Nagpur are rejected by the members of Council, most of whom being practically ignorant of the urgency of the problem have been misled by a few whose interests might be adversely affected by Government action in that direction.

22. Considerable advances are claimed in the Transferred Departments as a result of the Reforms but it is not easy to estimate how much is really due to them. The Ministers claim that the efficiency of the administration has been increased and cite in support of this the fact that large grants have been made for the development of primary education, the extension of medical relief, and for secondary and university education, and that Medical, Engineering and Veterinary Colleges have been opened or started. There is no doubt that reforms have given an impetus to education and public health administration, and development in these departments which would have been of slower growth under the old regime, has been quickened. The Ministers are entitled to the credit of this expansion they have pressed vigorously for funds and have obtained (albeit at the expense of other branches of the administration) from Government and the Council the lion's share of any funds available. But the very reforms that made this possible

have hampered them in the administration of these funds. They cannot use the pre-reform machinery ; they have to work with the local bodies as their agents and carry with them the Council at all stages and in almost every detail. Unfortunately therefore the increase in efficiency is not measured by the increase in expenditure.

23. Along with the opinion of the Ministers may be considered the opinion of the heads of the chief transferred departments, Education, Agriculture and Medical. The Director of Public Instruction finds that much of his time is withdrawn from educational work proper to deal with discussions in the Council. Though the Education Department budget has not been as vigorously attacked as the police budget, yet a disproportionate amount of labour is involved in explaining minor details of expenditure, which are challenged. The interest taken by members of the Council in educational matters also leads to a large number of questions and resolutions on this subject ; out of some 60 resolutions discussed by the second Council, twelve of which dealt with educational matters were discussed at length.

24. The Secretary in this department also emphasizes the increase of headquarters work and in particular the centralisation due to the fact that a Minister has to be accessible to the members of the Council and others and is beseiged by personal letters and interviews in connection with the detailed work of the department. He also points out that the Ministers dependence on the vote of the Council leads to a marked lack of finality in the decisions of Government on the transferred side. Even after a scheme has been thoroughly considered a demand for modification may be made and the Minister finds it difficult to refuse to accede to it, if it is likely to receive the support of the Council. This difficulty is bound to continue until Ministers have behind them a well organized party content to indicate policy and not interfering in matters of detail.

25. The Director of Public Instruction also considers that though the department has profited by the receipt of additional funds—the Education budget has risen from 41 lakhs in 1917-18 to 86 lakhs in 1927-28—it has suffered in the following respects :

(*a*) It is difficult for an elected Minister to resist pressure for more colleges, more Sanskrit *tols* and more *madrassas* because his supporters are more interested in these and in particular institutions in their own constituencies. The cause of primary education, though recognised as the most urgent, inevitably suffers.

(*b*) Similarly it is difficult for a Minister to enforce any reasoned distribution of primary schools throughout the province. In Bihar and Orissa primary schools until recently grew up haphazard, the system (if it can be so called) being for a teacher to start a school and then apply for a stipend. If primary education is ever to be put on a proper basis, the schools will have to be properly spaced, which means there will be a reduction of schools in many areas. The attempts that have been made to introduce a well-planned system have not been well received by the Legislative Council, which resents any restriction on the recognition of new schools and views with suspicion a policy of replacing a large number of inefficient one-teacher schools by a small number of larger and better staffed schools.

(*c*) Again the accentuation of communal differences has caused a keen demand for separate classes of primary schools for the different communities. Instead of having one well-equipped village school as the common centre of education the warring sects demand in each village a *maktab*, Sanskrit pathsala and a separate school for the depressed classes, all of a lower standard of efficiency.

(*d*) Another cause tending towards inefficiency in the subordinate staff is the centralization of control. So long as the Minister is liable to be attacked for the action of his subordinates, he finds it necessary to exercise a close control over those officers which tends to negative their scope of individual responsibility.

26. The treatment of education by local bodies is dealt with in a separate paragraph.

27. The Agricultural Department came under the fire of the first reformed Council which appointed a committee to consider its policy and re-organization. This Committee showed itself hostile to the members of the Indian Agricultural Service and found no use for specialists such as the Agricultural Chemist. They failed to appreciate the value of scientific research work, the results of which were not immediately obvious, and recommended that the Sabour College should be closed and that instead a large number of small farms should be opened throughout the province to bring the Department into direct touch with the cultivators. The report of the Committee was accepted by Government, the Agricultural Chemist resigned, the number of European Deputy Directors was reduced to three, and only natives of the province have since been recruited to the department as Assistant Directors. The proposals of the first Council having been accepted, the second Council left the department alone. In the opinion of the Director of Agriculture the Reforms and the policy adopted by Government at the suggestion of the Council has affected the efficiency of the department in two ways: " on the one hand the closing of the Sabour College and the opening of small farms has undoubtedly increased the immediate practical utility of the department by applying the work of the staff to local practical experiments. On the other hand, the reduction of the European element has made rapid expansion impossible because there are now very few men left in the Department competent to train an Indian staff. Efficiency can now only be attained by limiting recruitment of a subordinate to the number to whom four superior officers—and these not all qualified by a scientific outlook—can give a large amount of personal supervision." Possibly in the pre-Reform days too much importance was attached to the appointment of specialists, with the result that the department was out of touch with the cultivator whom it was supposed to help, but the pendulum has now swung too far in the opposite direction.

28. The tendency to sacrifice quality to quantity appears also in the dealings of the Council with medical relief. The first Council pressed on the Minister the policy of a rapid expansion in the number of hospitals and paid little heed to the warning that too rapid expansion might result in a very marked decrease in the efficiency of the institution. That the warning was not uncalled for, is shown by the detailed report of the work of local bodies. As a result of this decision for rapid expansion and as a result also of the refusal of district boards to co-operate with their expert adviser, the Civil Surgeon, incompetent and in some cases untrained

men have been appointed, while money has been wasted in various ways such as on erecting hospitals with indoor accommodation where the medical officer in charge is not qualified to perform operations. In consequence of this hasty increase in the number of mufassil dispensaries, hospitals at district headquarters though in most cases doing most valuable work under the expert supervision of the Civil Surgeon have been neglected and starved for want of funds.

The Council has also shown itself anxious for a large increase in the number of medical schools, a proposal which does not meet with the approval of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, who considers that the standard of qualification of men of the sub-assistant surgeon class is " pitifully low and is undoubtedly getting lower ".

29. On the other hand the Minister and the Council have met to a large extent the view of the professional advisers in regard to the construction and equipment of the Medical College, the cost of which has been met from public funds and public subscription and although the development of indigenous medicines is a popular cry which cannot be altogether resisted, only a very small fraction of the medical funds has been devoted to Ayurvedic and Unani systems.

30. The officiating Inspector-General concludes his review of the medical department with a note of despair. " If the country is to take its place with the other nations of the world in medical and scientific matters and if the non-vocal peasant is to have the relief to which he is entitled, the department concerned should be divorced from its present control and work along lines which are well known and which exist in all civilised nations ". This professional view seems unduly pessimistic and against it the layman may contend that though there have been failures, the increase in the number of hospitals has been for the benefit of the people. Mistakes have been made but mistakes have been corrected. For instance the Gaya district board adopted a very ambitious but unworkable scheme for combining medical relief with preventive measures against epidemics. This scheme has now been revised and the board co-operating in this case with the Civil Surgeon has succeeded in establishing a widespread system of medical relief on orthodox lines which is appreciated by the people, who here and elsewhere have expressed their preference for western medicine.

31. That the Council is not entirely in favour of quantity as opposed to quality is shown by their recommendation accepted by the Minister to appoint Assistant Surgeons in place of Sub-Assistant Surgeons at all subdivisional headquarters, while reference has already been made to the expenditure voted for the Medical College. If the Council and in particular if local bodies will co-operate with their expert advisers, progress on sound lines may be anticipated. It may not be unduly optimistic to forecast such co-operation.

32. When the Reforms scheme was under consideration many persons were apprehensive that the transfer of the Excise Department on which this province relies for one-third of its revenue might be disastrous. The experience of the last six years shows that these fears were ill-founded and this result is attributed by the Member of the Board of Revenue to the statesmanlike attitude of the Minister in charge of the department who has supported strongly the administrative head and has successfully

opposed the attempts of the Council to introduce an impracticable policy of prohibition.

The Excise Commissioner has however drawn attention to the fact that the annual budget discussion is disquieting to the Excise staff which on account of its unpopularity is specially liable to attack. In 1922 the Council cut out of the budget, the provision for the post of Deputy Commissioner. This decision though it was subsequently reversed at the autumn session brought home to officers serving in the Transferred departments of Excise and Registration the insecurity of their position and many of the Superintendents of Excise who had previously been Deputy Collectors were anxious in consequence to revert to the general line. It is obviously most demoralising for officers of the department to canvass members of the Council in connection with the budget; but unless officers of the Transferred services are safeguarded from the risk of losing their posts by an irresponsible whim of the Council, the necessity for canvassing will increase and members of the Council will ask for their *quid pro quo*. The risk from demoralisation is real and with the increase in the number of irresponsible professional politicians—a matter dealt with later—undue interference by the Council may have a most evil effect on the work of this important department.

33. On the work of the Co-operative Department and of the newly-formed Industries Department there is little to be said. The local work of the former department has always been largely in non-official hands. The further exclusion of officials since the Reforms has left the movement still more in the hands of honorary workers and many of the central banks have suffered from the jealousies and sometimes the dishonesty of the directors. In one case the dissensions of the Directors reached such a point that at last they themselves asked the Collector to undertake the duties of Chairman. With the removal of official influence there is a growing tendency to undertake grandiose but ill-considered schemes, which are likely to bring kudos to the promoters rather than solid good to the public.

The Industries Department is open to the same criticism and it has been pointed out that any schemes which can be classed as " nation building " command the unconsidered support of the Council and the Minister finds difficulty in negativing them, even though they are financially difficult to justify and likely to fail.

34. The brief summary of the work of the chief departments shows that there has generally been up to the present no marked decrease in the efficiency of the administration. But the tendencies noted in the previous report still exist. The Council is still apt to interfere in details of the administration; it still does not appreciate the need for skilled supervision and advice for the executive officers, and would abolish, as being superfluous, all intermediate posts between the departmental head and the actual executive establishment. Officers of the superior services are still uncertain of the future and have little incentive to constructive effort; while the educated non-official Indians, even with increasing knowledge and experience, are not taking up the initiative which now lies in their hands but are concentrating rather on the demand for rapid political advancement than on working the existing administration successfully. Local

bodies freed from the control of the district officer and Commissioner now chafe at all restrictions; they resent interference even from the side of the Minister intervening in the interests of the tax payer or to suppress action which is scandalous.

35. An ominous and disquieting sign of the times is the growth of a class of professional politicians—mostly raw youths—who take up politics as a livelihood. In dealing with Local Self-Government details have been given of the persons elected to the local bodies; many of them are mere adventurers with no stake in the country. Nor is the record of some of the members of the Legislative Council much better. Responsible Indians are openly apprehensive of the new class of men who are gaining power and the older conservative elements are tending to stand aloof in disgust. So far in this province the sober elements have prevailed, but the irresponsible demagogue is already a danger, and owing to the ignorance of the common electorate may bring about disastrous results. Bribery at elections is everywhere rampant and not restricted to one side, and an atmosphere is being created which is congenial to the growth of the professional politician.

In considering the effect of the Reforms on the efficiency of the Administration there is one thing that stands out clearly, *viz.*, the preponderating value of the personal equation. The need for the right man is increasingly clamant. If the evil tendencies noticed are to be checked and the national progress guided into the right channels we must have the best men as Ministers, the best men in the Councils and local bodies and equally necessarily the best men in the services; it is for enlightened public opinion to ensure the first, but any deterioration in the standards and qualifications of the services will be fatal and the quality of the new recruits and the thoroughness of their training are matters that deserve most serious attention.

Local Self-Government and the Reforms.

36. Reports which have been received from various sources show that during the past three years there has been serious maladministration in the majority of the local bodies of the province both generally and in regard to education. This depressing failure of local bodies to carry out their duties with even a moderate degree of efficiency is the most ominous symptom of the general trend of events. One Indian officer considers that the deterioration is not directly due to the Reforms but attributes it rather to the fall in public morality accentuated by the turmoil caused by the Reforms but due ultimately to economic causes. It is hardly profitable to speculate on the ultimate causes; it is possible that each example of maladministration might be paralleled from the record of other countries, but the point to be emphasized in this report is that this deterioration has followed directly on action taken in the spirit of reforms. The relaxation of control, both external and internal, over local bodies has been advocated long before the Reforms Scheme, and these spheres of work have rightly been regarded as a training ground. But this relaxation has been carried in the recent Self-Government Acts to its extreme limits by the exclusion of Government officers from serving in any executive post and the elimination of all the powers of interference by local officers while at the same time the electorate has been largely increased. This relaxation of control might not have had such regrettable results if the

more conservative element had been elected to the boards, and if the voters had returned persons who had previous experience of local administration under the chairmanship of an official. But the elections came at a time when the Swaraj party after the failure of non-co-operation were looking for some new method of pressing their political views and for some new field for their agents. The electorate, ignorant and gullible, has as yet shown little signs of realising that their own comfort and safety depends on the candidates whom they elect to the local bodies. Open cajolery, exhortations in the name of Gandhi, intimidation by volunteers, promises of reduction of taxation or even of reforms which were outside the scope of local administration were among the methods used to secure votes. The newly elected members at once showed themselves impatient of all control even by a Minister and in many cases adopted a defiant attitude towards Government. The boards in particular used their control over primary schools for spreading their own political views and numerous instances of this have been reported by the Director of Public Instruction. In the matter of appointments considerations of all kinds other than efficiency influenced the executive and in many cases wholly unqualified persons have been appointed to responsible posts. In medical matters, the boards in many cases preferred to take their own line rather than be guided by the expert knowledge of their professional advisers.

37. The centralisation of control makes it difficult to stop these abuses. Local officers are merely advisory inspecting officers whose advice is disregarded; they have little or no power to take prompt action to prevent irregularities which they detect; reports of irregularities when they ultimately reach Government are often belated and the boards themselves have deliberately delayed the submission of explanations when they are called for. It is true that the Local Self-Government Act gives Government on paper some powers of control, including the power to supersede for a period a defaulting local body; it is possible that these powers would have been used effectually by the executive Government in pre-Reform days. But the position of a Minister is more difficult, any drastic action taken by him will stir up hostile comments in the press and in the Council and a Minister is necessarily sensitive to such opinions. The rapid fall in efficiency might have been prevented either if Collectors had still been associated directly with the work of the board or if Local Self-Government had been kept as a reserved subject.

38. A further point to be noted is that in all boards, even in those which were fairly well administered, the influence of caste and communal rivalry was a potent factor. At all recent elections both for the Council and the local bodies the contest has taken the form of Babhan *versus* Rajput or Kurmi *versus* Kayasth, and candidates were elected not because of their fitness for the post but because they belonged to a particular caste. For local bodies the electorate being joint, few Muhammadans have been elected and their representation has to be secured by means of nomination. There are hopeful signs that the Swaraj party have lost their grip on some of the district boards and have alienated the sympathies of the voters by their maladministration and political tactics. Whether their removal from control will stop the downward progress of the local bodies remains to be seen, but there is room for hope that their opponents being for the most part men with a greater stake will be more ready to co-operate with the local officers and with Government in this sphere of work.

But the most experienced officers of the province are not sanguine about the likelihood of improvement; the electors are too apathetic to combine and their votes are generally secured by appeals to pecuniary, religious and other motives. Meantime the misappropriation of public funds is generally regarded, more as a subject for mirth or envy than reprobation, and it remains to be seen whether the successors of the existing boards will be able to resist the temptation of the spoils of office. The moral to be drawn from the history of the district boards in the past five years is that too rapid advance or too rapid relaxation of control such as was effected by the Acts passed by the first Council is bound to lead to a disastrous fall in the standard of honesty and efficiency.

Government Legislation.

39. During the first Council sixteen Government bills were passed into law, several of which were of major importance. The Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act, the Local Self-Government Act and the Village Administration Act covered the whole sphere of Local Self-Government; two acts were passed dealing with problems of irrigation; the Court Fees (Amendment) Act was a taxation measure of some importance while the Bihar and Orissa State Aid to Industries Act aimed at the establishment and development of industries and is intended to influence the economic progress of the province. During the second Council only ten Government Acts were passed, details of which are given in Annexure A. Of these the most controversial measure was the Local Fund Audit Act. The grant of increased powers to local bodies and the relaxation of official control by the Acts passed in the previous Council made it essential for Government to legalise the position of the Audit Department and to give it the power of surcharge in the case of illegal expenditure. When the bill was circulated for opinion many local bodies supported it but in Council it was strongly opposed by the Swaraj party, as showing an unworthy distrust of the honorary workers on local bodies. The motion referring the Bill to a select committee was however carried by a substantial majority of 18 votes, the non-official members who supported it outnumbering the opponents of the bill. In select committee Government made some concession to the opposition but refused to give up the fundamental principle of surcharge. A motion for the recirculation of the bill with the Committee's amendments was defeated by a non-official majority, the voting being 45 votes to 24, after which the opposition was dropped.

40. The Legislative Council President's Salary Act aroused considerable interest in view of the approaching election of a president, but the proposal of the select committee fixing the salary at Rs. 2,000 a month and making it clear that the President should not do other work was accepted without any serious opposition.

41. The only other Act which needs mention is the Chota Nagpur Rural Police (Amendment) Act which was introduced to enable Government to make more satisfactory police arrangements in mining areas and to legalise the collection of chaukidari tax from mine-owners. The bill was passed without any difficulty, the opponents being for the most part the habitual opponents of Government measures. In connection with one bill Government sustained an unexpected defeat and the rejection of the Civil Courts (Amendment) Bill after only one speech in opposition does

not reflect credit on the Council. The Bill merely gave effect to a proposal of the Civil Justice Committee and facilitated the disposal of civil cases by enhancing the summary powers of Sub-Judges and Munsifs. In rejecting the Bill the Council considered rather the interest of the lawyers than of the litigant public. Apart from this, the Council showed itself reasonable in giving support to Government measures introduced to remove practical difficulties of administration.

Private Legislation.

42. In the first reformed Council only one private bill to amend the Food Adulteration Act by the inclusion of drugs was introduced and passed. In the second Council also only one bill, the Bihar and Orissa Mussalman Wakf (Amendment) Act, was introduced by a private member and ultimately became law. This removed a small practical defect in the Mussalman Wakf Act, 1923, as passed by the Legislative Assembly and made it possible for accounts to be furnished to the courts in Urdu. Several bills were, however, introduced. Of these the most important was a bill to amend the Bengal Tenancy Act, introduced in March 1925 by the representatives of the tenants and dealing *inter alia* with such contentious questions as the transferability of holdings, rights to trees in landlords' private lands, which had formed the subject of the Government bill introduced in the previous Council but ultimately withdrawn on the failure of any chance of an amicable settlement. The bill brought forward by the tenants was not therefore likely to meet a better fate. Following parliamentary procedure, the landlords did not oppose the introduction but made their attitude clear from the first and subsequently strongly opposed the motion for reference to a select committee. The debate was adjourned from the August session of 1925 in the hope of an arrangement between the parties but the hope proved vain and at the next session when the promoters of the bill pushed the motion to a division, they were defeated by 33 votes to 19, Government voting with the majority. The attitude of Government throughout had been that they would not undertake to support legislation unless the differences between landlord and tenant became so acute as to call for intervention or unless there was a reasonable expectation of an amicable settlement. Two bills were also introduced to amend the Orissa Tenancy Act in January 1926. The first aimed at excluding exchange of holdings or parts of holdings from the restrictions placed upon transfers; the second was a haphazard collection of random amendments, many of which were ill-advised and some of which would have most harmful consequences. In both cases the Government motion for circulation was adopted with the result that no further progress was made. The Chota Nagpur Tenureholders Separate Rent Account Bill aimed at giving relief to tenureholders whose estates are liable to be sold up for arrears of rent incurred by their co-sharers. This bill was circulated for opinion which was generally adverse to the remedy proposed. The Council was also generally opposed to the bill which was withdrawn on Government undertaking to explore alternative measures of alleviating the grievance of the tenureholders.

43. The Bihar and Orissa Public Demands Recovery (Amendment) Bill was introduced in August 1925 and at the next session was on the motion of Government circulated for opinion; eventually the motion for reference to a select committee was negatived at the last session of the

Council, when it was pointed out that no further progress could be made during the life-time of the present Council. The bill provided further protection for certificate debtors which in the opinion of Government and of many of the persons who gave opinions on it was unnecessary.

44. An attempt to tackle the difficult problem of the improvement of cattle was made by the introduction of the Bihar and Orissa Cattle Bill in January 1926. The bill aimed at the prevention of infectious diseases, the protection of dedicated bulls and the provision of stud bulls by local bodies. It was referred to a select committee to which the Director of Agriculture and the Superintendent of the Civil Veterinary Department were appointed as expert members and which made some important changes but as the report was not unanimous and as there was some opposition from Muhammadan members, it was ultimately withdrawn on the Minister giving an assurance that the bill would be circulated for further opinion and that the whole question might then be examined by any member if he so desired.

45. A bill was introduced to amend the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act in a minor point regarding valuation of holdings but was ultimately allowed to lapse by the mover, while a bill to amend the Local Self-Government Act and permit district boards to appoint a president was on the motion of the Minister circulated for public opinion but made no further progress. The Bihar and Orissa Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill the object of which was to enable co-sharers and heirs to apply for the protection of estates was also circulated for public opinion and lapsed.

46. This summary of the private legislation in the Council of 1924-26, shows that unless a bill is uncontentious and is accepted by Government considerable time must elapse before it has passed through all its stages. Unless therefore a contentious bill is introduced at an early stage in the lifetime of a Council, there is little prospect of it ultimately becoming law. It is to be noted that the motions put forward by Government for the circulation of bills were never opposed or challenged to a division, it appears in fact that the movers of these bills were only half-hearted and introduced them rather with a view to show their constituents and others that they had done something than with the object of remedying a real grievance.

Financial Business.

47. The previous report dealt with the financial business of the Council down to the end of the discussions on the 1923-24 budget in March 1923. Annexure B gives a statement of the budget motions for omission or reduction received in connection with the three following budgets (those for 1924-25, 1925-26 and 1926-27) which were passed by the second Council and also separately a similar statement regarding the first session of the third Council. The statement also shows what happened to these motions. Annexures C and D contain lists of budget motions which were pressed to a division against Government during the same period and respectively carried and defeated.

48. In 1924 the Council passed by a majority of three a motion for omitting the provision for the Kanungo establishment. After long discussion a motion for reducing the Excise grant by Rs. 10 lakhs was lost by 12 votes. The staff of the Superintending Engineers in the Irrigation Department was saved by one vote, but the Irrigation budget as a whole was reduced by Rs. 1,23,226. The staff of the Board of Revenue was also

saved by two votes; but a motion for omitting the voted portion of the provision for Commissioners of Divisions was carried by 10 votes, and another for omitting the pay of members of the provincial and subordinate civil services employed in the Santal Parganas was carried by 5 votes. The motions regarding the Kanungos, and the Superintending Engineers' and the Commissioners' establishments were made on the grounds of economy. The Board of Revenue was attacked on the ground of mismanagement, and the debate on the Excise Department was the occasion of a general attack on the excise policy of Government. The Police Department also came in for the usual attacks; the principal debate took place over a proposed reduction of Rs. 7 lakhs, a motion which was defeated only by a single vote. The " brick and mortar " policy of Government was also attacked as usual: a motion was passed by a majority of 10 that the provision under " 41—Civil Works—Reserved " should be reduced by Rs. 2,12,777; and a motion was adopted reducing the provision under " 41—Civil Works—Transferred " by Rs. 2,40,821.

49. Under section 72 (D) (2) of the Government of India Act the Governor restored the cut in the Irrigation budget, and the provision for officers employed in the Santal Parganas and for the establishment of Commissioners of Divisions. He also restored in part the provision for Kanungos, leaving the balance to be restored by a supplementary vote, after a full enquiry into the necessity for the posts.

50. At this session there were the usual discussions, *e.g.*, on the settlement and the administration of the Irrigation and the Forest Department, which were either withdrawn or negatived without a division, but which occupied a considerable time and served to ventilate certain grievances.

51. In 1925 the Council returned to their attack on the Kanungos. A motion was introduced for reducing the demand by Rs. 10,000 in order to secure the abolition of certain posts; but it was eventually withdrawn. A misguided attempt to stop the revision settlement in Orissa after it had been in progress for 3 years, on the ground that Orissa could not afford it, was defeated by 6 votes. Another motion for a token reduction in the provision for the revision settlement in the Santal Parganas, moved chiefly in order to air certain grievances in connexion with produce rents, was defeated by 7 votes. A token reduction in the provision for the Forest Department, which was not pressed to a division, was the occasion for airing certain grievances against the department. Further motions were directed against the Irrigation Department on the ground of economy: one only was pressed to a division and that lost by a majority of 10. A number of complaints against the department were made during this debate. A motion for a token reduction of the provision for the pay of the Executive Council provoked a long discussion and much criticism of the conduct of the reserved side of the Government. This was lost by a large majority of 21. A similar motion with regard to the Ministers' pay provoked another long discussion but was eventually negatived. Three divisions were taken on the Police budget. In the first a motion for omitting the pay (voted) of the Deputy Inspector-General was lost by 5 votes: in the second a motion for a cut of Rs. 5 lakhs was negatived by 20 votes: and in the third a motion for a cut of Rs. 1¼ lakhs was lost by 12 votes. Two reductions of a nominal character were made under the head " Administration of Justice " which were not restored.

52. In 1926 the proceedings of the Council in connexion with the budget were curtailed by the walk-out of the Swarajist members. Only three divisions were taken on the whole of the budget, all of which were easily defeated. One was on yet another motion for reducing the provision for Kanungos by Rs. 10,000; the second was on a motion for a token cut in the Registration Department as a protest against the increase of registration fees; and the third on a motion for reducing the provision for police clothing by Rs. 1,42,000. The remainder of the time allotted for budget discussions was taken up with discussions on the usual lines.

53. At the first session of the third Council, no less than 492 motions were received for omission or reduction, of which only 21 were moved. The giving of notice of so many motions which cannot possibly be moved throws a great deal of unnecessary work on to the official members who have to be ready to reply. Only one of these motions, that for omission of the provision for acquiring some private forests in Ranchi district, was pressed successfully against Government. This provision was not restored. The outstanding feature of this year's discussions was that the main attack was directed against the Ministers and the Transferred Departments, instead of against the Reserved Departments as hitherto.

54. The attitude of the Council towards the budget has continued to be as described in the last report. Motions with regard to the Forest and the Agricultural Department budgets are usually not pressed to a division, but indicate the unpopularity of the departments. The Irrigation Department budget is used as an opportunity for representing grievances from Shahabad and Orissa and for making complaints of inertia from Tirhut. The Police Department and the Public Works Department, with its " brick and mortar policy ", are invariably attacked if the budget discussions get so far. Commissioners of Divisions and Superintending Engineers are regarded as likely victims of economy. Complaints about the administration of Government estates and estates managed by Government are directed against the Board of Revenue. Discussions on excise give an opportunity for the expression of pious sentiments and a possible attack on the Minister concerned.

55. In the last budget session most of the attacks were made upon the Ministers and the Reserved side escaped more lightly than usual.

56. Information regarding supplementary demands is given in Annexure E. Out of a total of 287 supplementary demands presented since the reforms 264 were carried without a division; 5 only have been refused and of these 3 relating to 3 new projects were refused in the 4th session of the 2nd Council. No such demand has been refused in the three sessions that have taken place since then. No complaint can be made that money essentially required has been refused.

57. There has been no proposal for fresh taxation since the last report was written. So far as can be seen, any such proposal would meet with a strongly hostile reception from the Council.

58. The number of members of the Council is 103. The statistics in Annexures C and D show that the average attendance at budget divisions in the last 4 years has been as follows :—

1924	..	..	..	..	..	53
1925	..	..	..	..	..	58
1926	..	..	..	..	..	45
1927	..	..	..	..	..	78

Resolutions.

59. The first Council sitting during the critical period of the rise, decline and fall of non-co-operation devoted much of its time to the discussion of such subjects as "repression," the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the disturbances in Champaran and Orissa and the treatment of political prisoners. Meeting in a calmer atmosphere, the second Council had neither the opportunity nor the will to attack the executive Government on matters such as these but a faint echo of the previous discussions is to be found in the resolution moved and carried at the first session for the release of political prisoners, though the total number of such prisoners was only thirteen. The topic was again raised in a resolution advocating the adoption of the reforms suggested by the Jail Committee.

60. Relief from taxation was the subject of several resolutions. A resolution advocating that the Court Fees (Amendment) Act, passed by the last Council as a taxation measure should be amended by the imposition of a maximum limit was defeated by the casting vote of the President, who followed parliamentary custom and gave his vote in support of the *status quo*. A further resolution to benefit the poorer litigants and reduce court fees in suits of low value was also defeated, the result being probably due to the point made by Government that this amendment would mean a loss of 6½ lakhs of revenue. A resolution to abolish the Chaukidari tax, to dismiss all chaukidars and to appoint daffadars at the cost of provincial revenues was carried by one vote. On the other hand a proposal to abolish the local cess on lac trees which would benefit only residents in Chota Nagpur was negatived without a division.

61. Several resolutions raised questions which had been discussed at length by the previous Council. The failure of Government to carry into effect a scheme for the separation of judicial and executive functions was discussed in the first session of the new Council, the majority supporting the motion that Government should publish its conclusions after a definite period but rejecting the proposal that budget provision should be made forthwith. The Council reiterated its opinion at the fifth session and carried by a large majority a resolution for giving immediate effect to the scheme prepared by the Committee which had been appointed at the suggestion of the late Council. The development of indigenous medicine by the establishment of an Ayurvedic College was pressed on the Ministers by the Council in its early days and a resolution was withdrawn on an undertaking being given by the Minister to investigate the question. The Council being impatient of delay, a similar resolution was moved at the fifth session and accepted by the Minister who has now carried the scheme into effect. "Prohibition" did not find a place in the agenda till the second year of the Council, when after a full dress debate the Council supported by 48 votes to 21 the policy of Government, and thereby endorsed the views of the previous Council. Even after these successive defeats members will no doubt be forthcoming to raise the question.

62. A somewhat petty dispute between the manager of the Bettiah estate and the Swarajist members of the local municipality formed the subject of a lengthy debate on a proposal to appoint a Committee to look into the matter. The Council, however, showed its good sense and rejected the proposal by a large majority.

63. The remaining resolutions were for the most part of a practical nature or dealt with specific grievances of members and their constituents.

64. A very lengthy discussion took place in the Council on a resolution moved by the Minister of Education on the long pending question of the future of the Patna University. The proposal put before the Council was that the University should be constructed at a cost not exceeding Rs. 50 lakhs on the site originally acquired to the west of the New Capital. The debate showed that there was considerable opposition to this proposal and the subject after discussion for nearly three days was adjourned till the next session. During the interval an alternative scheme was prepared for the retention of the headquarters of the University in Patna City and for the development and improvement of Patna College at a lower cost and an amendment to the original motion recommending this scheme was carried after a short debate.

65. Educational subjects are still popular with the Council, even though practically the whole field of education had been explored by committees appointed by their predecessors. In the first session a resolution advocating the teaching of spinning by the *charka* was carried after a full day's debate, while in the August session there was a lengthy discussion on the expansion of primary education. At the first session of 1925 a resolution was carried against Government recommending the transfer of control of sub-inspectors to local bodies, while, at the same session a rambling debate of an academic type took place on the question of the measures necessary for the development of vernacular literature. The needs of various localities in the province were pressed in a series of resolutions ; a proposal for Intermediate classes at Ranchi which had been persistently urged by the local representatives in the last Council but without success was carried at the first session and was followed up at a later session by a resolution in favour of a Degree College, which was, however, withdrawn. The persistence of the Chota Nagpur members has had a partial reward, for effect has now been given to the proposal for Intermediate classes. The Council also supported and carried against Government a proposal for a first grade college at Chapra.

66. Finally the Council showed its sympathy for members of the Subordinate Educational Service, whose grievances had frequently been ventilated by carrying a resolution in favour of a large increase of pay, disregarding the fact that the proposal would involve additional expenditure of 8 lakhs.

67. A series of resolutions were brought forward as in the first Council with the object of remedying the grievances real or fancied of the Muhammadan community. Though the subject had twice been discussed in the previous Council and though a similar resolution had been defeated by a a large majority, a large number of members at the third session gave notice of a resolution for making the Urdu script permissive in Court papers. A Bengali member moved an amendment that the Bengali script should also be allowed, but both amendments and resolution were defeated by a large majority. If the proposal were adopted by Government, it would not be merely a sentimental victory for an increase in the employment of Urdu knowing clerks would be a substantial advantage for the educated Muhammadans. A resolution asking for more holidays at the " Id " was withdrawn on the Minister of Education undertaking to meet the wishes of

the mover. It is satisfactory to record that though notice was given of a resolution regarding the Bakr-Id, the mover had the good sense to withdraw it and refrained from stirring up communal feeling in the Council by a discussion on this controversial question.

68. The affairs of Orissa came before the Council in several resolutions partly because of the settlement operations which were in progress and partly because of the floods of 1925. In dealing with both these subjects, the Council showed itself to be inconsistent ; a proposal in favour of the Orissa landlords for a permanent settlement of revenue was carried by 34 votes to 29 but at a later session a motion for extending the term of the settlement from 30 to 60 years was negatived by a large majority. In connection with the floods the Council considered the relief measures taken by Government to be inadequate and passed a resolution recommending an expenditure of Rs. 2 lakhs on gratuitous relief, but a few days later did not approve of the proposal that there should be a suspension of rent and revenue. On another occasion the Council showed its sympathy with the landlords of Orissa by holding that the enhancements of rent allowed by the Settlement officers were not exeessive.

69. The grievances of the residents in the forest areas of the province were also represented and the Council adopted a resolution in favour of removal of the restriction on taking fuel from the forests of Singhbhum and Sambalpur. Another resolution adopted asked for the free grant of gun licenses in areas infested with tigers.

70. The resolutions dealing with local matters in Bihar referred principally to irrigation questions and protection from floods. Thus a resolution advocating the reopening of the Saran Canals was carried against Government by a considerable majority, overlooking the argument that the canals could not be made efficient except at a cost of about a crore of rupees. The Council also disregarded practical difficulties when they passed a resolution regarding the diversion of the river Sakri. More practical proposals which were accepted by Government were that committees should be appointed to devise measures to prevent floods in the Ganges, Kosi and Son and that steps should be taken to construct canals in non-irrigated parts of the Shahabad district. Attention must, however, be drawn to one resolution in which the Council showed a tendency to usurp the functions of the executive, when they proposed that a revision of canal water rates should be subject to the previous approval of the Council.

71. Reference may also be made to the resolution dealing with the Council itself and its proceedings. A resolution recommending the publication of vernacular summaries which had been carried by the previous Council was repeated, in spite of Government pointing out that popularisation had already proved a failure. The Council also resolved that Hindi and Urdu reporters should be appointed although Government pointed out the difficulties and expenses involved. Notice was also given of similar resolutions at a later session but though they did not come up for discussion, Government have now made arrangements for reporting Hindi speeches. It may be noted that in the first Council only 82 speeches were delivered in vernacular and an even smaller number in the second Council. The approach of the election led to a resolution recommending

that a deposit should not be required of candidates, but an amendment proposing an increase in the deposit from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 was carried by one vote, Government members being given a free vote. Finally the Council showed its conservatism by rejecting a resolution in favour of votes for women and thereby endorsed the opinion of the previous Council.

72. Nineteen resolutions in the second Council were disallowed by the Governor under the rules, in most cases because they were not primarily the concern of the local Government. Some of these referred to questions of local importance in which the initiation rested with the local municipality or district boards, *e.g.*, resolutions dealing with such topics as the division of the Patna City municipality, the supply of drinking water in Patna, the abolition of tolls on bridges, the metalling of a district board road. Others dealt with general political questions, such as the abolition of dyarchy, while in the early days in the Council a resolution recommending the release of Mahatma Gandhi and at a later stage a resolution referring to the Bengal Ordinance were disallowed. Others referred to Central subjects which should be dealt with by the Government of India, *e.g.*, the withdrawal of the bill to amend the Mercantile Shipping Act, 1923, the removal of troops from Muzaffarpur, the encouragement of the salt industry under a system of bounties. Some also referred to matters which are under the constitution left to the discretion of the Governor such as the allotment of days for non-official business, the reservation of one of the two offices of Minister for an Oriya, and consultations with the Standing Committees.

73. Thirteen resolutions were disallowed by the President on the ground that the subject had been discussed within the year or because they were defective in form. One was also disallowed because it referred to the conduct of an officer otherwise than in his official capacity. While another recommending that speeches should be explained in Hindi was disallowed as it was not of public interest.

Questions.

74. The second Council showed itself rather less keen on obtaining information than its predecessor and only 1,606 questions were asked and answered or about 750 less than in the first Council. One member was as before particularly assiduous in his demands and asked no less than 387 questions, while a second scored a more moderate total of 171 ; no other members exceeded 100 questions. The total number of questions of which notice was received was considerably larger than the number actually asked and answered. Notice was received of 2,992 questions of which 281 were disallowed for non-compliance with the rules. The difference between the number of questions admitted and the number actually answered is due to the fact that in many cases the information could not be collected in the time. As in the previous Council supplementary questions were unduly common and at times the proceedings resembled cross examination in a court of law. The President had frequently to draw the attention of members to their excessive indulgence in supplementary questions ; a warning which he gave in August 1924, after some 36 supplementaries had been asked in regard to three primary questions, had some effect, but again in August 1925, he had to draw attention to the fact that though only three and a half hours had been allotted to questions more than double that time had been spent on them.

75. In the third Council also the newly returned Swarajist party have shewn the same pertinacity; in regard to one question about teaching the *charka,* no less than 24 supplementary questions were put to the Minister.

76. An analysis of the subjects of the questions would hardly be profitable ; they covered practically the whole field of the administration and dealt with the subjects enunciated in the previous report.

Amendment of Standing Orders.

77. A number of amendments of the Standing Orders were made ; the majority made at the instance of the President were of minor importance. Only two merit mention ; the first enables a member who has given notice of a resolution to authorise another member who has a similar resolution standing in his name to move it on his behalf, if the permission of the President is obtained. This was the logical outcome of the practice followed in the second Council but not to any large extent before, of a large number of members putting in identical resolutions so as to ensure that one at least will secure a place in the ballot. It also makes it possible for party leaders to move the more important resolutions and have the right of reply. Another amendment provided that there should be at least seven days between the presentation of the budget and the discussion thereon. Actually this time has always been allowed but the members were anxious to have the period fixed by the rules.

Miscellaneous.

78. The adjournment of the Council was only moved on one occasion to enable members to put forward their views on the report of the Muddiman Committee which was published towards the close of a session. The motion was not opposed by Government. An attempt to move the adjournment of the house to discuss an incident which had taken place four months earlier was disallowed by the President on the ground that the matter could not be considered urgent. The mover tried to contest the ruling and put forward the untenable view that this special procedure could be used for the discussion of matters which had not secured a place in the agenda.

79. A case of breach of privilege arose in the winter session of 1925 when the report of the Select Committee on the President's Salary Bill appeared in the press before it had been published or submitted to the Council. It was held, that the fault was due to ignorance of the members of the committee and no action was taken.

Finally reference may be made to the election of a President. At the August session of 1925, the Council elected Khan Bahadur Khwaja Muhammad Nur who had been appointed to the post by Government three years before and the present Council have shown their appreciation of his services by re-electing him.

80. The third Council has devoted a considerable portion of the first session to an attack on the Ministers. The first attack was somewhat unexpected for instead of waiting for the budget the opposition took the opportunity of a supplementary demand moved by the Minister of Education, to raise the so-called " constitutional " question that as the Ministers

did not command a majority of the elected members they should not have accepted office without advising the Governor to offer the Ministry in the first instance to the Swaraj party, and that their appointment was unconstitutional and they should resign. The attack was defeated by a majority of 43 votes to 33. In the budget debate two motions were put forward, on the Ministers' salaries, one for a nominal reduction as a censure on the same constitutional ground, the second moved the complete omission of the grant and was a clear attempt to follow Bengal and the Central Provinces in making dyarchy impossible. Both motions were defeated, the former by 44 votes to 37 and the latter by 53 votes to 33. The difference in the voting was due to the fact that the Oriya members abstained from supporting the Ministers on the first occasion, in protest at the non-representation of Orissa in the members of Government. The Council succeeded in carrying only one budget reduction against Government rejecting the provision of funds for the acquisition of forests in Chota Nagpur, several of the landholders who usually supported Government being against the proposal. In the other divisions of the budget Government received the support of the non-Swaraj members and this gave them throughout a comfortable majority of 8 to 10 votes.

The Council and Public opinion.

81. It is a truism to say that in a province such as Bihar and Orissa there is no general public opinion on the matters which are discussed in the Council. In the previous report the view was expressed that except when agrarian questions were under discussion the opinion of the unofficial members was the opinion of the intelligentsia and reflected the views taken on public questions by the bar libraries. Since that time the Swarajists have introduced an organised party into the Council and there is in process of formation in opposition to the Swarajists a party of constitutionalists. The Swaraj party is undoubtedly the most vocal outside the Council and the leading English paper in Bihar and most of the vernacular papers publish their views in public matters in the same strain that is reproduced within the Council. The opposite party is lethargic, has a worse press and a less persuasive tongue, but is probably more representative of responsible public opinion. In the opinion of the Ministers the walk-out of the Swaraj members in the budget of 1926 was generally disapproved while their present policy of destroying the Ministry, and offering nothing, but obstruction to Government measures is contrary to the views of a large majority who favour constitutional lines of progress.

The district board elections which followed the Council elections are the more correct indication of public opinion ; and the Swaraj party have, in most districts, lost ground. The successes of the Swarajists in the earlier elections to the Council was mainly due to their capture of the machinery of the local bodies, which they are now losing. Their defeat in the more limited constituencies, where they are personally known, is a hopeful sign of the return of sanity. Thus it may be said that the two divisions of public opinion in the educated classes are represented in the Council although their respective strength is not correctly indicated in the debates. In any case the Council does not lead public opinion, but follows it, one reason for this being that many of the influential leaders on both sides have refrained from entering the Council.

Relations between members and their constituencies.

82. The ordinary member does not maintain any personal relations with his constituencies. He depends for election on the support of a few persons commanding votes by their influence. Often his only opportunity of bringing himself personally into prominence before his electors is on the occurrence of communal trouble, when he can advertise himself as a champion of his side. In fact there is more than a suspicion that some of the communal disturbances were fanned by climbing politicians for this end.

In regard to tenancy matters it has been necessary for a landlord-candidate to promise support or concession to the tenants' interest, this being almost the only political question on which the average elector holds his own views. Whether such promises will be redeemed or not remains to be seen. At present nothing is in sight except a private tenancy bill, sponsored by the Swaraj party, which will almost inevitably be still-born. In other matters coming before the Council the majority of the electors take no interest.

Of more importance to the candidate than the views of his constituency is the conciliation of political associations such as of the provincial congress committee, the Hindu Mahasabha, or the Moslem League which may otherwise oppose him when the next election occurs. It is to these associations and to influential individuals, rather than to the body of their constituents that the Council members are subservient.

The members of the first two Councils have in fact signally failed to contribute to the political education of the mass of the electorate, nor can it be anticipated that much will be done till there is a permanent party organization within the constituencies.

Groups and parties in the Council—Party organisation within the Council.

83. These two subjects can hardly be treated separately. In the first Council it was only in connection with tenancy legislation that there were any signs of a party organisation. The introduction of a Government bill to amend the Tenancy Act caused a well-marked cleavage and the formation of a powerful zamindari party with a large majority over a small but active raiyats' party. In the second Council also there was a similar division, when the raiyats' party, slightly strengthened, tried to introduce their own legislation, but in neither Council did this division extend to the general field of politics. The second Council showed the first signs of the formation of a party within the Council when a small group of Swaraj members united together and acted throughout in concert, invariably in opposition to Government. The remaining members acted and voted independently ; there was no ministerial party pledged to support the Ministers but the Ministers could usually rely on the votes of a certain number of members, attached to them by personal rather than political ties. There were also, as in the first Council, groups formed on local or communal lines.

84. The third Council showed a further development of the party system. The Swaraj or Congress members are now 37 in number and form a definite party, under the control of a leader and whip and pledged to act in concert in support of their programme. As an outward and visible sign of the party system, members no longer take their seats according to their

constituencies as in the first Council but sit with their party, the Swaraj party occupying the front opposition benches. The Swaraj party includes some six Muhammadans who vote at present with their party irrespective of its effect on Muhammadan interests. It is too early to say yet whether this alliance will continue or whether the Muhammadan members of the party will join the non-Congress Muhammadan members who have formed a distinct group of their own and have hitherto opposed the Swaraj party. Outside the Swaraj party there is a small group which styles itself the Independent Congress party but this consists of only four members with no principle of cohesion and has little influence. There is another group consisting of non-congress Oriyas, watching their opportunity to bargain for favourable conditions for Orissa. Meantime Government can rely only on the support of the nominated members and of the leading representatives of the landlords; and the Ministers have to form a party of such of the other elements as can be won over to their side. Their position is thus far from easy till a definite party is consolidated, as the Swarajists actually form the largest non-official group.

Conventions of procedure.

85. The standing orders and rules prescribe in detail the procedure to be followed and these have been carefully enforced by successive presidents, but mention may be made of some rulings or decisions in amplification of the rules and standing orders. In the previous Council the total time allotted for the budget debate, in 1921 six days and in 1922 and 1923 eight days, had been divided up into periods for each grant, the periods being fixed with reference to the importance of the subject and the number of motions received. In 1924, no such restrictions were imposed and the Council devoted an unduly long time to the discussion of the earlier grants with the result that after seven days only 62 motions out of 152 had been before the Council. An application for an extension of time was rejected by the Governor. In 1925 and 1926 the same procedure was followed and the Council adapted itself to it without difficulty, concentrating its attention chiefly on reserved subjects and dealing with transferred subjects in the discussion on the Ministers' pay.

In two minor matters the Council is following parliamentary procedure, the introduction of a bill is not opposed and the President if called upon to give a casting vote gives it so as to maintain the *status quo*. Recently an attempt has been made by certain members to displace English and conduct the proceedings in the vernacular. The rule however is that the proceedings should ordinarily be in English and the President announced his intention of refusing to permit members who to his knowledge were capable of expressing themselves in English, to speak in their vernacular, unless his special permission was obtained beforehand. As no less than five vernaculars are represented in the Council, the need for English as the common medium of expression is obvious.

Percentage of electors and voters.

86. At the first general election the proportion of registered voters to the total population was about 9 per thousand. At the election of 1923 there was a slight increase of about 10,000 voters in the general constituencies. In the Patna University constituency however the number of

voters fell from 1,163 to 296 as Bengali graduates who had been enrolled in large numbers at the first election to capture the seat for their representative failed to pay up the subscription of Rs. 5 necessary to maintain their status. Little interest was taken in electoral registration and in the whole province only 1,460 claims and 8 objections were filed. The polling was, however, far heavier than in 1920, averaging 52 per cent. in the Council constituencies : as in 1920 rural voters showed themselves more ready to go to the poll than urban voters and the poll was six per cent. higher in rural areas. It was still a common belief, as at the election of 1920, that electors were required to vote by Government order and the villagers were escorted by the village chaukidar to the polling station, often 8 miles or more away ; the more sophisticated townsfolk did not put themselves to the trouble of walking even one mile.

87. At the third election the number of registered voters again showed a very considerable increase of over 36,000 to 374,818, but even so the number was far below the number estimated when the Reforms scheme was under consideration when it was calculated that there would be between 500,000 and 600,000 voters. As before little interest was taken in registration and even fewer claims were filed ; the experience of these three elections makes it clear that the work on registration must continue to be done by a Government agency. The percentage of actual voters again rose to 60 per cent. in contested constituencies and it is to be noted that the number of uncontested elections has fallen from 29 at the first election when the non-co-operators refused to go to the polls to 22 at the second and to 14 at the third election, of which only 8 were in general constituencies. Again the poll in rural areas was 11 per cent. higher than in urban areas. This is probably due to villagers voting *en masse* under the influence of the landlord, or village school-master or as in previous years of the village chaukidar. Possibly also the villager regards polling day and a free ride to a polling station as a welcome holiday in his monotonous life.

Interest of the public in the work of the Council.

88. The generalization made in the first report still holds good and it is still correct to say that " the work of the Council excites interest amongst the town people who read the newspapers and follow the course of politics and in educated circles generally, but some 95 per cent. of the electors neither know nor desire to know what is going on ". There are signs that the circle is widening ; the demand for vernacular reports of the proceedings is said to be increasing, while there is a growing demand for seats in the visitors' gallery. This interest is, however, chiefly shown by those who favour Swaraj views ; on the occasion of a debate of " political " interest the gallery is crowded by adherents of their party whose disorderly applause of declamatory speeches draws on occasions a rebuke from the President.

Party Organization in the Constituencies.

89. In the previous report it was stated that electoral organizations hardly existed even in a rudimentary form. At the second election the Swaraj party set up an organization partly with a view to the Council election but also with an eye to the local bodies. In the former they did not meet with any marked success but those candidates who were returned were not men of position or local influence and owed their success to the

party organization and to party funds. In the district board and municipal elections especially in Tirhut and Orissa they swamped their opponents and captured the local bodies with the result that at the Council election of 1926 this party in many districts by converting the district board staff and the village gurus into an electoral organization secured a far larger number of seats than in the previous elections. Even the Swaraj party can hardly be said to have any permanent organization : agents and canvassers, whether the employees of the local bodies or others, are only appointed shortly before the election and no candidate has yet been known to nurse a constituency. Ordinarily when candidates have been selected and agents appointed appeals are made to the voters, in particular to their communal and caste prejudices or even to their predatory instincts ; in one division the cry of " Down with the zamindars " with its logical inference of ' no rents ' was raised with considerable success. The voter in fact gives his vote under the stimulus of any motive rather than a consideration of the merits of a candidate or his policy. In the absence of an organized opposition to the Swaraj party, the opponents of this party rely on their local influence or on the local influence of some friendly landlord, since the individual landlords still carry considerable weight both in the constituencies and in the Council.

Party programme.

90. The only definite party programme is that of the Swaraj party, which still aims at making Government through the Legislative Council impossible. The Moderates though showing more readiness to support Government in the present than in the previous Councils have no definite programme. Mention may be made of the programme put forward by the Oriyas for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts, but this proposal was not discussed in the second Council though it has been put forward in the Assembly and frequently outside the Council. The Independent Muhammadan members stand for the protection of Muhammadan interests, but have refrained generally from bringing up controversial communal questions.

91. In the constituencies party programme are still more conspicuous by their absence. In the election of 1923 election addresses (which set forth the past public services of the candidate rather than his future policy) were issued in some places, but not broadcast ; handbills with exhortations to vote for a particular candidate or more explicitly for a particular colour were the commonest means of appeal. But these contained no argument and no explanation of the political position and even the more educated portion of the electorate must have been very much in the dark on the meaning of the election and the reasons why they should vote for one candidate rather than the other. In the election of 1926 the Swaraj or Congress party issued leaflets and posters more freely and even made use of magic lantern slides depicting the poverty of India, and published some cartoons against loyalists and co-operators. As has been mentioned before the principal plank in the platform of this party was a promise to redress the grievances of tenants and the dangerous cry of " Down with the zamindars ". The names of party leaders were freely used and references to Mahatma Gandhi still influence the ignorant voter. In many cases pamphlets and handbills exhorted voters to support a particular candidate because the " Congress " directed it, but the voters in many cases must

have the vaguest idea of what the " Congress " is or what it stands for, while the candidate's agents rested content with explaining which colour represented the Congress candidate.

92. It may not be out of place to refer in this connection to the difficult position in which a Government servant is placed during an election. Under present conditions only one party is in the field and that a party which is pledged to opposition to the present system of Government. On the other side the rival of a Congress candidate trusting entirely to his personal influence and the influence of his friends to secure votes makes little or no attempt to challenge the dangerous promises or misstatements of his opponent which obtain currency without contradiction. Meantime Government servants are bound to abstain from taking any part in an election, save to advise candidates on points of procedure. As a result there is no one to represent what may be called the Government side of the case and to expose the fallacious promises.

Influence of the press on politics and public opinion.

93. If public opinion is taken to be the opinion of the mass of the electorate, the press of the province has little direct influence ; for no newspaper either English or vernacular has a circulation of more than 3,000. But the influence of the press on the educated classes has increased and the views propounded in it filter down to the lower classes. The chief newspaper in the province the *Searchlight* is definitely an organ of the Swaraj party, and two of the more widely read vernacular papers, *Mahabir* and *Desh*, are allied to it. The *Express* which represents the landlords' interest and is independent in its views has no very large circulation, but Indian-owned papers published at Calcutta or elsewhere mostly organs of the Swaraj party have a large circle of readers. The views put before the public are thus nearly all one-sided and the opinions formed on any political topic are therefore also one-sided and the public have very little opportunity of hearing both sides of a question and thinking it out for themselves.

General political atmosphere.

94. In the last report the rise and fall of the non-co-operation movement from 1920-23 was described. Combined with the general defiance of Government authority, the Swaraj party had established local arbitration courts in competition with the Government courts ; national thanas had been set up in opposition to the Government police stations ; national schools and colleges were started to attract students and school children from the Government institutions ; and an attempt had been made to cripple Government financially by a fictitious temperance campaign. All these movements may be definitely marked off as failures. National thanas and national panchayats have completely disappeared. The national schools have mostly gone and those that survive have lost all their popularity. The outward signs of the movement have disappeared ; *khaddar* is no longer popular ; the Khilafat and Congress volunteers have ceased to exist.

95. The anti-Government movement is now more indirect. The control which the Congress party have secured in local bodies gives them a dangerous hold on the primary schools and propaganda is largely directed to the conversion of the coming generation. A good deal of the influence so

exerted is too subtle to be dealt with directly. The primary school teachers summoned to classes of training and instruction are really imbued with politics to be passed on to the pupils. The cult of the *charka,* with its political implications has been introduced into the schools. On the other hand some of the methods attempted have been countered by Government. The alteration of school holidays from those prescribed by Government to the birthdays of nationalist heroes has been stopped. The attempt to get sub-inspectors of schools out of Government control and directly under the local bodies has failed. The rules confining the teaching to prescribed syllabus and prescribed text books have been tightened up. A typical instance of the Congress methods may be quoted : Several district boards directed that the schools should open daily with the singing of a hymn which Government proscribed as seditious. The boards appealed to the High Court for a reversal of the order and were only brought to their senses by the stoppage of Government grants when they were recalcitrant.

96. The effect of all this work in the schools was seen in the recent elections, where school boys paraded with Swaraj flags and hustled and hooted the non-Swaraj candidates and their supporters. When the Swarajist control of the district boards has disappeared, this influence will cease to be felt ; for the *gurus* are not convinced nationalists but teach their pupils according to the order of their paymasters.

97. A factor which for the present lessens the political influence of the Congress party has been the split between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. The Khilafat supporters were the backbone of the non-co-operation movement. When the Khilafat agitation became extinct, the Muhammadans began to wonder what their position as a small minority would be in a Swaraj administration and in the past three years their suspicions of the Hindu community have been growing more acute. The *sudhi* movement in particular has excited them and the clash between Muhammadans and Hindus up country and in Calcutta has echoed loudly in this province. The ill-feeling broke out into grave rioting last year in the Patna and Tirhut divisions of Bihar ; the fierce fighting at Sassaram in particular showed clearly how bitter was the feeling, for the rioting there arose not out of the Bakr-Id or Muharram celebrations but from a casual quarrel between a Muhammadan and a Hindu.

98. The punishment inflicted on rioters on both sides in 1926 and the fines on the disturbed areas for the cost of the additional police kept the province outwardly quiet during the past year ; but the ill-feeling remains dormant and consequently the recent suggestion from the Congress working committee for the approval of joint electorates received little support from the Muhammadan community. The extremists among the Hindus in communal politics are generally also the extremists in opposition to Government, and this fact has driven the more sober Muhammadans into alliance with the moderate party supporting the constitutional Government. Accordingly although among the Swaraj party of the Council will be found four or five Muhammadans none of these are of any real standing in their community but they come entirely from the class of professional politicians.

99. These have been the two main features of the political development of the past three years—the Swaraj party capturing the majority of the local bodies in 1924 and endeavouring by the use of their machinery to

consolidate their position in the districts, and the growing estrangement of the Muhammadans due to their apprehension of their becoming a submerged minority in the Swarajist government of the province.

100. The immediate outlook is not bad for the constitutional party. In most of the local bodies the period of three years in office has weakened the popularity of the Swarajists, and their opponents have been able to obtain a majority at this year's election which is likely to be reflected at the next election for the legislature. If the new boards will elect as their executive men of integrity who will check the more flagrant forms of corruption, and establish a convention of honest administration, they will place themselves in a firm position by contrast with the preceding maladministration. In the Council, the Moderate party allying itself with Government and the Muhammadans can hold its own against the party of obstruction; but the real battlefield at present will be in the district boards and there it remains to be seen if the Moderates can prove themselves worthy of the confidence of their electors.

101. A joint note by the Ministers is appended. They have seen this report which embodies the unanimous views of the Executive Council, and consider that it is too pessimistic in tone and stresses too much political conditions that are transitory.

As desired by His Excellency in his letter of 17th April 1927 we have to submit our opinion on the working of the Reforms scheme from August 1923 up to date. We have discussed among ourselves and we have decided to submit a joint note on the points which were enumerated in the letter of Sir Henry Wheeler issued on the 19th July 1923.

(1) RELATION BETWEEN THE REFORM GOVERNMENT (*i.e.*, TRANSFERRED SIDE) AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

The relations between the Ministers and the public services were generally smooth as far as practicable. As we were anxious to have co-operation of the public services our differences used to be settled by discussion. The orders passed by us were carried out without any apparent resentment. There were occasional protests from the local officers when the Reformed Government did not act according to their wishes.

(2) GENERAL EFFICACY OF THE REFORMS ON THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

The efficiency of administration did not deteriorate by the Reforms scheme. The Transferred subjects under the control of the Ministers in this province have, we venture to submit, made steady progress all round. Large grants were given from time to time for expansion of primary education and extension of medical relief.

This has resulted in marked improvement and progress of these two items which principally concern the masses.

More money has been provided for secondary and University education. A large capital expenditure is being incurred in University buildings. The Engineering College and the Medical College have been opened at Patna and we have started a dairy farm and are going to establish a Veterinary College at Patna and a tuberculosis sanatorium at Itki. Similarly Orissa has been given an Engineering school and a Training College.

Technical and industrial education similarly has not lagged behind. New Technical Institutes have been opened and old ones have expanded and improved. Attempts have been made to develop cottage industries as far as possible.

The tone of administration of the transferred side has decidedly improved and many chronic defects have been removed. The Registration Department may be specifically mentioned which has successfully combatted with the evils of corruption during the last few years.

On the whole we think the effect of the Reforms has been to improve the efficiency of the administration.

(3) THE REFORMS AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Since the inauguration of the Reforms in this province both the district boards and municipalities have been given almost complete autonomy under the two Acts, Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act and the Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Amendment Act, and Government has kept very little power of control which has been very sparingly exercised. But unfortunately the local bodies have not made a corresponding response in the discharge of their responsibilities. The administration of the municipalities has not improved. The district boards became a fertile field of friction. They resent even the slightest interference on the part of Government.

The passing of the Local Fund Audit Act was and is being resented by the local bodies because it placed a check on the misapplication of their funds. It may however be said in their favour that with all their defects and deficiencies they have been trying their best to improve primary education and medical relief and sanitation.

The prospect of Village Administration Act is somewhat gloomy and disappointing. At present neither district boards nor the people are in any degree enthusiastic over it. However, it is yet too early to express any definite opinion about its future career.

(4) THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE COUNCIL REPRESENTS AND REACTS ON CURRENT PUBLIC OPINION.

The masses have not yet been educated to understand and formulate their opinion regarding important questions affecting their country, but since the Reforms there has been an awakening all round and people are now getting themselves acquainted with the present politics.

However, it is not very easy to say that the Council represents and reacts on current public opinion. The Swarajist party in the last Council returned about a dozen members of their party to the Legislative Council. They came with the object of putting all sorts of obstruction in the way of Government. They did not care for the opinion of their constituencies but followed the lead given to them by Mr. Motilal Nehru. They walked out of the Council and left the budget without discussion. This was not in accordance with the public opinion. There is a large majority of people who are of opinion that there ought to be smooth working between Government and the people and further advance should be demanded by all possible constitutional means, but the policy of the Swaraj party and members returned by that party acted against the public opinion. In the new

Council we have got a majority of elected members of the Swarajist party and their avowed policy is to throw out the Ministry, throw out the budget and put all sorts of obstruction to Government measures. They have not succeeded so far in achieving their object, but in the Council there are some members who do not claim themselves to belong to the Swaraj party but do vote for that party and at times do not venture to vote for either.

The opinion of the members of Council is so sharply divided in the Council that it is very difficult to say if the Council represents and reacts on current public opinion.

(5) THE EXTENT TO WHICH AND BY WHAT MEANS RELATIONS HAVE BEEN MAINTAINED BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND THEIR CONSTITUENCIES.

We have partially answered this question in dealing with the question No. 4. We do not think that any attempt has been made to maintain any substantive relation between members of the Legislative Council and their constituencies. No meetings were called by any member for ascertaining the opinion of his constituency before voting for or against any particular measure in the Council. Meetings were held, constituents were approached and the Reforms and the privileges and franchise were explained to the constituencies only shortly before every new election.

However, if any measure of special importance is or is likely to be brought before Council, meetings are held. For example, when the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill was introduced in the Council there were meetings at different centres both by the zamindars and the tenants and some members of the Council who took interest either on one side or the other attended such meetings. Some meetings were also held when the Audit Fund Bill was introduced into the Council.

In rural areas the constituencies do not take any interest in politics, but in urban areas, however, there are good many people who do take interest in politics and there is a great possibility of consulting the constituencies in urban areas, than in the rural areas but we have not heard that members representing even urban areas did continue their relations with their constituents after election.

(6) THE EXTENT TO WHICH GROUPS OR PARTIES HAVE FORMED THEMSELVES ON POLITICAL LINES WITHIN THE COUNCIL AND HOW FAR THESE COINCIDE WITH OR CUT ACROSS COMMUNAL LINES OF CLEAVAGE.

No groups or parties were formed before the last Council. In the last Council about a dozen members were returned by the Congress Swaraj party. They formed one group and they solidly voted for or against. The rest of the Council did not form any group.

In the present Council we have got still larger number of Swarajist members who belong to one party and about four form another group calling themselves to be members of Independent Congress party, the rest of the members with the exception of only a few form non-Swarajist party.

Though there is a communal feeling amongst the memebrs of the Legislative Council, yet no group or party has been formed on the communal line. The Oriyas, however, are anxious to advance their interest political, social and educational and in this matter they form into one group.

The position of Muhammadans, however, in the present Council has been weakened, for about 5 or 6 are in the Swarajist camp and they have hitherto followed the policy of voting for their party irrespective of its effect on the interest of Muhammadans.

We do not think that there is any chance of formation of any group or party on communal lines in the Council but outside the Council there is such a tendency, and if any development is made in that direction outside the Council its effect may react in the Council as well.

(7) THE EXTENT TO WHICH PARTY ORGANIZATION HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF WITHIN THE COUNCIL IN SUCH WAYS AS THE ISSUE OF WHIPS CONSULTATION AS TO CONCERTED ATTITUDE, ETC.

In the present Council the Swaraj party have established an organization which manifested itself in the Council : they have got their Leader, Secretary and Whip, they have frequent meetings of the Council members and take concerted action.

Attempts have been made to organise on the same lines a party consisting of non-Swarajist members elected and nominated and meetings have occasionally been held to discuss questions of importance.

(8) THE INTEREST EVINCED BY THE CONSTITUENCIES AND THE PUBLIC IN THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL.

Much interest has not yet been taken by the constituencies in the work of the Council, but there has been an awakening all round and people do take interest in reading the debate of the Council published in newspapers and Council proceedings. In this respect the Swarajist public are presumed to take more interest than the non-Swarajist.

(9) THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE FORMATION OF GROUPS OR PARTIES IS REPRODUCED IN OR DERIVED FROM THE CONSTITUENCIES.

The answer to this question has already been given in dealing with other questions. In our opinion the Swarajist party is the only party which has been formally organized, but it has got no genuine relation with the constituencies nor the party secures any mandate from them.

(10) THE EXTENT TO WHICH ELECTORAL ORGANIZATION IS MAINTAINED IN THE CONSTITUENCIES ON PARTY LINES WITH POLITICAL PROGRAMME, FUNDS AND MACHINERY.

There is no electoral organisation maintained in the constituencies on party lines, there is no political programme, fund and machinery, but the Swarajist party have their own political organization in the various parts of the province. The organization, though weakened, still exists in some parts of the province and it was with the help of that organization that the Swarajist party have been successful in the last election. Most of the Swarajists were members of the district boards and in that capacity they happened to be in touch with the electors. This was also one of the main reasons of their success. The Swarajist members of the district boards had generally the advantage of canvassing through the gurus of the primary institutions and other employees who were under their control.

(11) THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS ON POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH NEWSPAPERS HAVE BEEN PROMPT IN SUPPORT OF THE VIEWS OF PARTICULAR GROUPS OR PARTIES IN THE COUNCIL.

Practically there is only one English newspaper in this province which has got wide circulation ; it is the *Searchlight*. This is purely the Swarajist organ and always indulges in unhealthy criticism of Government action. This paper influences politics and public opinion and it has very much promoted the views of the Swarajist party. The Bihar *Herald* is a weekly organ and represents mostly the Bengalee interest alone. The *Express*, which is a daily paper, publishes independent views, but unfortunately it has not got wider circulation. There are some English weekly papers published in Orissa and other district towns. They represent the local interest. There are two Hindi papers, *Mahabir* and *Desh*, and both the papers are run by the Swaraj party and therefore indulge in support of the views of the Swarajists and follow mostly the line of the *Searchlight*. Theer are two Urdu papers, one is a weekly organ published in Patna which has not got much circulation. The other is a bi-weekly paper published in Bihar *Sharif* and is edited by a member of Congress. This has got a wider circulation. We have been informed that many small papers are being published in Hindi in various places of this province and they are read by males and females as well.

FAKHR-UD-DIN.
GANESH DUTTA SINGH.

CAMP RANCHI :
The 25th May 1927.

ANNEXURE A.

List of Acts passed by the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council since 1st January 1924.

1. The Central Provinces Municipal Repealing Act, 1924 (Bihar and Orissa Act I of 1924).	It brings the Sambalpur municipality under the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act.
2. The Chota Nagpur Encumbered Estates (Amendment) Act, 1924 (Bihar and Orissa Act II of 1924).	The original Act required litigation between twodisqualified proprietors to be conducted by the same person, *viz.*, Manager of the Encumbered estates in the Chota Nagpur Division. The amending Act avoided the difficulty involved in the representation by manager of the conflicting interests of two contesting proprietors by providing for the appointment of an independent representative for each party in cases of such litigation.
3. The Bihar and Orissa Aerial Ropeways Act, 1924 (Bihar and Orissa Act III of 1924).	It facilitates the construction of overhead ropeways and is intended, among other things, to help the process of sand stowing the mines.
4. The Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council President's Salary Act, 1925 (Bihar and Orissa Act I of 1925).	It fixes the salary of the elected President of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council at Rs. 24,000 a year.

ANNEXURE A—*contd.*

5. The Bihar and Orissa Local Fund Audit Act, 1925 (Bihar and Orissa Act II of 1925).	It provides for legal sanction to the audit of local funds in view of the increased powers and responsibilities of local bodies under the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act, 1922, and Local Self-Government Act, 1923.
6. The Jharia Water-supply (Amendment) Act, 1925 (Bihar and Orissa Act III of 1925).	It removes certain defects contained in the Jharia Water-Supply Act of 1914 and gives effect to certain proposals of the Board constituted under that Act.
7. The Bihar and Orissa Mining Settlements (Amendment) Act, 1925 (Bihar and Orissa Act IV of 1925).	It enables the Jharia Mines Board of Health to keep the balances of its funds in any bank or any branch bank used as a Government Treasury.
8. The Bihar and Orissa Musalman Wakf (Amendment) Act, 1926 (Bihar and Orissa Act of 1926).	It legalises the furnishing of the accounts of Wakf Estates in courts in Urdu.
9. The Chota Nagpur Rural Police (Amendment) Act, 1926 (Bihar and Orissa Act II of 1926).	It revises the methods and amount of the assessment of the chaukidari tax in certain cases and provides for replacement of the old village chaukidars by regular police specially in notified mining areas.
10. The Bihar and Orissa Highways Act, 1926 (Bihar and Orissa Act III of 1926).	It provides for better maintenance of Government roads and control of traffic on them.

ANNEXURE B.

Budget Motions.

	2nd Council.				3rd Council.
	1st Session.	3rd Session.	5th Session.	Total.	1st Session.
1	2	3	4	5	6
(*a*) No. of motions for the reduction or omission of votes of which notice was given.	133	268	263	664	492
(*b*) No. of ditto actually moved.	27	30	20	77	21
(*c*) No. opposed by Government and carried.	6	2	..	8	1
(*d*) No. opposed by Government and defeated after a division.	6	8	3	17	10
(*e*) No. opposed by Government and defeated without a division or withdrawn.	14	20	17	51	10
(*f*) No. accepted by Government or withdrawn on promise that reduction would be made.	1	..	..	1	..

ANNEXURE C.

List of Budget motions opposed by Government but carried.

Serial No.	Reference to date and page of the Council Proceedings.	Budget motion.	Division.		Remarks.
			Ayes.	Noes.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
		SECOND COUNCIL.			
1	6th March 1924, pages 629-645.	Omission of the provision of Rs. 83,290 for "Kanungo Establishment" under "Land Revenue".	28	25	
2	12th March 1924, pages 923-933.	Reduction by Rs. 1,23,226 of the demand under "Irrigation."	33	24	
3	12th and 13th March 1924, pages 974-978 and 983-1013.	Omission of the provision of Rs. 1,79,077 for the "total main office of the Commissioners of Divisions" under "General Administration".	37	27	
4	13th March 1924, pages 1013-1026.	Reduction by Rs. 1,46,100 of the provision of Rs. 16,65,800 for "Pay of officers—voted" under "General Establishment" under "General Administration".	32	27	
5	18th March 1924, pages 1267-1275.	Omission of the item of Rs. 10,700 for acquisition of a house within the Monghyr fort for the residence of a Deputy Magistrate under "Civil Works."	..	..	No division.
6	18th March 1924, pages 1276-1307.	Reduction by 10 per cent. (*i.e.*, Rs. 2,12,777) of the demand under "Civil Works—Reserved."	28	18	
7	18th March 1924, pages 1308-1312.	Reduction by 10 per cent. (subsequently amended to 5 per cent., *i.e.*, Rs. 2,40,821) under "Civil Works—Transferred".	..	..	No division.
8	17th and 18th March 1925, pages 1407-1411 and 1418-1431.	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the provision of Rs. 58,800 for District and Sessions Judges under "Administration of Justice".	38	24	
9	18th March 1925, pages 1441-1458.	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the demand under "Administration of Justice."	41	27	

ANNEXURE C—*contd.*

Serial No.	Reference to date and page of the Council Proceedings.	Budget motion.	Division.		Remarks.
			Ayes.	Noes.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
		THIRD COUNCIL.			
1	7th March 1927, pages 806-843.	Omission of the item of Rs. 1,00,500 for "Compensation for land and rights" under "Land Revenue".	55	33	

ANNEXURE D.

List of Budget motions opposed by Government and defeated after a division.

Serial No.	Reference to date and page of the Council Proceedings.	Budget motions.	Division.		Remarks.
			Ayes.	Noes.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
		SECOND COUNCIL.			
1	7th and 10th March 1924, pages 728-750 and 783-840.	Reduction by Rs. 10 lakhs of the demand under "Excise".	23	35	
2	12th March 1924, pages 917-922.	Omission of the provision of Rs. 40,972 for "Superintending Engineer" under "Irrigation".	23	24	
3	12th March 1924, pages 934-973.	Reduction by Rs. 10,000 of the provision of Rs. 88,270 for the "Board of Revenue" under "General Administration".	28	30	
4	13th and 14th March 1924, pages 1033-1043 and 1057 to 1109.	Reduction by Rs. 7 lakhs of the demand under "Police."	30	31	
5	18th March 1924, pages 1255-1265.	Omission of the provision of Rs. 25,000 for "purchase of stock to execute orders received at the British Empire Exhibition" under "Miscellaneous Department".	20	28	

ANNEXURE D—*contd.*

Serial No.	Reference to date and page of the Council Proceedings.	Budget motions.	Division.		Remarks.
			Ayes.	Noes.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
		SECOND COUNCIL—contd.			
6	18th March 1924, pages 1314-1315.	Reduction by Rs. 96,443, the price of six linotype machines of the item of Rs. 1,52,539 for "Stationery and Printing" under the "Expenditure in England under control of the High Commissioner for India."	20	24	
7	5th March 1925, pages 1005-1020.	Reduction by Rs. 10,000 of the provision of Rs. 84,224 for "Kanungo Establishments."	21	28	
8	5th March 1925, pages 1038-1053.	Omission of the provision of Rs. 8,40,900 for "revision settlement operations, Orissa."	22	28	
9	6th March 1925, pages 1058-1102.	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the provision of Rs. 1,79,350 for "Revision Settlement operations, Santal Parganas".	21	28	
10	13th March 1925, pages 1221-1225.	Reduction by Rs. 15,000 of the provision of Rs. 88,178 for "pay of officers—voted" under "Irrigation".	20	30	
11	13th and 16th March 1925, pages 1277-1285 and 1293-1351.	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the provision of Rs. 20,964 for "Executive Council—voted" under "General Administration".	20	41	
12	18th March 1925, pages 1459-1471.	Omission of the provision of Rs. 24,936 for "pay of officers—voted" (Deputy Inspector-General of Police).	32	37	
13	19th March 1925, pages 1476-1529.	Reduction by 5 lakhs of the demands under "Police".	23	43	
14	19th March 1925, pages 1529-1536.	Reduction by Rs. 1,25,000 of the demands under "Police."	28	40	
15	8th March 1926, pages 837-848.	Reduction by Rs. 10,000 of the provision of Rs. 84,595 for "Kanungo Establishment" under "Land Revenue".	9	28	
16	8th March 1926, pages 868-873.	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the demand under "Registration".	16	28	

ANNEXURE D—*concld.*

Serial No.	Reference to date and page of the Council Proceedings.	Budget motions.	Division.		Remarks.
			Ayes.	Noes.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
		SECOND COUNCIL—*concld.*			
17	10th March 1926, pages 960-967.	Reduction by Rs. 1,42,000 of the provision of Rs. 3,42,497 for "clothing" under "Police".	12	41	
		THIRD COUNCIL.			
1	4th March 1927, pages 662-678.	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the provision of Rs. 6,610 for "Patna City Improvement Trust" under "Land Revenue".	32	37	
2	Ditto pages 685-709	Omission of the provision of Rs. 79,400 for "Revision Settlement Operations, Ranchi" under "Land Revenue".	31	45	
3	5th March 1927, pages 715-736.	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the demand under "Land Revenue".	35	37	
4	Ditto, pages 737-782	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the demand under "Excise".	35	42	
5	8th March 1927, pages 885-899.	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the provision of Rs. 78,938 for "Staff and Household of the Governor-General and Governors" under "General Administration".	23	54	
6	Ditto pages 902-950	Reduction by Rs. 100 of the provision of Rs. 96,000 for "Pay of Ministers" under "General Administration".	37	44	
7	9th March 1927, pages 958-1016.	Omission of the provision of Rs. 1,15,911 for "Ministers".	35	53	
8	10th March 1927, pages 1065-1069.	Omission of the provision of Rs. 12,276 for "Band Establishment" under "Police".	31	47	
9	Ditto pages 1071-1097.	Reduction by Rs. 6,772 of the provision of Rs. 2,63,836 for "Criminal Investigation Department" under "Police".	36	46	
10	11th March 1927, pages 1142-1155.	Reduction by Rs. 13,680 of the provision of Rs. 56,280 for "Pay of Inspectors and Inspectresses" under "Education".	34	43	

ANNEXURE E.

Supplementary Budget demands.

First Council.			Second Council.							Third Council.
——	8th Session.	Total.	1st Session.	2nd Session.	3rd Session.	4th Session.	5th Session.	6th Session.	Total.	1st Session.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(*a*) Number of supplementary votes asked for.	27	92	14	35	37	26	24	37	173	22
(*b*) Number carried after a division.	3	10	..	2	..	1	..	..	3	4
(*c*) Number defeated after a division.	1	1	..	1	..	3	..	..	4	..
(*d*) Number carried without a division.	23	81	14	32	37	22	23	37	165	18
(*e*) Number withdrawn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Letter No. 1585|337-V., dated the 5th September 1927.

From—The Chief Secretary to the Government of the Central Provinces,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

SUBJECT :—*Note on the working of the second Reform Council during 1924-26 in the Central Provinces and Berar.*

I am directed by the Governor in Council to refer to Mr. Dunnett's letter No. F. 181|27-Public, dated the 26th March 1927, and to forward for the information of the Government of India a note on the working of the second Reform Council, during 1924-26 in the Central Provinces and Berar.

NOTE ON THE WORKING OF THE SECOND REFORM COUNCIL, DURING 1924-26 IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

A.—THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

Constitution and Personnel.—During the period under report, there was a change in the personnel of the Executive Government. His Excellency Sir Frank Sly, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., the first Governor under the Reform Government, continued as Governor till the 26th January, 1925, when he made over charge of his office to His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B.E., I.C.S.

(*1*) *Members of the Executive Council.*

On the expiry of their terms of office on the 17th December 1925, the first Executive Councillors, *viz.*, the Hon'ble Sir Bertram Standen, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., Finance Member, and the Hon'ble Sir Moropant Joshi, K.C.I.E., Home Member, were replaced by the Hon'ble Mr. J. T. Marten, C.S.I., I.C.S., and the Hon'ble Mr. S. B. Tambe, B.A., LL.B., respectively.

The Finance Member's portfolio includes Land Revenue, Settlements, Land Records, Famine Relief, Forests, Irrigation and Finance, while the Home Member holds charge of the portfolios of Criminal and Civil Justice, a portion of Land Revenue, Police, Jails, Registration, Factories and Income-Tax. His Excellency the Governor holds direct charge of the portfolios of Political, Military and Appointments.

(*2*) *Ministers.*

When the second Council under the Reforms met for the first time in January 1924, Mr. (now Sir) S. M. Chitnavis, who had been a Minister throughout the life-time of the old Council, and Mr. Syed Hifazat Ali, a Muhammadan Independent, and a representative of the Northern Hindi-speaking part of the province, were appointed as Ministers. The Council, however at its first session passed a vote of no confidence in them, and on the 27th March, 1924, they resigned their offices. During

their short tenure of office they were in charge of the following portfolios :—

Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis.	*Hon'ble Mr. Hifazat Ali.*
Education.	Local Self-Government.
Agriculture.	Medical.
Civil Veterinary.	Public Health.
Fisheries.	Pilgrimages.
Co-operative Societies.	Public Works.
Excise.	Endowments.
Industries.	Adulteration.
Stores and Stationery	Weights and Measures.
Museums.	Registration.
Libraries.	

2. *Allocation of funds to Reserved and Transferred Subjects.*—The Ministry did not function for the major portion of the life-time of the second Reformed Council and there was no necessity to resort to Rule 32 of the Devolution Rules, the allocation of funds between the Reserved and Transferred subjects being made by Government according to the needs of the various departments. The expenditure on the transferred side has perceptibly expanded since 1924-25, the percentage being as under :—

1924-25	..	..	..	32 per cent.
1925-26	..	..	..	36 per cent.
1926-27	..	..	..	39 per cent.

It is believed that with one exception this percentage exceeds that of any other province in India. The low percentage in 1924-25 was due to the total rejection of the budget by the Council, which involved the postponement of all new expenditure in the Transferred Departments.

3. *Re-adjustment of Establishments necessitated by the Reforms.*—The number of Secretaries and Under Secretaries (three each) has not been increased. The Director of Public Instruction and the Commissioner of Settlements continued to work also as Secretary for Education and Secretary for Settlements and Land Records respectively. The cost of the Secretariat, (including the salaries of the Governor and the Members of Government) was Rs. 6, 25,097, during the past financial year, against Rs. 6,84,790 in 1923-24, the decrease being due to the fact that there were no salaries of Ministers to be paid. The experiment of appointing Council Secretaries, which has not proved a success during the first Council, was not revived.

4. *Co-operation between the Executive Government and the Legislature.*—The policy of associating the Members of the Council with the actual problems of administration through Advisory Committee was continued. With the dominant party in the Council bent upon obstruction, co-operation was impossible in the initial stages. The attitude of the Swaraj party, however, underwent a change in March, 1925, when they took an active part in the election for the public Accounts Committee. This Committee continued to act as a Finance Committee, thus combining the

functions of an Audit Committee and a Committee on expenditure. Members of the Council were also represented on eight Standing Committees, which dealt with the work of the various departments, both on the reserved and on the transferred side, and Government received advice and assistance from them.

5. *The Reforms and Local Self-Government.*—As reported in 1923 the most important measure in connection with Local Self-Government that has been passed into law since the introduction of the Reforms was the Central Provinces Municipalities Act of 1922. The Local Self-Government Act, though passed before the Reforms, actually came into operation in Berar after the Reforms and the rules for the Central Provinces were also framed after the Reformed Government began to function. The policy underlying both these measures is the extension of the franchise, the reduction of official control, the devolution of powers of taxation and the increasing of the initiative and sense of responsibility of the Members of these local bodies.

6. A wide extension of the franchise stimulated interest in the municipal elections ; and in the general elections held in February-March 1922 as much as 80 per cent. of the voters came to the polls in several cases. A majority of the members elected belonged to the non-co-operation party. In the general elections of 1925, however, the elections were fought rather on points of personal or communal difference than on grounds of national politics, and there has since been an outbreak of party feeling in certain committees with its resultant decrease in the efficiency of their administration. In the District Council elections the percentage of votes exercising their franchise hardly exceeded 25.

7. The local bodies paid greater attention to educational problems. The expenditure on education has shown a substantial rise, for instance, in 1920-21 the District Councils spent 20.66 lakhs on vernacular education, the corresponding figures for 1925-26 being 30.78 lakhs, an increase of nearly 50 per cent. The amount spent on education by Municipalities was 7.62 lakhs in 1920-21 and 11.14 lakhs in 1925-26. Progress towards educational independence was in some cases too rapid, and local bodies, while neglecting and dispensing with the assistance of government servants, failed to provide adequate substitutes. The decline in the enrolment of students coincided with the relaxation of official pressure, when the non-co-operation movement was at its height. The general attitude towards official interference, however, appears to have changed considerably since then. Some of the District Councils now view with approval the restoration of the influence exerted by revenue officers in securing the regular attendance of pupils. The progress towards the introduction of compulsory education was slow in the beginning, but a number of Municipalities are now taking steps to bring the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act into operation in their jurisdiction.

8. In the imposition of taxes the Municipalities exhibit a tendency to impose indirect taxation in preference to direct taxation, and the system of assessment and collection of direct taxes leaves much to be desired. The real income of Municipalities excluding, Government grants has risen from 39.48 lakhs in 1920-21 to 53.47 lakhs in 1925-26, *i.e.*, by 35 per cent. District Councils too have begun to use their wide

powers of taxation, especially in regard to the levy of market dues. There is also a general feeling among certain local bodies, notably in Berar, that the work of assessment and collection of direct taxes should be entrusted to revenue officers or to an independent body unconnected with the local bodies concerned. This is in accordance with the recommendations made by the Taxation Enquiry Committee.

9. Many of the dispensaries have been transferred to the control of local bodies. Although it is too early to pronounce any definite opinion on the success or otherwise of the experiment it is undisputed that the relaxation of official influence has had the effect of reducing the private contributions to the funds of these institutions. An increasingly large number of roads, previously maintained by the Public Works Department, have been transferred to the local bodies for maintenance. Generally speaking the experiment has been attended with encouraging results. I one case, however, the condition of the roads deteriorated to such an extent as to necessitate their retransfer to the Public Works Department. The state of accounts of local bodies has, generally speaking, deteriorated, the number of financial irregularities of Municipal Committees rising from 3,433 in the year 1922-23 to 6,033 in 1924-25. Regrettable features are the increasing delay in the disposal of audit notes, delay in sanctioning assessment lists and want of adequate collecting staff, and of proper measures for collection. The affairs of some of the local bodies are in a state of confusion. Allegations are often heard of the unfair treatment which the employees of local bodies receive, and the insecurity of their tenure and the lack of any legal provision for an appeal to an outside authority against the orders of the local bodies have been the subject of frequent comment.

10. A tendency noticeable in local bodies is a desire for further decentralisation of functions. It was contemplated in the Village Sanitation and Public Management Act that all Sanitation Panchayats would work in subordination to District Councils, but on a reference being made on the subject they resolved almost unanimously to work, not in subordination to District Councils, but as independent bodies. Government has since issued orders co-ordinating the functions of these local bodies, while maintaining to a great extent the independence of the Sanitation Panchayats. As regards Village Panchayats, the legislature contemplated that such panchayats should be established mainly through non-official agency, but very little progress was made in this direction by local bodies, pressure was brought on Government by the Council to bring official influence to the rescue. A Committee was appointed to consider the question, and as a result of its recommendations, a Village Panchayat Officer, whose duty it will be to further the establishment of panchayats, has now been appointed.

11. The instances of mismanagement and deterioration described in the foregoing paragraphs are such as are naturally to be expected in the period of transition through which local bodies are now passing. The extension of the franchise has provided new opportunities to a wider class of public-spirited citizens anxious to serve their country through the local bodies. When things have adjusted themselves to the changed conditions, it is hoped that a higher sense of public responsibilities will begin to assert itself.

B.—The Legislature.

12. *The Constitution and its working.*—The first Legislative Council was dissolved on the 1st November 1923, and the second Council met for the first time on the 15th January 1924. The total number of members was 70, as in the previous Council, but the number of elected members was now 54 instead of 53, and the number of nominated members was 16, instead of 17, as in the old constitution, because the Nagpur University had in the meantime been established and the electoral rules had provided that on its establishment the seat for university education was to be occupied by an elected member instead of a nominated member. The Hon'ble Sir G. M. Chitnavis, the first President appointed by the Governor, continued in office for another year, as provided in section 72-C (1) of the Government of India Act. He was succeeded by an elected President, the Hon'ble Mr. S. B. Tambe, in March 1925 (*vide* paragraph 18).

13. The old Council consisted in the main of members holding moderate views and willing to work the Reforms. The general election in December 1923 totally altered the character of the Council. Of the 26 sitting members who sought re-election, only 6 retained their seats. The elections aroused an interest far greater than those for the first Council. Voting was heavy, when the bad communications of the province and the illiteracy of its population are taken into account. Fifty-seven per cent. of the voters attended the polls and only 8 candidates were returned unopposed. The elections resulted in the return of the Swaraj party with an overwhelming majority, the 54 elected members comprising 41 Swarajists, 4 Independents who generally supported the Swaraj party, 4 Liberals and 5 Independents who inclined to the Liberal side.

14. On the results of the elections being declared His Excellency the Governro sent for Dr. Moonje, the recognised leader of the Swaraj party, and offered him office as Minister. Dr. Moonje replied that no member of the Swaraj party could accept the post of Minister, as this would be contrary to the declared policy of the party of ' uniform ', continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to make Government through the Council impossible ". His Excellency then offered the posts of Ministers to Mr. (now Sir) S M. Chitnavis, a member of the Liberal Party, and Syed Hifazat Ali, a Muhammadan Independent. The offers were accepted and the Ministers assumed charge of the transferred departments.

15. On the first day of the session held in January 1924 (15th to 18th), the Swarajists, in pursuance of their policy, refused to accept office or to sit on any Committee : they carried motions for the postponement of three Government Bills and refused leave to introduce one Government Bill, all relating to transferred departments, not on the merits of the measures, but on the ground that a grave constitutional crisis had been caused by the appointment of Ministers by the Governor from among the Liberals and Independents who had not the confidence of the Council ; they also carried a dilatory motion with regard to one more Government Bill, the Central Provinces Settlement Bill, dealing with a reserved subject ; finally, on the 18th January, they moved a vote of want of confidence in the Ministry, which they carried by a majority of 44 votes to 24.

16. In the budget session of the Council (March 4th to 10th), the Swaraj party threw out four Government Bills, rejected all the supplementary demands and refused to vote the budget grants, either in the reserved or in the transferred departments, with the exception of a sum of Rs. 2 which they voted for the salaries of Ministers. In this session the Swaraj party departed in one particular only from its policy of obstruction, rejection and refusal to accept office. Two of its leading members brought forward certain amendments to the Standing Orders of the Council which were designed to give full scope to the activities of the majority which refused to accept office ; and the party, by putting forward a block of candidates, secured strong representation on the select committee. Of the nine amendments proposed, however, six were dropped in committee, and the remaining three were adopted without a dissentient minute, but with modifications which afforded safeguards for the orderly conduct of business.

17. As the Governor was advised that, having regard to section 52 (1) of the Government of India Act, he could not by certification or otherwise provide reasonable salaries for the Ministers, the Ministers tendered their resignations at the close of the session, and these were accepted ; and on the 27th March 1924, the Governor himself assumed the temporary administration of the Transferred Departments, under the Transferred Subjects (Temporary Administration) Rules. He did not summon the Council to meet again until March 1925, but did not think it desirable to order a dissolution of the Council, as there was no reasonable hope that the electors would return representatives pledged to work and not to wreck the constitution.

18. When the Council met for the budget session of 1925 (3rd to 20th March), the attitude of some members of the Swaraj party towards the policy of obstruction had changed and there was some hope that a Ministry would be formed. The leaders were not, however, unanimous and a stable ministry was impossible. The demand for Ministers' salaries was again reduced from Rs. 99,000 to Rs. 2, but only by 37 votes to 28. In other respects, the Swarajists showed a notable change from their obstructive policy of 1924. In this session they took an active part in the election for the Committee on Public Accounts. Of the six elected members three were Swarajists, and two Independents who usually voted with them. In the election of the first elected President the Swarajists put forward as their candidate Mr. S. B. Tambe, the leader of the Berar group, and secured his election against a Liberal by 41 votes against 20. They also passed a Bill fixing the President's salary at Rs. 10,000 a year and requiring him to be a wholetime servant of the Council. This was the only piece of legislation passed by this Council. They passed the budget, apart from the demand for Ministers' salaries, in a normal manner, making reductions here and there, ordinarily on the merits of the objects for which the money was demanded. They also passed some amendments to the Standing Orders of the Council, referred to in paragraph 16 above, which were of a moderate character.

19. As the Swarajist leaders still showed no signs of a readiness to accept office, it was considered advisable for the Governor to continue the administration of the transferred subjects, and to take no action under Devolution Rule 6 to suspend their transfer. When the Council met

again on the 3rd August 1925, there were some negotiations with the Swarajist leaders, but again, owing to the lack of unanimity among them, the formation of a stable Ministry was impossible. In these circumstances the Finance Member intimated to the Council that no demand would be presented for the salaries of Ministers. The outstanding event of this session was a friendly scramble by all interests for a share in the 9 lakhs of rupees which the Government of India had remitted from the Central Provinces contribution to Imperial revenues. In the discussion that ensued there was little trace of party feeling, Government members finding themselves in the same lobby with varying groups of the Swarajists and sometimes in opposite lobbies to the Liberals and Government nominees. The debates showed divergences of opinion between the Central Provinces and Berar representatives, chiefly over the operation of the financial settlement.

20. The position after the close of the August session was a stalemate. The tendency in Berar, the Central Provinces Marathi districts, and, to a large extent, in Chhattisgarh was in favour of accepting office, while the Northern Hindi districts were the focus of opposition to this policy. Obstruction had never been popular in Berar, which had favoured a policy of working the Reforms for what they were worth. The next move accordingly came from Berar in the acceptance of Membership of the Executive Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Tambe, ex-leader of the Berar Swaraj party, and the first elected President of the Council. This event was followed by the revolt of the Bombay Swarajists against the obstructionists policy of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Cawnpore Congress in December 1925, the breakup of the Swarajist Party in Berar, the resignation by four of its leading members of their seats in the Legislative Council, and the split in the Central Provinces Marathi section of the party, whose leader, Dr. Moonje, now definitely declared himself in favour of responsive co-operation and resigned his seat in the Council in order to advocate the new policy. Three of the Berar members who had resigned were re-elected on the Responsivist ticket. The event which directly precipitated these happenings was a visit which Pandit Motilal Nehru paid to Nagpur at the beginning of November 1925, when he roundly abused Dr. Moonje and the Maharashtra politicians, and said that Maharashtra was a diseased limb of the Swaraj party, and that he was quite prepared to amputate it. He followed this up by a tour in Wardha, Chanda and Berar, which was immediately followed by a meeting at Akola, at which the Responsivist party was definitely formed.

21. The Council was not summoned again until March 1926. This was the last session at which it had an opportunity of deciding to join in working the constitution. In his address His Excellency invited the members to judge from their experience how far the refusal to have Ministers had impeded the Government, and how far it had tended to retard the constitutional development, not only of the province but of India generally, but the demand for Ministers' salaries was once again reduced from Rs. 99,000 to Rs. 2, 38 voting for the reduction and 15 against. The surprising feature of the vote was that some of the Liberals and Independents, who were definitely in favour of working the Reforms, voted for the reduction. They covered their action by the argument that the time was not opportune for the formation of a ministry, and that the Ministers, whoever they might be, would not be able to do any useful

work during the 7 or 8 months that lay before them. The real situation was that when the Council met there was a small majority in favour of the formation of a ministry, but it was made up of several sections, the leaders of which fell out, as the Swarajists had done in the previous year, over the question of the personnel of the ministry.

22. The Council also showed indecision over the budget. It had been framed on popular lines and there was no general desire to throw it out. On the other hand great pressure was being brought to bear on the local leaders of the Swaraj party by the All-India leaders to do something drastic. Accordingly the first demand presented for ' Land Revenue ' was thrown out, the Responsivists joining with the Swarajists in this action as a general protest against the alleged failure of Government to respond to the demand of the country for further constitutional development. The second demand for ' Excise ' was treated similarly but by a reduced majority. On the third demand for ' Stamps ' there was a tie which the President, a Swarajist, resolved by casting his vote against Government. The members of the Swaraj party then made a virtue of necessity and walked out of the Council Chamber. The remaining demands were dealt with on their merits, and were disposed of in an hour and a half. On the 10th March the Council sat for half an hour, and on the 16th March for an hour and a half, the time being occupied mainly by questions. It was then adjourned to the 17th March. In view of the circumstances, His Excellency the Governor prorogued the Council with effect from the same date.

23. As the dominant party had persistently refused to accept the office of Ministers, the transfer of all the transferred subjects in the Central Provinces was suspended, by an order of the Governor General in Council made under Devolution Rule 6, from the 20th April 1926 to the 31st January 1927. The Council was subsequently dissolved by the Governor on the 21st September 1926.

24. *Government Legislation.*—The policy of the Swarajist party, who were in a majority, being one of obstruction from the beginning to the end of the term of the second Council, no Bill promoted by the Government could be proceeded with. The only exception was the President's Salary Bill, which was passed into law. Of the five Government Bills thrown out by the Council four were of an administrative character and one was intended to control the habit of madak-smoking. A sixth Bill, the Central Provinces Settlement Bill, had been drafted in response to a recommendation made by the Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament to the effect that the principles of land revenue settlement should be embodied in a statute, and had been before the public for nearly ten months, when a motion to refer it to a Select Committee was made by the Revenue Member on the 6th January 1924. The Swarajists were not prepared to reject the Bill, but carried a dilatory motion that it be circulated again for eliciting opinion. Two Government Bills (1) the Central Provinces Land Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 1924, and (2) the Public Gambling (Central Provinces Amendment) Bill, 1924, were published under Rule 18 of the Legislative Council Rules in March-April 1924, but they were not brought before the Council, as it was not in a mood to consider Government legislation.

25. *Private Bills.*—Three private Bills were introduced during the session of August 1925. Two were for the amendment of the Central Provinces Municipalities Act and the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Act, and were introduced by Mr. Raghavendra Rao, the leader of the Central Provinces Hindi section of the Swaraj party. Their purpose was to make Honorary Magistrates ineligible to sit on Municipal Committees, and to raise from six months to five years the minimum term of imprisonment which forms a disqualification for membership of local bodies. These two Bills were referred to one Select Committee, which recommended that the municipal rights of Honorary Magistrates should remain untouched, but that the disqualification for membership on account of a criminal conviction should disappear entirely. The third Bill professed to amend the " Slaughter of Animals Act " but its real intention was not to regulate, but to reduce, the slaughter of cattle. It was introduced by a Hindu member and was opposed by a Muhammadan member and withdrawn on the advice of Dr. Moonjee, the leader of the Swarap party, who desired to avoid possible communal friction. Government opposed the first two Bills, but took no part in the debate on the third. The two Bills were reported on by the Select Committee, but they lapsed on the dissolution of the Council.

26. Notices of three non-official Bills (1) the Central Provinces Tenancy (Amendment) Bill for raising the status of occupancy tenants, (2) the Central Provinces Temperance Bill, for checking liquor consumption, and (3) the Central Provinces President's Salary Bill, for increasing the remuneration of the President of the Council, were received, and the previous sanction of the Governor General in the case of the first two and of the Governor in the case of the third was accorded. There were 4 more non-official Bills for which no sanction was required, but none of them came before the Council, and they lapsed on its dissolution. The sanction of the Governor General was refused in the case of the following three non-official Bills :

(1) Bill to restrict age of boys and girls for marriage purposes ;

(2) Bill to provide for military training of students ;

(3) Bill to provide for the attendance and examination of witnesses before the Central Provinces Legislative Council.

27. *Berar Legislative Committee.*—Under the Berar Legislation Rules, published in the Central Provinces Gazette of the 1st December 1923, a Legislative Committee was set up, consisting mainly of the members of the Central Provinces Legislative Council nominated as the result of elections held in Berar, to consider proposed legislation affecting Berar and to report to the Governor General in Council, who alone can legislate for the area. The Committee held its first meeting in July 1925, when the Draft Berar Land Revenue Code was placed before it and referred to a Select Committee. At a second meeting in November-December 1925, the Select Committee's report was taken into consideration. The Draft Law, as finally passed by the Legislative Committee with drastic changes from its original form was submitted for the consideration of the Governor General in Council.

28. *Financial Business.*—Financial stringency was a great drawback to the successful working of the Reforms Scheme during the term of the

first Council, but by the end of the year 1923-24 a position of comparative safety had been reached. The budget of 1924-25, the first which was presented to the new Council, met with the fate already described. None of the demands were considered on their merits, and the Council, actuated by political motives, refused its assent by a majority to all the votable demands in both the transferred and the reserved departments, with the exception of a sum of Rs. 2 which was voted for the salaries of the two Ministers. His Excellency certified and authorised expenditure for the reserved and transferred departments in accordance with the provisions of section 72-D (2) provisos (*a*) and (*b*) of the Government of India Act, and as a result the budget for 1924-25 as finally passed by Government on the expenditure side stood as under :—

	Amount of demand as presented to the Council.	Amount refused by the Council.	Amount certified by the Governor.
Reserved Departments ..	2,97,02,693	Whole ..	2,95,80,916
Transferred Departments ..	1,65,49,710	Whole Except Rs. 2. ..	1,53,19,742

The principles observed by His Excellency in authorising the above expenditure and the effect of the Council's action were described as under in a Resolution published on the subject on the 20th March 1924 :—

> " In the reserved subjects the budget provision has for some years, owing to financial stringency, been curtailed to a minimum, and His Excellency has therefore certified the votable expenditure in these subjects, with the exception of some items which can be postponed without serious detriment to the administration or loss to the provincial revenues. In the transferred departments, on the other hand, His Excellency has been able only to authorize on the scale necessary for the carrying on of each department. Certain items which are classed as " new expenditure " but which are really commitments of the Government in accordance with past practice, such, for instance, as grants to local bodies for general purposes, have been authorised, but other new expenditure proposed in the budget for schemes of development cannot be authorised and these schemes must be postponed till funds are voted for them by the Council. The postponement of these schemes must inevitably have the regrettable effect of arresting the development of the province, and the action of the Legislative Council necessarily falls most heavily on the transferred subjects, where development is most required ".

A copy of the resolution, No. 1259-X, dated the 20th March 1924, explaining His Excellency's action is attached. Two supplementary demands made on the 6th March 1924 totalling 2.77 lakhs relating to reserved subjects were also refused by the Council and were restored by the Governor.

29. The Council dealt with the budget of 1925-26 on its merits, but in dealing with demands in which it disapproved of the policy of Government, or wished to bring to the notice of Government some policy of its own, it committed the mistake of rejecting the demands *in toto*, instead of signifying its desire by the usual method of a token cut. Out of a total demand of Rs. 523.97 lakhs, the Council refused grants amounting to Rs. 12.03 lakhs. Grants were refused for the revision of certain settlements (Rs. 75,190), for the pay of District Superintendents of Land Records, (Rs. 74,755), and for the establishments of Commissioners, (Rs. 1,66,000) and of the Courts of Honorary Magistrates, (Rs. 99,986), and in all these cases His Excellency was compelled to use his powers of certification in order to prevent the dislocation of the administrative machine. In each case a token cut of Rs. 1,000 was allowed to stay as an acknowledgment that Government had noted the views of the Council, and would re-examine the position. Reductions were also made of Rs. 4,02,300 under the pay of Jaglias and Mahars, in order to persuade the Government to reduce the cess and make up the deficit from general revenues, and of Rs. 1,00,000 under Police, in order to secure further economies. In each of these cases the reduction made was not of the whole grant, and as sufficient money was left to enable the administration to be carried on for some months, no order was passed until the position had been re-examined. Eventually His Excellency certified the whole of the demand for the pay of Jaglias and Mahars. No orders were passed with regard to the demand under Police. A copy of the resolution, No. 1451-X, of the 2nd May 1925, explaining His Excellency's action is attached. The remaining grants which had been refused were not essential for carrying on the administration and no order was passed with regard to them, but it may be noted that grants totalling Rs. 1,10,000 for the building of bungalows for the housing of Government officers were refused. The Council has persistently refused to vote money for this purpose, except in very rare cases, without regard to the administrative inconvenience which this refusal has entailed. The Council also rejected an excess demand for a grant for expenditure incurred in 1922-23 amounting to Rs. 1,783. Out of the six supplementary demands for the year 1924-25, of a total amount of Rs. 4.85 lakhs, the Council passed only two, totalling Rs. 5,393 and refused the rest. The leader of the Swaraj party opposed these demands, mainly on the ground that His Excellency the Governor has not convened any meeting of the Council after the budget session of March 1924. All demands refused were certified in full by the Governor.

30. In March 1925, Sir Basil Blackett had announced in the Legislative Assembly that, after consulting the Secretary of State, the Government of India had decided to give the province a non-recurring grant of Rs. 9 lakhs out of their surplus of Rs. 74 lakhs. This grant was really a remission made by the Government of India, with the approval of the Legislative Assembly, of part of the annual contribution of 22 lakhs which the province is required by the Devolution Rules to pay to the Government of India. In approving of this remission the Legislative Assembly recommended to the Government of India that the sum remitted should be spent in the transferred departments, and their recommendation was communicated to the local Government. Accordingly in the August session of the Legislative Council Sir Bertram Standen moved a resolution recommending to the local Government that, in view of the remission of Rs. 9 lakhs, a sum of Rs. 9.59 lakhs should be appropriated

in the future towards new expenditure on certain specified objects in the transferred departments, and a sum of Rs. 25,000 on forest roads in the reserved departments, and that supplementary demands be presented for the sums which could be spent during the current year on the specified objects. This was accepted by the Council, with the addition of Rs. 50,000 for a High School at Drug, and later in the session supplementary grants were voted, covering Rs. 4,46,500 of the expenditure agreed to in the transferred departments and all of that agreed to in the reserved departments.

31. The budget for 1926-27 was presented to the Council on the 4th March, 1926. Of the total expenditure and disbursements shown in the budget, aggregating Rs. 661.56 lakhs, Rs. 425.61 lakhs was reserved and Rs. 235.95 lakhs transferred ; of the new expenditure the figures were Rs. 20.22 lakhs and Rs. 50.09 lakhs respectively. The Finance Member informed the Council that voted and transferred expenditure was increasing at a much greater rate than non-voted and reserved and in the current year's budget the bulk of the new expenditure was transferred and voted. The Council first took up the demand for Ministers' salaries, and reduced it to Rs. 2. Then it took up other demands and rejected the whole demand for " Land Revenue " and " Excise ". By the casting vote of the President of the Council the demand for " Stamps " was also rejected entirely. The remaining demands were all passed after the " walk out " of the Swarajists. The three heads " Land Revenue ", " Excise " and " Stamps " which were thrown out constituted four-fifths of the total revenue of the province, and the Government found that if supplies under them were not forthcoming, it would be impossible to carry on the other services for which supplies had been voted by the Council. Moreover, the refusal of the " Excise " demand involved the disappearance of control in excise matters, which would have struck a severe blow at the temperance policy hitherto pursued by the Government with the assent of the Legislative Council. Government considered whether they could not again submit the demands to the Council as suggested by the Hon'ble the President when giving his casting vote in the case of " Stamps ", but it found that the course was barred during the March session by Standing Order 28, which lays down that a motion must not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the Council has given a decision in the same session. It was also not considered practicable to wait for supplies until the next session, even if there was a certainty that they would be granted. Accordingly the Governor certified all the demands under " Land Revenue ", " Excise " and " Stamps " except a sum of Rs. 19,404 under " Land Revenue " and a sum of Rs. 330 under " Excise ". A copy of the resolution No. 931-X, dated 19th March 1926, explaining His Excellency's action is attached. Five demands for excess grants for the year 1923-24 amounting to Rs. 2.67 lakhs, and thirteen supplementary demands for the current year amounting to Rs. 21.04 lakhs, were made on the 10th March, 1926, and all were voted.

32. No Government proposal for taxation was brought before the second Council. Two taxation Acts passed by the first Council the Central Provinces Court Fees Act, 1923, and the Indian Stamp (Central Provinces Amendment) Act, 1923, expired on the 31st March, 1926. The report of the Retrenchment Committee made in 1922 continued to give material for

interpellation and debate in so far as the recommendations of the Committee had not been adopted by the Government. Certain proposals for increased expenditure made in the form of resolutions of the Council are referred to in the next paragraph.

33. *Resolutions and Questions.*—During the life-time of the second Council 318 notices of resolutions were received, but a number of these were repetitions. Twenty-nine resolutions were disallowed and 35 were moved during the five sessions. Of these one was the Government resolution moved by the Finance Member, as explained in paragraph 30 above. Of the 34 non-official resolutions, ten were withdrawn after discussion, two were rejected, and twenty-two were carried by a majority.

During the life-time of the second Council notices of 1,632 questions were received, out of which 1,323 were answered. The rest were either disallowed, or were not answered because the members who had put the questions were absent when their names were called. A small proportion of the questions were designed to obtain information for use in the debates on resolutions or in the discussion of the budget and demands. A large number related to the appointment, punishment or dismissal of Government servants, or to the pay and prospects of a branch of Government service, and statistics of the communities and castes of officials were at times demanded. There was a marked tendency to spend a disproportionate amount of time on matters of no general public interest, and to arrogate to the Council a right of interference in the details of administration which does not belong constitutionally to a legislative body. The number of questions asked by Muhammadan and nominated members was small. Supplementary questions were numerous and frequently argumentative. According to the practice introduced with the approval of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, resolutions and questions relating to Berar were admitted. In Railway matters the Government of India's instructions were followed, and resolutions and questions of purely local interest were dealt with by the Council.

34. *Adjournment Motions.*—Two adjournment motions were brought forward. The first, which was moved on the 8th March 1924, arose out of the alleged dispersal on the 4th February 1924 of the *Kirsan and Malguzari Sabha* at the Burman Fair in the Narsinghpur district by the order of an Extra Assistant Commissioner. In the debate only one Liberal member opposed the motion. The Council duly adjourned. The second motion was brought forward on the 14th March 1925, to express the opinion that the Reforms Enquiry Committee's Report was inadequate, disappointing and even retrograde. One depressed class member and one Muhammadan member expressed sympathy with the majority report, while the minority report was commended by some of the other speakers. The adjournment motion was carried at 6 o'clock. In both cases when the time arrived for putting the question there was some argument as to the form it should take. In the first instance no question was actually put. In the second the President definitely ruled that the only question was that the House do stand adjourned.

35. *Amendments to Standing Orders.*—The original Standing Orders made under section 72-D, sub-section (6), of the Government of India Act in January 1921, were amended by the first Reformed Council in August

1921, and March 1923. As stated in paragraphs 16 and 18 above, they were amended for the third time in March, 1925, by the second Council with the following result :—

(*i*) The maximum time for the speech of the mover in opening the debate on an adjournment motion was extended from 15 to 25 minutes.

(*ii*) A new provision was inserted which entitled the mover of amendments to Standing Orders to be heard by the Select Committee to which they were referred.

(*iii*) The procedure for making communications from the Council to the Governor was elaborated on the lines of that followed in making motions for adjournment.

The amendments were assented to by the Governor.

36. On the 17th March 1925, a Swarajist member introduced an amendment to Standing Order 24, the aim of which was to allow a member to speak in the vernacular although he may be proficient in English. The amendment was referred to a Select Committee which had a majority of Swarajist members on it. The Committee pointed out that Rule 14 of the Central Provinces Legislative Council Rules vested in the President the discretion to determine whether a member should speak in English or not, and, as under the proposed amendment the decision would depend on the will of the speaker, it was *ultra vires* of Rule 14. The report of the Committee was presented to the Council on the 7th August 1925. The mover of the amendment, who was not satisfied with the report and had written a minute of dissent, succeeded in getting the matter recommitted to the Select Committee. The Select Committee again endorsed the view already taken by it, and the mover signed the report again, subject to his previous dissenting minute. The report was put down for the session of March 1926, but did not come up before it owing to its sudden prorogation on the 16th March. It has since lapsed on the dissolution of the Council.

37. *Communications to the Governor.*—Motions of a novel character were sometimes introduced by the majority party in the form of communications to the Governor :—

(*a*) On the 18th January 1924, after carrying the motion of want of confidence in the Ministers, Dr. B. S. Moonje, the leader of the Swaraj party, handed to the President a message to be communicated to His Excellency the Governor under Standing Order 73. The message described the situation that had arisen as a result of the debate just concluded, declared that the working of the Government of the province on constitutional lines had become an impossibility and that a grave constitutional crisis had arisen. His Excellency was asked to bring the matter to the notice of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, with a request that immediate steps should be taken for the establishment of full responsible Government (Swaraj) in India in accordance with the national demands to be shortly presented to His Excellency the Viceroy. (These national demands were presumably those which were made by the Legislative Assembly in a resolution carried at its meeting of the 18th

February 1924.) The President (Sir G. M. Chitnavis) ruled that the communication, if it was to go from the Council, must be discussed by the Council. As, however, the notice given was too short, the Council was unable to discuss the motion, and in the circumstances it was disallowed.

(*b*) On the 10th March 1924, the leader of the Swaraj party put forward a communication to be sent to His Excellency, of which he had given notice to the President four or five days previously. As some members had not received that notice, the mover read the whole of the communication to the Council. It was a long despatch of six or seven typed pages meant for the Secretary of State for India and to be transmitted through the Governor. It began by referring to the statement made by the Secretary of State on the 26th February 1924, and, after covering a great portion of the ground of all-India politics, concluded with a demand for the amendment of the Government of India Act in order to secure self-determination for India. The President (Sir G. M. Chitnavis) gave his ruling in the following words :—

" Lastly, I must point out to this House the nature of the precedent which this motion seeks to establish. This motion is not a communication from the Council to the Governor, though it purports to take that form, but is a message to the Secretary of State to be conveyed by the Governor. Once this precedent is established, there will be nothing to prevent any matter from being sent to any political authority at the cost of the legitimate business of this Council for the conduct of which special days are appointed by His Excellency the Governor. I therefore rule that Dr. Moonje's motion is out of order ".

(*c*) On the 6th August 1925 Dr. Moonje again moved a motion for formal address to His Excellency the Governor, submitting that the statement made in the House of Lords on the 7th July 1925, as a review of the general situation in India by Lord Birkenhead was " not only gravely disappointing but highly insulting to the national self-respect of India..... .....making honourable cooperation increasingly difficult." Following the ruling given by Sir G. M. Chitnavis in March 1924, the President (Mr. S. B. Tambe) disallowed the above motion. He also quoted the views of the President of the Madras Legislative Council in March 1924, on the subject.

38. *The Council and Public Opinion.*—The figures of the poll in the general election of 1923 show that the members of the second Reformed Council were, in a sense, real representatives of the electorates, more than 57 per cent. of the voters having polled in contested general constituencies. But when the illiteracy and general inexperience of the average voter are taken into consideration, it is a matter of considerable doubt whether the majority had any clear idea of the probable effect of their vote or any definite knowledge of the policy of the congress party and what it would lead to in the Council. In the circumstances

the Swarajists cannot be said to have had the mandate for obstruction which they claimed. This was proved very soon. The actual effect of the obstructionist tactics of the Swarajists as represented by the rejection of the budget for 1924-25, was at once realized by the electorates, particularly in the Marathi-speaking districts, and by the agriculturist classes, and public opinion turned against the Swarajists. This was apparent from the results of local and municipal elections in Berar and in Nagpur City, and of a Legislative Council bye-election in the Amraoti district of Berar, all held in the winter of 1924-25. In the bye-election a non-Brahman won the seat from a strong Swarajist. Some of the party who were of Responsivist inclinations grasped the situation, but efforts to retrieve it by the formation of a ministry failed, as already described. No regular organization was in existence through which the members kept their constituencies informed of their doings in the Council. A few who were also members of local bodies came into contact with their electorates through those bodies.

39. *Groups and Parties in the Council.*—There were the following communal and territorial groups in the first Council, and the same continued to exist in the second Council :—

Communal groups.—(1) Hindus, (2) Muhammadans and (3) Depressed Classes. There was no group of non-Brahmans as such.

Territorial groups.—(1) Berar and (2) the Central Provinces. The Central Provinces were sub-divided into the Central Provinces, Northern (Hindi) and the Central Provinces, Southern (Marathi).

Among these groups, disruptive tendencies were visible in a greater degree than before. The Beraris held that Berar was being exploited for the benefit of the Central Provinces, and the Central Provinces members maintained that Berar was not entitled to special treatment. The Northerners and Southerners were jealous of each other, and each considered that the interests of his part were being sacrificed to those of the other. The political parties were only two—the Swarajists in a large majority and the Liberals in a small majority. Neither of these coincided with the communal or territorial groups above stated. The Swarajists were the only organised party in the Council. They consisted of three groups. The Berar group was led by Messrs. S. B. Tambe and B. G. Khaparde, the Central Provinces (Hindi) group by Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao and the Central Provinces (Marathi) group by Dr. B. S. Moonje. Dr. Moonje was the recognised leader of the party as a whole, but within two years he lost that position. The policy of the party has already been described. The party had one or two Muhammadans among its adherents. Sir S. M. Chitnavis was the most prominent among the very few Liberals that were in the Council.

40. *The Constituencies and the public.*—The franchise was possessed by 1.1 per cent. of the total population of the Central Provinces and Berar, which, according to the census of 1921, was nearly fourteen million people. The percentage of the total male population of 20 years of age and over to the total population was 26, and the percentage of the total male electorate for the general constituencies to the total male population of 20 years of age and over was 4.2. The percentage of male electors who

voted in the general election of 1923 in contested general constituencies to the total number of voters on the register was 57.4. Out of 8 bye elections, 5 were contested, and the percentage of votes polled to the total number of voters in these constituencies was 36.8. The only electoral organisation which worked effectively was that of the Swarajists. The general public in Nagpur, especially the student class, was always anxious to get admission to the galleries for visitors. About a dozen press representatives used to attend.

The local bi-weekly paper (*Hitavada*, Liberal, English) was used by the public as a medium for pressing their views on the attention of the members of the Council and for suggesting methods of co-operation between them. With the growth of the principle of Responsive Co-operation, the strength of the once powerful Swarajist Press gradually dwindled into insignificance. While papers of all shades of opinion published accounts of the proceedings of the Council, the Responsivist Press of Berar and the *Maharashtra* (Nagpur) educated the electors by often dwelling on the power given to Ministers under the Reforms to initiate policies approved by public opinion, and the efficacy of the constitutional methods of redressing public grievances through the Councils.

41. *Political Agitation and parties outside the Reforms scheme.*—In the preceding paragraphs it has been shown how the creed of non-co-operation gave place gradually to saner counsels, and by the close of the period it has ceased to be a living force in local politics. The same is true of the Khilafatist movement, which was deprived of its *raison d'être* by the course of events in other Muhammadan countries. The artificial union between Hindus and Muhammadans which had been created by the pressure of political forces disappeared as soon as that pressure was relaxed, and in 1924 the effect of this was seen in a series of communal disturbances in Nagpur.

A local peace was ultimately patched up, but the dissensions between the two communities became a serious factor in the political life of the province. The non-Brahman movement also made considerable headway in the Marathi-speaking districts, and has now become an active force in certain constituencies, especially in Nagpur and the districts of Berar.

No. 1259-X.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.
FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

Budget.

Nagpur, the 20th March 1924.

RESOLUTION.

In accordance with the provisions of Section 72-D of the Government of India Act a statement of the estimated expenditure and revenue of the province for the year 1924-25 was laid before the Legislative Council at the March session. The Local Government's proposals for the appropriation of provincial revenues and other moneys so far as they referred to votable expenditure, were submitted to the vote of the Legislative

Council in the form of demands for grants, but the Council, by a majority, refused its assent to all demands in both the transferred and the reserved departments, with the exception of a sum of Rs. 2 which was voted for the salaries of the Ministers.

2. In this unprecedented position His Excellency the Governor has to consider the action that should be taken by him. He has two alternatives before him, either to accept the vote of the Council or to exercise his statutory powers under the Government of India Act to authorise expenditure not voted by the Council. If the first alternative were adopted and full effect were given to the Council's decision, the departments of Government would be wrecked and the whole of the provincial and subordinate services, as well as ministerial and menial staff, would be dismissed ; the police would be disbanded ; law courts would be closed ; Government colleges and schools would be shut, and grants-in-aid to local bodies for primary education would be stopped, the education of the youth of the country being thus brought to a standstill ; hospitals and dispensaries would be closed, leaving no facilities for the medical relief of the sick ; all provision for dealing with epidemic disease and for vaccination would cease ; all public works in progress would be stopped and roads and buildings would no longer be kept in repair ; loans for land improvement would cease ; grants to local bodies would not be given, and they would be unable to continue their most important work In short, government would almost totally cease to function. In the interests of the province, therefore, the Governor considers it necessary to exercise the powers conferred on him by the Government of India Act to provide such funds as may be indispensable for carrying on the essential functions of a civilised Government and saving the existing administration from wreckage.

3. The powers of the Governor to authorise expenditure to which the Council has not assented are defined in provisos (*a*) and (*b*) to section 72-D (2) of the Government of India Act. The first proviso, which relates exclusively to reserved subjects, permits of a demand refused by the Council being restored if the Governor considers the expenditure provided for by the demand essential for the discharge of his responsibilities for the reserved subject concerned. Proviso (*b*), which covers both transferred and reserved subjects, empowers the Governor to authorise, in case of emergency, such expenditure as he may think necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department. This emergency has arisen from the refusal of the Legislative Council to vote any demands. The power conferred with reference to expenditure on transferred subjects is thus more restricted than that conferred in regard to reserved subjects. In the former case an emergency must have arisen rendering the authorisation of expenditure necessary for carrying on of a department, in the latter all expenditure may be restored which is essential for carrying on the ordinary administration. In authorising expenditure His Excellency has observed the following principles. In the reserved subjects the budget provision has for some years, owing to financial stringency, been curtailed to a minimum, and His Excellency has therefore certified the votable expenditure in these subjects with the exception of some items which can be postponed without serious detriment to the administration or loss to the provincial revenues.

In the transferred departments, on the other hand, His Excellency has been able only to authorise expenditure on the scale necessary for the carrying on of each department. Certain items which are classed as ' new expenditure ' but which are really commitments of the Government in accordance with past practice, such, for instance, as grants to local bodies for general purposes, have been authorised, but other new expenditure proposed in the budget for schemes of development cannot be authorised, and these schemes must be postponed till funds are voted for them by the Council. Such projects include the construction of several new roads and bridges in Berar, new educational buildings, the improvement of water supply including boring operations, the District Health Officers' scheme, the improvement of hospitals, the appointment of an industrial chemist, experiments for the improvement of sugarcane and so forth. The postponement of these schemes must inevitably have the regrettable effect of arresting the development of the province, and the action of the Legislative Council necessarily falls most heavily on the transferred subjects, where development is most required. Again, His Excellency the Governor is advised that he has no legal power to authorise the payment of reasonable salaries to Ministers. The result of the refusal to vote salaries for the Ministers is, therefore, that the office of Minister cannot be filled, and His Excellency has been obliged to take over temporarily the administration of the transferred subjects, the province being thus deprived of the most important advance towards self-government made by the Government of India Act.

4. Following these principles, His Excellency the Governor has exercised his statutory powers to authorise expenditure to the extent shown in the Appendix. The budget as introduced, excluding capital and debt heads, provided for an estimated revenue of Rs. 5,31,81,000 and an estimated expenditure of Rs. 5,29,36,000, thus giving a surplus of Rs. 2,45,000. Including the amounts now authorised, the provincial expenditure will be reduced to Rs. 5,21,09,257. The expenditure not chargeable to revenue will be reduced from Rs. 74,56,000 to Rs. 69,31,000.

5. As a result of the action taken by His Excellency the Governor in consequence of the refusal of the Legislative Council to vote any demands the principal items omitted from the budget are as follows :—

A.—Reserved Subjects.

	Rs.
Forests—	
Purchase of 5 elephants	22,500
Purchase of 2 hay presses	6,000
Improvement of clerks' pay	5,500
Construction of new roads	75,000
Education (European Schools)—	
Grant to Christ Church Boys' School, Jubbulpore, for Science equipment.	4,000
Miscellaneous Departments—	
Preparation of an index figure of the cost of living.	6,000

	Rs.
B.—Transferred Subjects.	
General Administration—	
Salaries and travelling allowance of Ministers.	74,998
Education—	
Equipment for the Engineering School ..	5,000
Conversion of twenty lower division posts to upper division in the Subordinate Educational Service.	4,000
Extension of female education	4,311
Grants to local bodies for compulsory primary education.	10,000
Contribution to the Victoria Technical School, Bombay, for the training of twelve Central Provinces students.	2,400
Medical—	
Health propaganda work in Berar ..	2,403
Grant to the Muir Memorial Hospital, Nagpur, for buildings.	5,000
Provision for the treatment of venereal diseases.	2,000
Grants for dispensary buildings ..	2,500
Grants for quarters for Medical Subordinates.	14,000
Public Health—	
Grant to the District Council, Amraoti, towards the Health Officer Scheme.	10,000
Improvement of water-supply in the rural areas.	10,000
Agriculture—	
Provision for sugarcane experiments ..	15,000
New plant and agricultural implements for demonstration purposes.	10,000
Oil engine and pumps for Damoh farm ..	3,500
Industries—	
Appointment of an Industrial Chemist and staff.	15,500
Civil works—	
Quarters for the Sub-Divisional Officer, Public Works Department, Ellichpur.	8,900
Additions and alterations to the District Court-house at Wardha.	20,000
New building for the Anglo-Vernacular School hostel at Morsi.	20,000

B.—TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS—*contd.*

Civil Works—contd.

	Rs.
New building for the Anglo-Vernacular School, Mungeli.	17,500
Additions and alterations to the High School building, Balaghat.	11,000
Additions and alterations to the Model High School hostel, Jubbulpore.	30,000
Hostel for the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School, Murtizapur.	20,000
New building for the Anglo-Vernacular School, Murtizapur.	20,000
Extension of the Akola High School hostel	18,000
Raising in class of the Digras-Pusad road	40,000
Improvement of the ghat on the Malkapur-Buldana road.	20,000
Causeway over the Adan river on the Darwha-Yeotmal road.	15,000
Submerged bridge over the Chenakoli river on the Darwha-Digras road.	15,000
Construction of a bridge on the Ellichpur-Anjangaon road.	20,000
Submerged bridge on the Yeotmal-Wun road.	20,000
Grant to District Council, Amraoti, for raising in class of the road from Warud to Wardha.	30,000
Grant to the District Council, Amraoti, for construction of the Pohora-Chandur Railway road.	18,000
Reserve for unforeseen major works, reduced from Rs. 72,000 to Rs. 50,000.	22,000
Investigation of water-supply projects ..	10,000
Boring operations in Amraoti district for water supply.	13,000
New tools and plant reduced from Rs. 88,000 to Rs. 50,000.	38,000
Miscellaneous—	
Grant to Jalgaon Municipal Committee ..	4,000
Reserve for transferred departments ..	1,50,000
Loans and Advances by the Provincial Government—	
Provision for a loan to the Nagpur Municipal Committee.	4,50,000

ORDER.—Ordered that a copy of the Resolution be communicated to all Heads of Departments and Commissioners of Divisions, to all Departments of the Secretariat and to the Accountant-General ; and that it be published in the *Central Provinces Gazette.*

A. E. MATHIAS,
Financial Secretary to Government,
Central Provinces.

APPENDIX.

Number of demand. 1	Service or Administration to which the demand relates. 2	Amount of demand as presented to the Council. 3	Amount as now certified or authorized. 4	Expenditure not certified or authorized. 5
	A.—Reserved Subjects.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Land Revenue	24,62,400	24,62,400	..
3	Stamps	2,45,000	2,45,000	..
4	Forests	30,33,300	29,99,300	34,000
6	Irrigation	13,66,000	13,66,000	..
7	General Administration	57,74,500	57,74,500	..
9	Administration of Justice ..	26,96,650	26,96,650	..
10	Jails and Convict Settlements ..	9,20,000	9,20,000	..
11	Police	52,81,500	52,81,500	..
13	Education	1,55,000	1,48,223	6,777
18	Industries	29,000	29,000	..
20	Miscellaneous Departments ..	1,14,343	1,08,343	6,000
21	Civil Works	30,000	30,000	..
23	Pensions	17,72,000	17,72,000	..
24	Stationery and Printing	5,59,700	5,59,700	..
26	Miscellaneous	2,61,000	2,61,000	..
28	Miscellaneous Adjustments ..	23,000	23,000	..
29	Expenditure in England	3,15,100	3,15,100	..
30	Capital outlay on Forest works ..	2,00,000	1,25,000	75,000
31	Productive Irrigation works ..	30,15,000	30,15,000	..
32	Famine Insurance Fund	4,55,000	4,55,000	..
33	Loans and Advances	3,18,000	3,18,000	..
34	Repayment of loans	6,05,000	6,05,000	..
35	Refunds of revenue	71,200	71,200	..
	Total ..	2,97,02,693	2,95,80,916	1,21,777
	B.—Transferred Subjects.			
2	Excise	7,47,000	7,47,000	..
5	Registration	2,57,200	2,57,200	..
8	General Administration	75,000	2	74,998
12	Scientific Departments	13,000	13,000	..
14	Education	46,76,700	46,46,597	30,103
15	Medical	10,99,400	10,72,297	27,103
16	Public Health	2,99,200	2,79,200	20,000
17	Agriculture	12,69,300	12,38,438	30,862
19	Industries	2,36,300	2,19,800	16,500
22	Civil Works	64,32,310	60,05,910	4,26,400
25	Stationery and Printing	15,000	15,000	..
27	Miscellaneous	8,83,000	7,29,000	1,54,000
20	Expenditure in England	79,900	79,900	..
33	Loans and advances (Loans to local bodies).	4,50,000	..	4,50,000
34	Refunds of revenue	16,400	16,400	..
	Total ..	1,65,49,710	1,53,19,744	12,29,966
	GRAND TOTAL ..	4,62,52,403	4,49,00,660	13,51,743

No. 1451-X.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

Budget.

Nagpur, the 2nd May 1925.

RESOLUTION.

In the March session of 1925 demands totalling Rs. 5,23,97,353 were presented to the Legislative Council. These demands were met subject to reductions amounting in all to Rs. 12,02,633. Some of these reductions related to particular items considered in themselves unnecessary. Others were made, not so much with a view to effecting economies, as to indicate to the Government that the Council desired a change of policy. In many legislative bodies it has been found convenient, when reductions of the latter kind are made, to reduce only a token sum and not the whole grant, and it would have saved His Excellency the Governor from having to exercise his powers under section 72-D of the Government of India Act if that procedure had been followed by his Legislative Council. As it is, he has been obliged, to certify certain items in order to keep going the machinery of the administration. In such cases, however, out of deference to the views of the Legislative Council he has certified the demands, less a token sum, so as to leave on record the fact that his Government has taken note of the opinion given, and as an assurance that the matter will be looked into further. The actual reductions made and the action taken by His Excellency the Governor under each demand head are set out below :—

2. I.—DEMAND NO. 1—LAND RESERVE.—(*Reserved.*)

Item.	Amount of reduction by the Legislative Council.
	Rs.
Revision of settlement in the Balapur and Jalgaon taluqs.	75,190
District Superintendents of Land Records ..	74,755
Appointment of additional temporary staff for the introduction of the single boundary mark system in Berar.	19,404
Total ..	1,69,349

The only way in which to give effect to the reduction of Rs. 75,190 on account of the revision of settlement in the Balapur and Jalgaon taluqs

would be to give up the resettlement of these areas entirely. Such a course would be unfair to the rest of the province unless the exemption given were made universal. The issues raised are those of provincial and not local importance, and cannot be settled off-hand. In the meantime the staff engaged cannot be disbanded with due regard to economy. Similarly the only way in which to reduce Rs. 74,755 on account of District Superintendents of Land Records would be to dismiss at a few days' notice and without compensation the existing staff of District Superintendents and to change without proper investigation the whole system of supervising land records. His Excellency the Governor is not prepared to do this. He has, therefore, decided to certify both sums as essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the Land Revenue Administration, less Rs. 1,000 in each case. He has left these two token reductions as an acknowledgment that his Government notes the views of the Legislative Council on the broad issues of policy, and will re-examine the position. No such practical difficulty arises over the reduction of Rs. 19,404 on account of the appointment of additional temporary staff for the introduction of the single boundary mark system in Berar and His Excellency has decided not to certify in this case.

II.—DEMAND No. 2—EXCISE.—(*Transferred.*)

Item.	Amount of reduction by the Legislative Council.
	Rs.
Lump reduction under District Excise Officers ..	3,000

His Excellency the Governor has passed no order regarding this amount. The reduction will be given effect to by reducing one post of District Excise Officer.

III.—DEMAND No. 7—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.—(*Reserved.*)

Item.	Amount of reduction by the Legislative Council.
	Rs.
Travelling allowance of Members	500
Total provision for Commissioners—*Voted* ..	1,66,000
Lump reduction under Allowance to District and Village officers—Allowances to Jaglias and Mahars.	4,02,300
Total ..	5,68,800

His Excellency the Governor has passed no order with respect to the first of these items. The reduction of Rs. 1,66,000 under "Commissioners—Voted" is on account of the establishments, etc., of Commissioners, and not

on account of their salaries. The reduction from the establishment's demand was made so as to get over the difficulty that the salaries of Commissioners are not subject to the vote of the Council and to give expression to the view that Commissioners should be abolished. So long as Commissioners are retained they must have their establishments, etc. His Excellency the Governor has, therefore, decided to certify the demand, less a token sum of Rs. 1,000 to mark the protest of the Legislative Council in the matter.

The reduction of Rs. 4,02,300 in the allowances of Jaglias and Mahars was proposed, partly with a view to greater economy, but mainly, in order to persuade the Government to reduce the cess levied for the pay of Jaglias and Mahars to 12 pies in the rupee of land revenue, and to make up the difference from general revenues. The reduction made in this case differs from certain others in that it was not a reduction of the whole amount. Sufficient money has been voted to enable the administration under this head to be carried on for several months. Accordingly His Excellency the Governor has decided to make no order pending a further examination of the matter by his Government.

IV.—Demand No. 8—General Administration.—(*Transferred.*)

Item.	Amount of reduction by the Legislative Council.
	Rs.
Salaries and Travelling Allowance of Ministers ..	98,998

His Excellency the Governor has passed no order regarding this amount. No Ministers have been appointed.

V.—Demand No. 9—Administration of Justice.—(*Reserved.*)

Item.	Amount of reduction by the Legislative Council.
	Rs.
Total Judicial Establishment	99,986

The reduction made is on account of the whole demand for the establishment, etc., of the Courts of Honorary Magistrates. So long as there are Honorary Magistrates their Courts must be properly staffed and equipped. His Excellency the Governor, therefore, has certified an expenditure of a sum of Rs. 98,986 as essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the Judicial Administration. This is equivalent to the whole amount less a token sum of Rs. 1,000 which has been left as an indication that the Government will examine carefully the complaint made that unsuitable persons are sometimes appointed as Honorary Magistrates.

VI.—DEMAND No. 11—POLICE.—(*Reserved.*)

Item.	Amount of reduction by the Legislative Council.
	Rs.
Lump reduction under District Executive Force ..	1,00,000

The main reason put forward for the lump reduction of Rs. 1,00,000 under the head " District Executive Force " was that further economies should be made. In this case, as in that of the Jaglias and Mahars, the reduction made is not of the whole grant and sufficient money has been voted to carry on the administration for several months. His Excellency the Governor, therefore, has decided to make no order until his Government has had time to re-examine the position.

VII.—DEMAND No. 17—AGRICULTURE.—(*Transferred.*)

Item.	Amount of reduction by the Legislative Council.
	Rs.
Provision for the layout of District Office and District Court compounds.	2,500

His Excellency the Governor has made no order in this case. The reduction is being effected.

IX.—DEMAND No. 22—CIVIL WORKS.—(*Transferred.*)

Item.	Amount of reduction by the Legislative Council.
	Rs.
(1) Bungalow for Forest Divisional Officer, Yeotmal.	15,000
(2) Bungalows for Forest Divisional Officer, Khandwa.	20,000
(3) Bungalow for Extra-Assistant Commissioner at Akola.	10,000
(4) Bungalow for the Sub-Judge at Daryapur ..	12,000
(5) Bungalow for the second class Sub-Judge at Narsinghpur.	10,000
(6) Bungalow for the Civil Surgeon at Bilaspur	30,000
(7) Public Health Research Institute at Nagpur	50,000
(8) Bungalow for Public Works Department Sub-Divisional Officer at Ellichpur.	13,000
Total ..	1,60,000

His Excellency the Governor has passed no orders with regard to these items. The reductions are being made.

3. The net result of these orders is that His Excellency the Governor has certified sums totalling Rs. 4,11,931, has postponed orders with regard to sums totalling Rs. 5,02,300 pending further investigation by his Government of the issues raised, and has allowed the decisions as regards sums totalling Rs. 2,88,402 to take their course.

ORDER.—Ordered that a copy of the resolution be communicated to all Heads of Departments and Commissioners of Divisions, to all Departments of the Secretariat and to the Accountant-General, Central Provinces, and that it be published in the *Central Provinces Gazette*.

H. C. GOWAN,

Financial Secretary to Government,

Central Provinces.

CERTIFICATE UNDER SECTION 72-D (2), PROVISO (*a*), OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

DEMAND No. 1—LAND REVENUE.—(*Reserved.*)

In pursuance of the power conferred by section 72-D (2), proviso (*a*), of the Government of India Act, I certify that out of the reduction of Rs. 1,69,349 voted by the Legislative Council in Demand No. 1—Land Revenue (Reserved), the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 1,47,945 is essential to the discharge of my responsibility for the Land Revenue Administration.

MONTAGU BUTLER,

GOVERNOR,

Central Provinces.

NAGPUR :

The 13th April 1925.

CERTIFICATE UNDER SECTION 72-D (2), PROVISO (*a*), OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

DEMAND No. 7—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.—(*Reserved.*)

In pursuance of the power conferred by section 72-D (2), proviso (*a*), of the Government of India Act, I certify that out of the reduction of Rs. 5,68,800 voted by the Legislative Council in demand no. 7—General Administration—(Reserved), the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 1,65,000 is essential to the discharge of my responsibility for General Administration.

MONTAGU BUTLER,

GOVERNOR,

Central Provinces.

NAGPUR :

The 13th April 1925.

CERTIFICATE UNDER SECTION 72-D (2), PROVISO (*a*), OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

DEMAND No. 9—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—(*Reserved.*)

In pursuance of the power conferred by section 72-D (2), proviso (*a*), of the Government of India Act, I certify that out of the reduction of Rs. 99,986 voted by the Legislative Council in demand No. 9—Administration of Justice—(Reserved), the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 98,986 is essential to the discharge of my responsibility for the Judicial Administration.

MONTAGU BUTLER,
GOVERNOR,
Central Provinces.

NAGPUR :
The 13th April 1925.

No. 931-X.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

Budget.

Nagpur, the 19th March 1926.

RESOLUTION.

In accordance with the provisions of section 72-D of the Government of India Act, a statement of the estimated revenue and expenditure of the province for the year 1926-27 was laid before the Legislative Council at the March Session. On the 9th March the Government's proposals for the appropriation of revenues and other moneys, so far as they referred to votable expenditure, were submitted to the vote of the Council in the form of demands for grants. By a majority the Council rejected the whole demand under the following heads :—

Demand No.	Head.	Amount.
		Rs.
1	5.—Land Revenue (Reserved)	27,13,500
2	6.—Excise (Transferred)	17,78,300

By the casting vote of the President of the Council the following demand was also rejected entirely :—

Demand No.	Head.	Amount.
		Rs.
3	7.—Stamps (Reserved)	2,44,000

2. The revenue under the three heads " Land Revenue ", " Excise " and " Stamps " constitutes four-fifths of the total revenue of the province. If supplies are not forthcoming under these heads, it is certain that the greater portion of the Provincial revenue will remain uncollected, and it will become impossible to carry out the other services for which supplies have

been voted. Moreover excise control will disappear, and a severe blow will be struck at the temperance policy which the Government with the assent hitherto of the Legislative Council has been pursuing. Further without provision for stamps the life blood of all business, commercial and legal, throughout the province will be drained dry. Government have considered whether they cannot again submit the demands to the Council as suggested by the Hon'ble the President in the case of that for Stamps, but this course is barred during the present session by Standing Order No. 28 which lays down that a motion must not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the Council has given a decision in the same session. It would not be practicable to wait for supplies until the next session even if there was a certainty that they would be granted. A situation calling for the exercise by His Excellency the Governor of his reserve powers under section 72-D (2) of the Government of India Act has thus arisen.

3. His Excellency the Governor regrets that he should again be compelled to bring into play powers which he would have preferred not to use. He as carefully considered the items of expenditure falling under the three heads in dispute and in particular the items of new expenditure. In the case of the two reserved subjects, namely, Land Revenue and Stamps, he has decided to certify as essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subjects the expenditure provided for by both demands with the exception of one item, namely :—

Land Revenue.	Amount.	
	Rs.	
Item No. 12 of new expenditure..	19,404	Appointment of additional temporary staff for the introduction of the single boundary mark system in Berar.

In the case of Excise he has decided that an emergency has arisen and has authorised as necessary for carrying on the department the expenditure provided for in the budget with the exception of one item of new expenditure, namely, Rs. 330 for the conversion of the two posts of Excise Inspectors into District Excise Officers' posts.

ORDER.—Ordered that a copy of the Resolution be communicated to all Heads of Departments and Commissioners of Divisions, to all Departments of the Secretariat and to the Accountant-General ; and that it be published in the *Central Provinces Gazette.*

Financial Secretary to Government,
Central Provinces.

CERTIFICATE UNDER SECTION 72-D (2), PROVISO (*a*), OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

DEMAND NO. 1—LAND REVENUE.—(*Reserved.*)

In accordance with the power conferred by section 72-D (2), proviso (*a*), of the Government of India Act, I certify that out of the total demand for land revenue which was rejected by the Legislative Council in March 1926,

the expenditure of Rs. 26,94,096 is essential to the discharge of my responsibility for the Land Revenue Administration.

MONTAGU BUTLER,
GOVERNOR,
Central Provinces.

NAGPUR :
The 19th March 1926.

ORDER OF AUTHORIZATION UNDER SECTION 72-D (2), PROVISO (*b*), OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

DEMAND No. 2—EXCISE—(*Transferred.*)

A demand for the grant of a sum of Rs. 17,78,300 under the head " Excise " was submitted on March 9th, 1926, to the vote of the Legislative Council, but the Legislative Council refused its assent thereto. There being no provision for carrying on the Excise Department after March 31st, 1926, an emergency has arisen. In my opinion an expenditure of Rs. 17,77,970 is necessary for carrying on the Excise Department. Therefore in pursuance of the power conferred on me by section 72-D (2), proviso (*b*), of the Government of India Act, I authorize the expenditure of the above stated amount of Rs. 17,77,970 under the head " Excise ".

MONTAGU BUTLER,
GOVERNOR,
Central Provinces.

NAGPUR :
The 19th March 1926.

CERTIFICATE UNDER SECTION 72-D (2), PROVISO (*a*), OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

DEMAND No. 3—STAMPS—(*Reserved.*)

In accordance with the power conferred by section 72-D (2), proviso (*a*), of the Government of India Act, I certify that the expenditure of the whole sum namely, Rs. 2,44,000, for which in March 1926, a demand under this head was presented to the Legislative Council and rejected, is essential to the discharge of my responsibility for the administration of Stamps.

MONTAGU BUTLER,
GOVERNOR,
Central Provinces.

NAGPUR :
The 19th March 1926.

ASSAM.

Letter No. Pol. 1022—3801-A.P., dated the 16th June 1927.

From—The Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam,

To—The Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

SUBJECT :—*Report on the Working of the Reforms.*

I am directed to refer to your letter No. F.-181|27-Public, dated the 26th March 1927, and to submit for the information of the Government of India the enclosed descriptive report on the working of the reformed constitution in Assam up to the end of the lifetime of the second Legislative Council.

DESCRIPTIVE REPORT ON THE WORKING OF THE REFORMED CONSTITUTION IN ASSAM UP TO THE END OF THE LIFETIME OF THE SECOND LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

A.—THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

1. (*i*) *Allocation of funds to reserved and transferred subjects.*—The following statement shows the allocation of funds each year in the budget between the reserved and the transferred departments :—

Budget.	Reserved.	Transferred.	Total.
1	2	3	4
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1921-22	1,99,77	57,01	2,56,78
1922-23	1,63,09	57,83	2,20,92
1923-24	1,61,90	54,92	2,16,82
1924-25	1,73,01	56,94	2,29,95
1925-26	1,76,31	64,53	2,40,84
1926-27	1,95,01	69,08	2,64,09

In Assam Public Works is a reserved subject and as the expenditure under that head provides for works undertaken for transferred departments also, the allocation of funds to the latter is really larger than the figures indicate. In the earlier years of the period the province went through a period of acute financial stress, and economy instead of expansion became the order of the day. The Hon'ble Ministers accepted this policy, recognizing that it was dictated by necessity. During the

later years the financial position improved and the Government were able to allot money for new expenditure. The allocation of funds has always been settled by mutual agreement between the two sides and no disagreement or difficulty has so far been experienced. In Council the charge is often made that the transferred departments have been starved and that the Ministers are unwilling or unable to press their claims on the Finance Department. This matter was dealt with in a speech made by the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government in the Budget session of the Council in 1926. The Hon'ble Minister remarked as follows :—

" Sir, complaint has been made by some hon'ble members that the Transferred Departments have not got all the money they need. The complaint is undoubtedly true, and I am myself only too painfully aware of it. But if there is any suggestion in the complaint that the Ministers do not press the claims of the Transferred Departments properly, or that they tamely submit to the dictation of anybody I must join issue with my critics. The hon'ble members know that the allocation of funds between the Reserved Departments and the Transferred Departments is a matter of agreement between the two sides. What we generally do is to meet together before the budget is framed and see what is the estimate framed by the Finance Department as to the receipts. Then we consider our respective needs, and consider them one by one according to their importance, and then we come to an agreement. And that is what is done every year, and that is what has been done this year too. It is only fair to say that every Member of Government is willing to give as much money as possible to the Transferred Departments but their desire is limited by the funds at their disposal. Under the constitution Members in charge of Reserved Departments are responsible to the Secretary of State for the administration of their departments, and they must be placed in funds to meet their responsibility. That is a constitutional position from which there is no escape, and so long as the present state of things exists there will be this suspicion in the public mind that the Transferred Departments are being starved for the benefit of the Reserved Departments."

2. (*ii*) *Reinforcement or readjustment of Secretariat or other headquarters establishment necessitated by the Reforms.*—Before the introduction of the Reforms there were in Assam two Secretaries to Government in addition to the Public Works Secretary. The rules of business adopted in connection with the Reforms required the creation of a separate Legislative Department, but as the Legal Remembrancer was appointed to be Secretary to Government in the Legislative Department there was actually no increase in the number of superior appointments in the Secretariat on the introduction of the Reforms. The clerical establishment was increased by ten clerks, and four stenographers were employed for the Members of the Government and were utilised also as the reporting staff of the Legislative Council. The Legal Remembrancer and Secretary in the Legislative Department was also appointed to be Secretary to the Legislative Council and in that capacity was given a small additional staff. At first the Second Secretary who dealt with most of the transferred subjects was also Finance Secretary, but at the instance of the Ministers, who preferred to work with a Secretary who was not connected with the Finance Department, there was a readjustment of work and the Second Secretary was relieved of his duties as Finance Secretary. Work in the Secretariat increased rapidly after 1923. There was heavy pressure of

work connected with the Legislative Council, due to the increasing volume of questions and resolutions, which will be shown by the figures furnished in a later paragraph. Apart from Council business, the work in the Secretariat increased both in volume and technicality, and with the improvement in the financial position of the province funds became available for new schemes, involving in their preparation and examination an additional strain on the Secretariat staff. This last cause was due to the Reforms in so far that the Ministers, new to administrative duties and anxious to examine all avenues which might lead to the development of the departments in their charge, were compelled to call upon the Secretariat to furnish the information they required for the determination of their policy. Owing to the necessity for economy and later to the uncertainty as to the future of the province when the question of the transfer of Sylhet was under consideration, the Government postponed the revision of the staff but, recognizing that the strain was too severe, both on the superior officers and on the ministerial staff, they have now, with the sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, appointed an additional Secretary and Assistant Secretary and strengthened the ministerial establishment by one Head Assistant and 18 clerks, at an annual cost of about Rs. 60,000. This reorganization did not, however, take effect during the period under review.

3. (*iii*) *Co-operation between the Executive Government and the Legislature with special reference to permanent or Special Committees of the latter and the action taken in pursuance of their recommendations, and the use of Council Secretaries.*—Although the majority of the elected members of the Council probably consider criticism of the Executive Government to be their most important function, there has been no tendency to adopt a purely obstructive policy even by the party which is pledged to overthrow the existing constitution. Conflicts of opinion have naturally arisen, but the members of the Council in Assam have not set themselves unnecessarily to embarrass the Government. On the other hand, members of all parties, including the *Swaraj* Party, have been willing to offer their services and advice when important questions of policy have been under consideration, even when the initiative has come from the Government, and the Government have always given careful consideration to the criticisms or suggestions of Committees of the Council or of individual members. The only standing Committee of the Council constituted during the period under review was the Committee on Public Accounts. The Council, however, has hitherto taken little interest in the Reports of the Committee. This may at first have been due to the fact that the members were not aware of the procedure by which the Reports could be discussed, but although this difficulty has been removed by the allotment of a day for the purpose when the Finance Member moves that the Report be taken into consideration, the Reports have invariably been adopted without discussion. A Standing Finance Committee was not constituted until after the close of the period under review, but informal Committees of the Council had been appointed each year to advise Government on the provisions for new expenditure included in the budget and on supplementary demands which the Government proposed from time to time to place before the Council. In 1921 a Retrenchment Committee, consisting of two members of the Legislature and presided over by an official who was not a member of the Council, was appointed by Government in response to a resolution passed by the Council recommending an enquiry

into the possibility of effecting certain retrenchments in the cost of administration. Several of the Committee's recommendations were accepted by the Government. During the lifetime of the second Council, special Committees were appointed on several occasions. In 1924 a Committee, consisting almost entirely of Council members, was appointed, at the instance of the Council, to report on the schemes for the separation of judicial and executive functions. The Government were unable to accept the estimates of the majority of the Committee as to the cost involved or the retrenchments in other directions which could be effected to reduce it, nor were they in a position to meet the additional expenditure, which, in their opinion, must be incurred. The report was presented to the Council, but no further move has as yet been made by the Council. In 1924 also in response to a Council Resolution recommending that the principles governing land revenue assessments should be brought under closer regulation by statute, as recommended by the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, a Committee of fourteen members, of whom all but three were members of the Council, was appointed to advise how effect could be given to the recommendations. When the Committee's report was received a Bill was drafted and in due course introduced in the Council. The fate of this Bill will be dealt with in a later paragraph. In the autumn session of the same year a resolution was moved and accepted by Government recommending the appointment of a Committee of the Council to consider and advise Government on the amendments required in the Assam Local Self-Government Act. The Committee sat in 1925 and their recommendations were embodied in the amending Bill introduced later by the Minister in charge of Local Self-Government. In 1925 another Committee consisting mainly of Council members was appointed to enquire into the system of secondary education in Assam. The appointment of a Committee for this purpose had been recommended by a resolution moved in the autumn session of 1924 and Government accepted the resolution but enlarged the *personnel* of the Committee by appointing four officers of the Education Department, whose experience of the working of the existing system of education might be expected to assist the Committee in their enquiry. The Committee's Report was not received until the end of the period under review. In September 1925 an informal Committee of Council members was invited by Government to consider and advise on the draft of the new grazing rules which Government proposed to introduce. Many of the Committee's suggestions were accepted and incorporated in the rules finally issued.

4. Select Committees have been appointed on two occasions to report on amendments to the Standing Orders of the Council and on several occasions to report on Bills introduced in the Council. As the appointment of these Select Committees rests with the Council and the action on their reports is decided by the Council, they have no bearing on the question of the relations between the Executive Government and the Legislature. It is more appropriate to mention that in addition to the Committees consisting wholly or almost entirely of Council members, the Council has been given the right to elect members to several Advisory Boards appointed by Government and members of the Council are almost invariably chosen by Government to serve on any Committee which may from time to time be required to advise Government on any particular subject.

5. No Council Secretaries have as yet been appointed in Assam. In March 1921, a resolution recommending their appointment was withdrawn. The appointment of Council Secretaries presents peculiar difficulties in Assam. They would have to be constantly at the headquarters of Government, but there are no members of the Council resident in or near Shillong who could undertake the duties. The question was discussed in paragraph 6 of this Government's letter No. Pol.-1346-3101A.P., dated the 26th June 1925. Of the two Ministers then in office one was in favour of the appointment of Council Secretaries as an experiment, while his colleague held that such appointments would be useless.

6. (*iv*) *Joint responsibility of Ministers.*—It may be mentioned here that the question of the " joint responsibility " of Ministers has twice come under consideration, first in connection with a resolution of which notice was given but which was not moved for want of time, and later in connection with the report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee of 1924. The matter has never arisen in a practical form in Assam, as there has been no case of the resignation of a Minister owing to a difference of opinion with the Council or with his colleagues in the Government, but the general conclusion arrived at was that while all that is possible should be done to foster joint deliberation and the " concerted action " recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill, it is not in existing circumstances possible to maintain the principle of full joint responsibility. At present the only fully organised party consists of *Swarajists* who have hitherto refused to accept office in the Ministry ; the other members have as a rule fought their elections without the aid of any party organisation and divide themselves within the Council into loosely organised groups holding more or less similar views on most of the questions that come up. These groups are however liable to differ from one another on many questions involving communal or local considerations, and there is no party commanding a permanent majority in the Council from which Ministers holding identical political principles can be drawn. It is necessary to select as Ministers members who are likely to command respect in the Council and may be expected to lead it, but communal considerations cannot be altogether disregarded in making appointments. In these circumstances, it must be left to Ministers themselves to decide to what extent they will accept joint responsibility in individual cases.

7. (*v*) *The Reforms and Local Self-Government.*—The general trend of recent enactments has been to place local bodies on a more popular basis and to free them from internal official control and guidance, while still retaining, though to a reduced degree, external control by means of rules, audit and inspection. This has been effected by alterations in the law or rules so as to provide for (*a*) an increase in the number and proportion of elected members, (*b*) an extension of the franchise, (*c*) the replacing of official by non-official Chairmen, (*d*) the elimination of all officials from ordinary membership of the Boards, officials only being eligible for nomination as supernumerary members without the right to vote, and (*e*) the lessening of official control over the budget. How far these changes can be considered as the effect of the Reforms cannot be estimated with certainty. Even before the Reforms the trend was in these directions, but undoubtedly the Reforms have accelerated them.

The greater independence which the local bodies now enjoy has resulted in some cases in a tendency to resent any form of official control and to disregard the advice and instruction of the local controlling officers.

Many local bodies entertain the idea that they should deal directly with the Ministry for Local Self-Government, and not with the Government executive officers, but they ignore the fact that the Ministry must work through its executive officers. This attitude of independence would be more justified if the local bodies were self-supporting, but this is far from being the case. Half the income of Local Boards is derived from Government grants, and in the last year of the period under review the proportion rose to 55 per cent. The Municipal Boards are not so dependent on the provincial revenues, but even they receive from Government 21 per cent. of their total income. The resentment of control, however, is possibly only a temporary phase, due to the not unnatural tendency at first to magnify the additional powers which have been conferred upon them. With longer experience this phase will pass and the local bodies will learn to appreciate the advice of trained administrators, instead of seeing in it an attempt to fetter their own powers. A more regrettable feature of the present administration of some local bodies is the laxity in supervision in accounts matters and the reluctance to take adequate action in cases of fraud or culpable negligence on the part of subordinates. There are notable exceptions but generally the control in these matters is less strict than in the days of official internal control. Faction feeling also plays a larger part with some loss to the efficiency of administration. On the other hand, the changes that have recently been introduced have stimulated a greater interest in local administration. With the spread of education this interest will develop, while the sense of civic responsibility will grow with experience. There are already indications that local bodies are beginning to realize that responsibility goes with power and that it is for the Boards now to work out their own salvation.

B.—The Legislature.

8. (1) *Government Legislation.*—The following Government Acts were passed by the Assam Legislative Council during the period under review :—

1921.

The Assam Deputy President's Salary Act, 1921.

1922.

The Assam General Clauses (Amendment) Act, 1922.

The Assam Court-fees (Amendment) Act, 1922.

The Assam Stamp (Amendment) Act, 1922.

The Assam Court-fees (Amendment II) Act, 1922.

1923.

The Assam Municipal Act, 1923.

1924.

The Assam President's Salary Act, 1924.

The Assam Deputy President's Salary (Amendment) Act, 1924.

1925.

The Assam Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1925.

The Assam Stamp (Amendment) Act, 1925.

The Assam Court-fees (Amendment) Act, 1925.

1926.

The Assam Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1926.

The Assam Primary Education Act, 1926.

The Assam Local Rates and Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act, 1926.

The Assam Rural Self-Government Act, 1926.

The Assam Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act, 1926.

9. The year 1921 was a comparatively barren year, the only Act passed being the Deputy President's Salary Act, which fixed the salary at Rs. 2,500 per annum.

In September 1921, a Bill to make provision for the preparation of a record-of-rights for the permanently-settled areas of the district of Sylhet was introduced. The measure was required from the administrative point of view as a preliminary to up-to-date tenancy legislation for the district. The Bill was received with uncompromising hostility by the landlords of Sylhet and its fate was sealed in the Council. A motion to refer it to a Select Committee was defeated, the grounds put forward for opposing it being that the Bill would entail an expenditure which the province could not afford and that tenancy legislation should be taken up for the province as a whole and not for one district separately. The Bill was then dropped, and the subject has not been brought before the Council again, mainly because, until recently, the financial position has made it impossible for Government to undertake any new commitments which could be avoided.

10. Act I of 1922, the Assam General Clauses (Amendment) Act, made certain modifications in the provincial General Clauses Act of 1915 necessitated by the constitutional changes introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919.

Acts II and III of 1922 were important measures of taxation, enhancing the rates of court and stamp fees. When the Finance Member on the 7th February 1922 first sought leave to introduce the Bills, there was strenuous opposition, the motion being carried by the narrow margin of one vote. On the 18th March, when the principle of the Court-fees Amendment Bill came under discussion on a motion to refer it to a Select Committee, there was a noticeable change in the Council's attitude. One of the original opponents even felt it necessary to explain that when he cast his vote on the 7th February, he had not had time to study the budget and had not realised the parlous state of the provincial finances. "I shall request other gentlemen also", he went on, "who like myself opposed the Bill at the time of its introduction to stay their opposition for the time being. Surely a time-limit may be put to the operation of the Bill when the Bill comes out of the Select Committee". The motion to commit the Bill was carried by 18 votes to 13. In Select Committee there was a spirit of give and take, and the Report of the Committee was described by the Finance Member as a history of mutual concessions. The result was that the Bills, when they emerged from the Committee, were passed by the Council with hardly a division. The main change made in Committee was to restrict the Bills to a period of three years.

The day after the passing of the Court and Stamp-fee Acts, the Government had to put before the Council another contentious measure, the

Assam Landlord and Tenant Procedure (Amendment) Bill. It was intended to meet an emergency that had arisen in the Goalpara district as the result of a "no-rent" campaign amongst the tenants of certain zemindars. The Council decided that the Bill should be circulated for public opinion. At the September session, the Government Member in charge of the measure announced to the Council that it had encountered so much criticism that he would proceed no further with it, especially as the emergency had passed.

Act IV of 1922 cured a drafting defect in the Court-fees (Amendment) Act passed earlier in the year which was leading to evasions of the court-fee due on succession certificates. The Act was passed without a division.

11. The most important piece of legislation passed in 1923 was the Assam Municipal Act. The fact that the Bill was in charge of a popular Minister and that the Government left the details of the measure entirely in the hands of the Council had probably the effect of disarming opposition to a large extent. Moreover the Bill had been dealt with by a large and representative Select Committee which had revised it in some respects in the direction of making it more popular. The result was that the members of the Select Committee defended in Council the provisions of the Bill as revised by the Committee and no important amendments which were opposed by the Hon'ble Minister in charge were carried.

The Bill was altered in Select Committee under the following heads :—

(*a*) substitution of control by Government for that of the Commissioner in several matters ;

(*b*) making rules framed by Government subject to the approval of the Council ;

(*c*) making provision for rules to establish communal representation on Municipal Boards.

When the Bill came up to the Council for consideration the important amendments proposed were under the following heads :—

(*i*) further reduction of control both on the part of Government and of the Commissioner ;

(*ii*) the prescription of a limit to taxation by enacting that the total amount of taxation should not exceed a maximum percentage of the annual value of the holding ;

(*iii*) provision for an appeal to the Civil Court in matter of taxation ;

(*iv*) abolition of the provision for communal representation ;

(*v*) omission of the clause providing for the appointment of officials as supernumerary members ;

(*vi*) insertion of the provision for co-option of members by the elected members of Municipal Boards which had been cut out of the Bill by the Select Committee.

All these amendments were defeated.

An amendment providing for the reinsertion of the tax on persons as an alternative to the tax on holdings was pressed by the representatives

of the Sylhet district as being indispensable in the circumstances prevailing in the Sylhet Municipality. This amendment was accepted by the Minister and carried.

Mention must now be made of the Assam Local Rates Bill which was introduced in Council on the 10th April 1923. Its object was to raise the income of Local Boards by enhancing the local rate on tea-lands and permanently-settled estates. The measure encountered a great deal of opposition, especially in the district of Sylhet, and on the 14th August the Finance Member announced that he did not think it fair to proceed with so contentious a Bill in the last days of an expiring Council.

12. The first Act of the second Council, *viz.*, the Assam Deputy President's Salary (Amendment) Act, 1924, reduced the salary of this office to Re. 1 per annum. Under the Act of 1922, the salary stood at Rs. 2,500 per year ; under the Amending Bill of 1924, as introduced, the proposal was to cut down the figure to Rs. 1,000, but in Council, the Deputy President, elected on the previous day, himself offered to work without any salary as his duties were not of a very exacting nature, and the nominal sum of one rupee was therefore fixed.

Act II of 1924 fixed the salary of the President to be elected in 1925 at Rs. 500 per month.

13. Act I of 1925 made some minor amendments in the Municipal Act of 1923, in consequence of a certain ruling of the Calcutta High Court.

Acts II and III of 1925 [The Assam Stamp and Court-fees (Amendment) Acts, 1925] may be taken together. Acts II and III of 1922, enhancing the rates of court and stamp-fees, were expressed to be in force for a period of three years ending on the 30th April 1925. In September 1924, the Government made an attempt to have them placed permanently on the statute-book. Bills were prepared for the purpose and leave to introduce them was sought. The Government Member in charge undertook, if the Council passed the Bills, to place at once at the disposal of the Ministers for expenditure in the transferred departments a sum of Rs. 2,00,000. The Minister for Local Self-Government made an important contribution to the debate, analysing the financial situation of the province from the first year of the Reforms and pointing out how his departments, along with the other departments of the Government, had been starved for want of money and that even the current year's estimated closing balance of Rs. 10,00,000 might be turned into a deficit by a fall in the precarious receipts from excise. For the moment, however, these arguments failed to convince the House. The main arguments put forward on the other side were that the circumstances were different from those of 1922 when there was an estimated *minus* closing balance of about Rs. 12,00,000, that the province was now solvent and that if more money were needed it should be found by retrenchment, by reduction of salaries, by taxation of the tea industry, and other means. The result of the debates was that leave to introduce the Bills was refused, and no further action could be taken at that time. On the 7th March 1925, however, the Government came to the Council with a different proposal. If the Bills, instead of being enacted permanently, were renewed for another term of three years, the Government would undertake to place the entire income from the enhanced fees under the Bills during the period (estimated to be about Rs. 10,00,000) at the disposal of the Ministers. In the meantime, in the

course of the general discussion of the Budget, the Minister for Local Self-Government had impressed on the Council the urgent need of providing a better and more adequate supply of water in rural areas. He estimated that two crores of rupees were required for this purpose. This speech and the terms of the new offer made by the Member in charge of the Bills had their effect and in spite of the continued opposition of the *Swarajist* party the Council, on the 7th March 1925, decided by majorities of 27 to 18 and 27 to 15 to renew the Bills for a further period of three years. The Council followed this up on the 11th March with a resolution recommending that the entire excess revenue derived from the Bills should be devoted to water-supply in rural areas and this resolution was accepted by Government.

14. The first piece of Government legislation undertaken in 1926 was the Assam Municipal (Amendment) Act. It amended three sections of the original Act of 1923, one amendment being for the purpose of enabling the Local Government to take back by a divesting notification provincial roads which by an accident of drafting had come to be vested in Municipal Boards, and the other two amendments being for the purpose of preventing the double levy of fees for the licensing or registration of vehicles and animals which may happen to be used within the jurisdiction of two different local authorities. The Act was introduced and passed at the same sitting without a division.

15. Act V of 1926, the Assam Primary Education Act, was a measure of first-class importance passed by the Council on the 7th July 1926. As early as the 13th March 1918, in the pre-Reform Council, a private member had moved a resolution recommending that legislation should be undertaken to make primary education free and compulsory in the province ; but the Government in those days had no means of ascertaining how far the country was prepared to bear new taxation for the purpose. They therefore suggested that a private member might bring in a Bill. On the 24th March 1921 the mover of the resolution of 1918, now a nominated member of the Reformed Council, brought up the subject once more. One part of his speech is worth quoting : " The Government of India Act has been passed, the reforms have been introduced, education has now become a transferred subject. This Council and the Minister in charge of Education should now once for all make up their minds and declare a considered policy in the matter of universal primary education. The whole structure of responsible self-government rests on the foundation of a good and intelligent electorate, so that the franchise given may be properly exercised. The ban of illiteracy should therefore be now removed, else the whole scheme will end in failure." The Minister in replying to the resolution referred to the enormous cost of a scheme for universal free primary education in Assam and again suggested that the responsibility of introducing legislation which might imply fresh taxation should be undertaken by a private member. This drew forth a significant protest from the mover : " I suppose the Education Department exists in the country for giving education to the people and who has been placed in charge of that department ? The Minister. Now, I say, to justify his existence, he must make a move forward, he should be the last person to be afraid of difficulties. Face them and with the help of the members of this Council, with the strength of public opinion at your back, there is nothing to fear.....But he is afraid of the cost—mortally afraid of taxation. This should not be the attitude, I respectfully submit, of the Minister in charge of Education." The resolution, in a

slightly amended form, which made it clear that compulsion was to be imposed at the desire of local authorities, was carried. A Bill to give effect to this resolution was introduced in Council by the next Minister on the 8th September 1922. On the 5th March 1923, the Council decided to circulate it for opinion. The particular point on which public opinion was sought was referred to in the debate. The Acts passed in certain other provinces, providing only for the introduction of compulsory education at the instance of the local authorities and for the levy of an education cess, had apparently proved inadequate, but Bombay had recently adopted legislation which empowered the Government to require local bodies in certain cases to frame and submit schemes of compulsory education for their respective jurisdictions. Public opinion was invited on the question whether Assam should also adopt that policy. The great majority of the opinions received were in favour of the principle. In the meantime, however, the Bill lapsed owing to the dissolution of the Council and a new Bill had to be prepared, embodying the Bombay principle. In one respect Assam would seem to have gone a step further than any other province in India, for, under the Assam measure, the Government have to bear two-thirds of the cost of every sanctioned scheme of compulsory education, in Municipalities as well as in Local Board areas. The new Bill was introduced in Council on the 9th September 1925, and on the 22nd February 1926, although the Finance Member explained to the House that the acceptance of the principle of the Bill might involve additional taxation to enable Government to meet the obligations imposed on them by the Bill, the Council showed they were prepared to face this by carrying the motion that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. The only important change made in Committee was that before acting on the Bombay principle of requiring any local authority to submit a scheme of compulsory education, Government must obtain the sanction of the Council. The provision for the levy of an education cess by local authorities encountered little opposition. The Bill, as revised by the Select Committee, was passed into law with certain drafting changes on the 7th July 1926. This is an illustration of a case in which the Reformed Constitution has conferred on the province a legislative measure of great potential value which would probably not have been passed in the old days. But the future alone can tell what use will be made of the Act.

16. Act VI of 1926, the Assam Local Rates and Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act, was another achievement of the Reformed Constitution, although the additional annual revenue resulting from it may be less than 2 lakhs of rupees. By this Act the local rate on land under tea cultivation was raised to 8 annas per acre, the additional revenue thus accruing to be devoted to the improvement of road communications in the districts affected. Reference has already been made in a previous paragraph of this report to the Local Rates Bill of 1923 which had ultimately to be withdrawn. In introducing that Bill, the Finance Member had pointed out, amongst other things, that since 1880, in the neighbouring province of Bengal, the tea industry had been assessed to local rates at ten annas per acre and that his Bill proposed eight annas per acre for Assam. The planting community lent its support to the measure, but it had to be abandoned because of opposition from other quarters. The subject, however, was not forgotten, nor was the allied subject of road communications. On the 4th April 1924 a leading member representing

a planters' constituency moved a resolution recommending that a representation should be submitted to the Government of India urging that the export duty on tea exported from Assam should be abolished, guaranteeing that if this were done the planting community would voluntarily tax themselves for the benefit of communications in Assam. The resolution was adopted. On the 23rd February 1926, a member of the *Swaraj* Party brought forward a resolution recommending that the resources of the Local Boards be increased by raising the local rate on lands under tea to eight annas per acre. In support, he referred again to the corresponding rate prevailing in Bengal and urged that the Tea Industry in Assam should not object to pay in 1926 what the Industry in Bengal had been paying since 1880. The resolution was opposed by the planting members; and the Government members remained neutral, as the proposal singled out a particular industry for enhanced taxation. The resolution was carried by 11 votes to 3, the opposition consisting entirely of the planting members present in the Council. The result was seen in the July Session of 1926, when the leading member of the planting community himself came forward with a recommendation to the Government to give effect to the above resolution and to utilise the proceeds of the additional taxation towards a loan of 30 lakhs of rupees for improving communications. The first part of this proposal was carried and the result was the Assam Local Rates and Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act passed in September 1926. As to the second part of the proposal, the Council decided to recommend a grant for the next year of a sum not exceeding 10 lakhs of rupees out of the provincial balances, instead of a loan of 30 lakhs. The Act and the grant—with prospects of similar grants in future —may well be regarded as the two-halves of a pact which would not have come, or at least not come so early, but for the reformed system of Government. That system gave the planting community an opportunity of educating the Council on the need for communications and at the same time enabled the Council to persuade the Tea Industry to a measure of self-taxation.

17. The Assam Rural Self-Government Act (VII of 1926) was another important Act which was passed by the second Council. The Minister for Local Self-Government, almost from the time he assumed office, had been impressed with the need of what has been called "constructive work in the villages." In particular he realized the urgent necessity of dealing with the problem of rural water-supply. In the Minister's opinion the remedy could be found only in village organisation and in this faith he introduced the Bill which was to become the Assam Rural Self-Government Act. The object of the Bill was thus described in the Statement of Objects and Reasons—

"The object of this Bill is to provide machinery which will enable the villagers to undertake as far as may be the management of their own affairs and develop in themselves a capacity for self-help. At present the villages are disorganised. The sense of corporate life which was so distinguishing a feature of village life in olden times is extinct. The result is that organized efforts for the achievement of the common good are a thing of the past. The compelling forces of public opinion and social ostracism are now absent. It is intended to substitute for this lost authority the authority of the State."

The Bill provided for the creation of village authorities where local conditions permitted or where a local desire for such a body was expressed. The village authorities were to be corporate bodies constituted on a wholly elective basis, whose primary duties were to provide for the village water-supply, sanitation, communications and public health. Each village authority was to have its own fund which could be supplemented by grants from the Local Boards, within whose areas they were formed, and from the provincial revenues. The Bill provided for the creation of a provincial Village Development Fund to which all contributions from provincial revenues and other sources and the proceeds of any tax which the legislature might impose for the purpose would be paid and from which the Local Government would make grants to the several village authorities. The Bill empowered Village Authorities to levy a rate for a specific work of public utility and, when so required by the Local Government, to exercise the powers of a panchayat and perform the duties of a chaukidar under the Chaukidari Act, levying the usual chaukidari tax for the purpose. A village authority which by the successful performance of its primary duties had proved itself competent to discharge further powers and duties might be empowered to control village forests, manage any institution or execute or maintain any work within its area. The Bill also provided for the constitution of village courts and benches for the trial of petty cases. The village authorities were to be under the control of a provincial Registrar instead of the Local Boards. The Bill was introduced on the 5th March 1926, and passed into law with no important changes on the 30th September 1926, but has not yet come into force. Whether the people will respond to the faith placed in them has yet to be proved, but to the Minister and to the Council and to the Reforms which gave them birth must be given the credit of an Act which is a practical and genuine attempt to improve the rural conditions of the province.

18. The Assam Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act (VIII of 1926) was another important enactment passed by this Council. The original Act has been passed in 1915 and its revision was undoubtedly necessary. Preliminary action for the drafting of an amendment Bill had already been taken by Government, when, as has already been stated, the Council passed a resolution recommending the appointment of a Committee to consider what changes in the law were required. A Bill on the lines of the Committee's recommendations was introduced in Council on the 5th July 1926 and referred to a Select Committee. It was taken into consideration and passed on the 28th September 1926. The Act follows the Municipal Act in increasing the number and proportion of elected members of the Boards and in allowing Government servants to be only supernumerary members with no power to vote. The Chairman is to be elected, unless the Board requests Government to appoint a Chairman. The Boards are given additional powers and are authorized to levy certain additional taxes while the power of control of the executive officers of Government is reduced.

19. Mention has been made in an earlier paragraph of the passing of a Resolution recommending that the principles of land revenue assessment should be brought within the purview of the legislature and be brought under closer regulation by statute. A Committee was appointed to advise on the measures necessary and a Bill called the Assam Settlements Bill was drafted and introduced. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee

in July 1925. It was radically altered in Committee and emerged in such a shape as to make it an impractical measure which the Government could not accept. The Member in charge moved that it be referred back to the Select Committee but the motion was defeated by the casting vote of the President. No further action was taken at the time and while Government were still considering the matter the Report of the Indian Taxation Committee was received. As this Report recommended important changes of principle in land revenue assessments, the Government decided that until the orders of the Government of India on the Committee's recommendation were received, it would be useless to proceed with the Bill.

20. The Assam Opium Smoking Bills, 1926, deserve a few words of notice. One was a Government measure on the lines of the United Provinces Opium Smoking Act and the other was a private Bill. The main difference between the two was that whereas the official Bill penalised only an opium smoking assembly, the other Bill penalised individual smoking as well. Both the Bills were ultimately passed by the Council, the Government Bill on the 27th September 1926 and the non-official measure two days later. The latter was expressed to come into force on the 1st January 1928 and in order to prevent overlapping, a curiously-worded clause was inserted at the last moment to the effect that the official Bill passed by the Council on the 27th September, if it became an Act, was to stand repealed with effect from the 1st January 1928. The situation created was a difficult one. The non-official Bill, apart from any differences of opinion as to the expediency of prohibiting private smoking, contained certain drafting defects. Then again, although Acts have been known to be amended in other countries even before they came into force, no precise precedent could be discovered for repealing a Bill almost immediately after it had been passed and before it had even received the Governor's assent. In the circumstances, His Excellency decided to withhold his assent from both the Bills, and Government have since introduced a new Bill incorporating the principle of total prohibition of opium smoking.

21. No measures dealing with law and order or involving racial considerations or directed towards social reform or the development of resources or improvements in the administration have been introduced during the period under review.

22. There have been no cases of the certification, return or reservation of Bills during the period under review and the opium Bills above referred to were the only cases in which His Excellency withheld his assent.

23. The attitude of the Council towards Government legislation was on the whole reasonable. Most of the legislation related to the transferred subjects but even towards Bills coming from the reserved side of the Government the attitude of the Council was not one of uncompromising hostility. The *Swaraj* Party declared their unflinching opposition to all proposals involving increased taxation of the people but they failed to carry the majority with them in opposing the Stamp and Court-fees Amendment Acts and they resiled themselves from that attitude in accepting the principle of the Primary Education Bill.

24. (II) *Private Bills.*—The following private Bills were passed into law during the period under report:—

(1) The Assam Students and Juvenile Smoking Act, 1923.

(2) The Assam President's Salary (Amendment) Act, 1926.

(3) The Assam Water Hyacinth Act, 1926.

(4) The Assam Temperance Act, 1926.

The Assam Students and Juvenile Smoking Act sought to penalise the sale of tobacco to persons under the age of 16 and to students under the age of 18. It has been more or less a dead letter. The President's Salary (Amendment) Act raised the salary of that office from Rs. 500 per month to Rs. 1,000 per month, the Ministers voting for the Bill and the official members remaining neutral. The Water Hyacinth Act gives power to local bodies to require owners and occupiers of land to help either with material or money towards the construction of storage pounds, floating fences, and other devices for checking the spread of the water hyacinth plant. By another section, the Act empowers local bodies, when extensive operations are needed, to prepare a scheme and levy from the persons interested contributions in men, money or personal labour towards its execution. An official amendment limiting the liability of the owner or occupier under the Act to a sum of Rs. 1,000 in respect of any one sub-division in any one year was inserted in Select Committee, after which the Government supported the measure. The Assam Temperance Bill was in its original form, at least in part, a measure of compulsory prohibition applying to the entire province. In that form the Government opposed it, but in the second Select Committee the promoter was so convinced of the practical difficulties of the larger problem and of the willingness of the Government to work the Bill in a restricted form that he agreed to a compromise. The Bill was amended so as to apply in the first instance only to municipalities and small towns, and certain other clauses were recast so as to convert it into a local option measure. In this modified form the Government supported the Bill and the Council passed it into law on 7th July 1926.

25. (III) *Financial business.*—A statement is annexed showing the motions for the reduction or omission of grants during each year of the period under review and the extent, if any, to which the original grant was restored by certification. No grant reduced or refused by the Council during the years 1921, 1922 and 1923 was restored under the provisions of section 72D of the Government of India Act with the exception of a supplementary grant for resettlement operations which was refused in the August session of 1923. The reasons put forward for the refusal of this grant were that a large expenditure on resettlement operations was undesirable at a time of financial stringency unless a large increase in revenue was anticipated and this the condition of the raiyats in the districts concerned did not justify. Another argument used was that no resettlements should be undertaken until the principles of assessments had been brought under regulation by statute. The grant was restored by certification, as the resettlement was already overdue, the conditions of the districts concerned had greatly changed since the last settlement and

the interests of the raiyats and of the general tax-payers required a re-settlement. Reductions effected by the first Council were reasonable and prompted largely by the necessity for economy in a time of financial stringency. It was in pursuance of that policy that this Council carried a resolution recommending the appointment of the Retrenchment Committee to which reference has been made in an earlier paragraph. The position changed in the lifetime of the second Council when seven reductions were restored either wholly or in part by certification. The Second Council showed itself hostile to the grazing tax and to any increase in land revenue assessments. The grazing tax has repeatedly been the subject of resolutions, attacks being made both on the principle of the tax and on the method of its assessment. During the period under review Government succeeded in defeating any attempt to abolish the tax, but the rules of assessment were re-examined and recast to meet objections as to its incidence. In 1925 a nominal " cut " in the demand for grants was made as a protest against the grazing tax and its method of assessment, but it was not until the third Council was constituted, after the period under review, that a more successful attack on the tax was made and the demand for the grant for payment of the commission on the collection of the tax was refused.

26. The antipathy to any increase in the land revenue assessment was shown in the first year of the second Council when the grant for the re-settlement operations in Sibsagar and Kamrup was again refused. The grant was restored by certification and in the following years was allowed to pass unchallenged. The attitude of the Council on this question was demonstrated again when the Assam Settlements Bill was introduced. The Select Committee's majority report reduced the percentage of admissible increase in assessment to figures which, while they might be suitable to a fully developed country, were quite unsuitable for a province where there is still much waste land. If their proposals had been accepted, areas which were unsettled at the last settlement would have escaped for centuries with a ridiculously light assessment. That the views of the majority of the Select Committee were shared by a large part of the Council was shown when the Government motion to refer the Bill back to the Select Committee was defeated by the President's casting vote. It was contended that the arguments adduced by Government could be considered by the Council if the Bill was taken into consideration and that no practical purpose would be served but only delay caused if the Bill were referred back. Although this was the ostensible cause for the defeat of the motion, there is little doubt that if the Bill had been taken into consideration at that stage, rates of increase would have been fixed by statute which would have seriously affected the growth of the provincial revenues.

27. The Retrenchment Committee of 1921 had recommended the abolition of the posts of Commissioners. As no effect had been given to this recommendation, the second Council in 1924 carried a nominal reduction in the cost of the Commissioners' establishments, and they followed this up in 1925 by omitting the whole provision for these establishments. The Council was unable to touch the provision for the pay of the Commissioners themselves, as it is a non-voted item. They therefore adopted the device of refusing the grant for the establishment and contingent

charges, knowing that the grant must be restored by certification. Two "cuts" in the Police budget in 1924 and one in the Excise budget had also to be restored by certification. The attitude of the Council in the matter of the reduction of the excise grant was unreasonable. The Council was pressing for a curtailment of the supply of opium and at the same time voted a reduction in the cost of the preventive establishments required to give effect to that policy. The omission of the provision for a saloon carriage for the Superintendent of Railway Police was restored, as it was essential for the discharge of his duties that a special carriage should be provided for the officer's use. The Retrenchment Committee appointed in 1921 had recommended that the Assam Police Provincial Service should be abolished, holding that the work done by Deputy Superintendents of Police could be performed by Inspectors in the subordinate service. To enforce that recommendation the Council in 1924 refused the whole grant for the pay of Deputy Superintendents of Police. As the question of the position and functions of the Provincial Service and its use as a source of recruitment to the All-India Service was then under the consideration of the Royal Commission, the grant was restored by certification pending the Commission's report. The Council accepted this decision by voting the grant in subsequent years.

In 1925 the Council voted a reduction in the grant under the head "Assam Surveys" as a protest against the employment as Director of an officer of the Survey of India, a share of whose pay is debited on this account to provincial revenues. The Council could not refuse the grant for the share of his pay as it is a non-voted item. They therefore made an equivalent reduction in the voted grant. The amount was restored, as the arrangement was economical besides securing for the province the services of a highly trained officer.

28. There is one item in the transferred side of the budget which has been the subject of frequent attacks in Council, *i.e.*, the pay of the Ministers. In 1921, 1922 and 1923 unsuccessful attempts were made to reduce it to Rs. 2,500 and even to Rs. 1,500 a month. In April 1924 with the entry of the Nationalist or *Swaraj* Party into the Council the attack proved successful, a motion to reduce the pay to Rs. 1,500 a month being carried by one vote. In September of that year the Government made an attempt to restore the original figure by means of a supplementary demand, after notice of two resolutions to that effect had been given, but the attempt was defeated by a majority of one vote. In March 1925 there was a change in the Council's attitude and the pay of the Ministers was again voted at the original figure of Rs. 3,500 a month. The grant was carried again in 1926 without opposition owing to the fact that the *Swaraj* Party, in obedience to instructions from their headquarters, walked out of the Council before the demands for grants were presented. In 1924 and 1925 *Swarajist* motions for the reduction of the pay of the Ministers to the nominal figure of one rupee a month were tabled, in pursuance of the party's avowed object of destroying diarchy. These motions however had no chance of success and were not pressed. The majority of the Council is in favour of working the constitution until something better can be devised and desires to retain the Ministers, though there is some feeling that the pay now given is too high.

29. On the whole, except perhaps in the first year of the second Council, the Government have experienced little difficulty in obtaining supplies. The attitude of the Council has not been unreasonable and even from the *Swaraj* benches there has been no attempt to adopt purely obstructive measures in order to embarrass the Government. The general attitude of the Council is that the cost of the administration, and in particular the pay of the higher officers of Government, is excessive and that economy should be effected there in order to make more money available for education, public health and development of the provincial resources. Reference has been made in an earlier paragraph to the oft-repeated charge that the transferred departments are starved for the sake of the reserved. These critics overlook or ignore the fact that the figures shown on the reserved side include in many cases provision for the transferred departments also and that in a province with a comparatively small revenue like Assam the percentage of expenditure on the essential services must necessarily be higher than in provinces with a larger revenue.

30. The Second Council on many occasions moved resolutions recommending increased expenditure. The most important of the subjects were:—

(*a*) an increase in the Government grants to aided schools by 50 per cent.;

(*b*) the reorganisation of the Subordinate Educational Service involving a considerable increase in pay;

(*c*) additional affiliation of the Government Colleges;

(*d*) the grant of Rs. 30,000 to start the nucleus of a museum for Assam;

(*e*) the grant of a sum of five lakhs annually for the spread of primary education;

(*f*) the provision of Rs. 30,000 for the construction of a leper asylum with a recurring grant of Rs. 8,000;

(*g*) the foundation of a medical school in Sylhet; and

(*h*) the grant of a sum of ten lakhs for the improvement of communications, a resolution to which reference has been made in an earlier paragraph.

31. The only way in which the Council has endeavoured to extend its financial powers is by voting a reduction in voted items when their real object of attack is the non-voted items under the same head.

With a few notable exceptions the members of the Council do not examine the budget in any detail but, generally speaking, the Council is jealous of its financial powers and fully able to enforce them.

32. (IV) *Resolutions and questions.*—The following tables give the required statistics as regards resolutions and questions during the period:—

Resolutions.

Year.	Number of which notice was given.	Number disallowed.	Number admitted.	Number moved.	Result.		
					Carried.	Lost.	Withdrawn.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1921 ..							
1922 ..	186	22	164	164	42	39	83
1923 ..							
1924 ..	131	19	112	48	24	7	17
1925 ..	167	7	160	36	18	8	10
1926 ..	67	12	55	39	14	8	17

Questions.

Year.	No. of which notice was given.	Number disallowed.	Number admitted.	Number answered.
1	2	3	4	5
1921	761	35	726	717
1922	442	24	418	400
1923	405	107	298	283
1924	643	78	565	553
1925	978	61	917	900
1926	341	9	332	302

33. Of the 60 resolutions disallowed during the period, 21 were disallowed under Rule 22 on the ground that they could not be moved without detriment to the public interest or that they related to matters which were not primarily the concern of the Local Government. Three were disallowed under Rule 23 on the ground that they affected relations with foreign States. Nineteen were disallowed on the ground that the notice required by Standing Order 60 had not been given, and 17 on the ground that the drafting did not comply with the provisions of the Standing Orders.

In the case of the majority of the questions disallowed, failure to give the required notice was the cause. The next most frequent cause was

that the questions contained arguments or inferences or asked for an expression of opinion. There were also several instances of questions being disallowed on the ground that they related to matters which were not primarily the concern of the Local Government or that they affected the relations with foreign States or with a Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty. The right of interpellation is sometimes abused, members asking for information and statistics which they might have obtained for themselves from published Reports. Occasionally a member uses his right to air the grievances of a disgruntled individual, often a Government servant. In one flagrant instance a long and argumentative representation running into several pages was broken up into what purported to be a series of questions asking for information. Another type of question often put asks in a more or less veiled manner for the opinion of Government on some matter which happens to interest members at the time. In the second Council the right to ask supplementary questions was often abused and the rules restricting the scope of such questions were repeatedly ignored.

34. In the first Council the number of resolutions was reasonable and discussions were not unduly prolonged with the result that all resolutions that had been admitted were moved and no difficulty was experienced in completing the business on the paper. In the second Council the position was very different. In the first two years, 1924 and 1925, the number of resolutions increased to such an extent that the number admitted in one year almost equalled the total number admitted in the three years of the first Council. In addition debates were often prolonged and with less time available for private business owing to the additional days allotted for legislation and the voting of grants, only a small proportion of the resolutions were actually moved. In 1925 only 22 per cent. were moved. The position was easier in 1926 but this was due to the fact that the *Swaraj* Party " walked out " of the House in the Budget session and only returned in the September session for the debates on the Opium Bills and the Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill. More effective party organization is needed to control the number of resolutions of which notice is given.

A brief account is given of the most important resolutions moved in the Council other than those which have already been mentioned in preceding paragraphs and resolutions dealing with the non-co-operation movement and the measures taken for its suppression which will be dealt with in the last chapter of this review.

35. On constitutional questions the most important were the resolution moved by the leader of the *Swaraj* Party in the Budget session of 1924 recommending that such immediate steps as might be necessary should be taken to establish full responsible government in Assam and a similar resolution moved later in the year by the leader of the Independent Party recommending the replacement of diarchy by full provincial autonomy and the immediate transfer of all subjects. At the Budget session the member who moved the latter resolution had contented himself with moving that public works, excise and fisheries should be included at once among the transferred subjects pending the establishment of full responsible government. All these resolutions were carried and there can be no doubt that, although there may be a division of opinion as to the means and stages by which the goal is to be reached, the Council with the excep-

tion perhaps of the European members is unanimous in holding that the time has come for a modification of the existing constitution and that the establishment of full responsible government, as it has been called, should not long be deferred. The views of the Council were communicated to the Government of India, and excise and fisheries have since been included in the list of transferred subjects. In September 1924 a resolution recommending the enfranchisement of women was carried and in accordance with the provisions of Rule 7(1) of the Assam Electoral Rules, the Assam Electoral Sex Disqualification Regulations were framed and issued to give effect to the resolution. At the same session a resolution was carried recommending that women should be qualified to stand for election to the Legislative Council. A rule has since been made requiring a Local Government to give effect to such a resolution, but at that time the Local Government had no authority to do so and the only action that could be taken was to submit the proceedings to the Government of India. Since the amendment of the Electoral Rules this proposal has not again been brought before the Council.

36. Mention must here be made of the resolutions affecting the territorial constitution of the province. In 1924 a resolution was carried recommending the transfer of Sylhet and Cachar to Bengal. The transfer of Sylhet was held to be justified by the fact that by history, race and language Sylhet belonged to Bengal. The same arguments did not apply to Cachar, but Cachar was included by an amendment to the resolution in order to secure the support of the representatives of that district who, though they had no desire to disturb the existing territorial distribution, did not wish to be separated from Sylhet and desired that Cachar should be transferred also if Sylhet were to go to Bengal. The inclusion of Cachar however was a tactical mistake which weakened the case. Recognising that later the Sylhet members supported a resolution moved and carried in 1926 recommending the transfer of Sylhet only, a separate resolution by a Cachar member recommending the transfer of that district also being defeated. The resolution of 1926 was qualified in a very important manner by an additional resolution recommending that Assam should not by reason of the transfer of Sylhet be deprived of the privileges it enjoys as a Governor's province. The majority of the Council would undoubtedly oppose the transfer of Sylhet if that involved any change in the status of the rest of the province. It may be added that, although most of the Sylhet members are definitely committed to championing the transfer, there has been a considerable revulsion of feeling, particularly among the Muhammadans of that district, and even some Hindu members who were once stalwart supporters of the transfer are now more alive to the material advantages which they derive from belonging to one of the leading districts of Assam and would not be sorry if the final decision were to reject the claim which they had before so vehemently urged.

37. The consumption of opium figured very frequently as a subject for resolutions. In 1921 a resolution recommending that the use of opium except on medical prescription or for medical purposes should be confined to the existing habitual consumers was carried. Government in response to that resolution undertook a census of opium-eaters and required all vendors to keep a register of purchasers, but were not prepared to go further at that stage. In the same year a resolution recommending the prohibition of opium smoking was withdrawn on the Government undertaking to examine the question and invite opinions. In the following year a resolution recommending the appointment of a Committee to

consider the question of legislating for the prohibition of opium smoking was also withdrawn, as the Government undertook to circulate the opinions which had been received. In that year also a resolution recommending the rationing of opium-eaters was withdrawn. A similar fate attended a resolution in 1924 recommending that the Government of India be moved to appoint an all-India Committee to consider the opium evil. In 1925 a resolution recommending that the Government of India be moved to take steps for the fixation of an all-India price for opium was carried and the Local Government addressed the Government of India on the subject. In the same year a resolution recommending the prohibition of opium smoking was also carried. The Government of Assam introduced a Bill to give effect to that resolution in the following year. The fate of that Bill and of the private Bill on the same subject has already been described. In 1925 also a resolution recommending the prohibition of the sale and consumption of opium save for medical or scientific purposes was carried. In the meantime, however, the Government had introduced a system by which consumption was restricted to habitual consumers who were registered and allowed a fixed ration. By this system no other persons could obtain opium and the object of the resolution was secured without further measures being necessary. A resolution moved by the same member for the reduction of the quantity of opium to be purchased from the Government of India by an amount represented by three lakhs in value was negatived. In 1926 a resolution recommending the closure of all opium shops with a ration of less than 5 seers a month was also defeated. By these repeated resolutions on the subject the Council has been able to emphasise the growing strength of public opinion against the opium habit. The Government sympathised with that opinion but were compelled to proceed cautiously to avoid the illicit traffic and other evils which would arise from a sudden curtailment of licit supplies. The measures that have now been taken by the Government go far towards the desired goal and, although in the opinion of some reformers the progress may not have been rapid enough, the action taken has secured the recognition from the Council that the Government are at one with them in their aim and are earnestly attempting to stamp out an evil habit.

38. The introduction of spinning was another popular subject for resolutions. In 1921 a resolution was carried recommending that provision should be made for hand spinning as a home industry and that masters and mistresses should be appointed to teach the art in the homes of the people. The Government consulted the Local Boards the majority of whom showed no enthusiasm for the project and were not prepared to undertake it unless the cost were borne by provincial revenues. No further action was then taken. A similar resolution in 1924 was lost by the President's casting vote. Four resolutions were moved at different times recommending the introduction of spinning into the curriculum of schools but three were defeated and the other was withdrawn. Defeat also attended a resolution recommending a grant of Rs. 40,000 to Local Boards to enable them to introduce spinning.

39. Resolutions recommending increased educational facilities, additional grants-in-aid and improvement of the pay of the Subordinate Educational Service and of teachers in aided schools have been to numerous

to mention in detail. The Government have given effect, wholly or in part, to many of these resolutions.

40. In connection with the land revenue administration the resolutions on the subject of the grazing tax and the grazing fees and on the subject of legislation to bring the principles of land revenue assessments under closer regulation by statute have already been mentioned. Another resolution recommending that the whole of the provisions of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation and of the Land Revenue Manual should be replaced by an Act or Acts of the Legislature was also carried. This could be done only by degrees and the Government undertook at first the introduction of the Assam Settlements Bill, the fate of which in 1926 has already been described. In 1925 a resolution was carried recommending that the law as regards the sale of land for arrears of revenues should be amended so as to provide for the automatic setting aside of a sale, if the arrears of revenue, costs, fees and penalty and interest on the purchase money are paid within 30 days of the sale by any person interested in the estate sold. A Bill has been drafted to give affect to this resolution. Two other important resolutions concerning the land revenue administration were carried in 1925. One recommended that waste lands should ordinarily be settled with natives of the province with a view to encourage small capitalists of the province. In response thereto the Government have as an experiment offered special concessions to small Assamese capitalists in a newly opened area. The other resolution recommended the introduction of a new tenancy law for the district of Goalpara. A Committee was appointed to consider this question and since the close of the period under review the Committee has drafted a Bill which is now under consideration.

41. Measures affecting the provincial finances have been the subject of some important resolutions. In 1921 and again in 1924 resolutions recommending the removal of the export duty on tea were carried, the Council holding the view that any additional taxation of the tea industry should be appropriated to provincial revenues. In resolutions recommending that the entire cost of the Assam Rifles should be borne by central revenues the Council have taken the view that this force, to the cost of which the Government of India now contribute 16 lakhs, is required solely for frontier defence and that no part of its cost should be a charge on provincial revenues. In 1923 a resolution was carried recommending that two-thirds of the cost of the administration of the hill districts should be borne by central revenues or, in the alternative, that the provincial contribution should be remitted, the view held being that the administration of these districts is largely a question of frontier defence. The expenditure exceeds the receipts in the hill districts, and, apart from the question of principle, the Council resents revenue from the plains being diverted to meet the deficit in the hill districts. There is also some apprehension that the inclusion of the "backward tracts" within the province may retard its political advance.

42. (V) *Miscellaneous.*—There were three motions for the adjournment of the House to discuss matters of urgent public importance, one in 1924 and two in 1925. A point of order was made the occasion for the motion in 1924. A resolution had been moved recommending the appointment of a Committee to enquire into and report on the action taken by the Executive Government for the suppression of the non-co-operation

movement. During the debate on this resolution a member moved that it be adjourned *sine die*. The President put this motion to the vote without permitting any debate on it with the result that it was carried, and the debate on the resolution thus stood adjourned *sine die*. The following day the adjournment of the House was moved to discuss whether the Council is entitled to discuss a motion for the adjournment of a debate *sine die* before that motion is put. The motion for the adjournment of the House in this case was a protest against the ruling of the Chair given on the previous day, and under cover of this motion members of the *Swaraj* Party continued the debate on the resolution which had been adjourned *sine die*. The motion for the adjournment of the House was eventually talked out. In March 1925 a leading member of the planting community in the Council moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the situation created by the Central Government's remission for a further period of three years of the provincial contribution due from Bengal. It was argued that the preferential treatment thus accorded to Bengal was a breach of the Devolution Rules and delayed the remission of the provincial contribution from Assam. The motion was carried by 37 votes to one. In the same session the leader of the *Swaraj* Party moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee which had recently been published. The mover explained that the urgency arose from the fact that His Excellency the Viceroy was leaving for England to discuss the report with the Secretary of State, and it was therefore necessary that the views of the Council should be expressed before any final orders on the report were passed. The Council adopted a resolution recommending that the Government should take "such steps as will lead to the holding of a round table conference or a Royal Commission for devising a constitution for the country, granting full responsible government."

43. The Standing Orders of the Council were amended in September 1924 and in February 1926. No changes of importance were made on either occasion. Two amendments, which had been recommended by the Select Committee but were opposed by Government, were defeated.

44. The power to nominate experts under section 72A (2) of the Government of India Act has been utilized only once, when the Legal Remembrancer was nominated in connection with the passage through the Council of the Assam Municipal Bill in 1923. It is an obviously useful provision and is likely to be utilized again for the nomination of a representative of the Goalpara zemindars when the Goalpara Tenancy Bill comes up for consideration, as the Goalpara zemindars are not represented on the Council.

45. (*a*) *Extent to which the Councils represent and react on current public opinion.*—There cannot be said to be any public opinion in the political sense outside the educated classes, a very small section of the total population. The large majority of the people are interested only in their own immediate material needs; they care nothing for larger political questions and know little about them. Members of Council championing the cause of the poor and illiterate are ordinarily representing their own views or the views of their party and not the opinions of those whose cause they are upholding, except in so far they may have succeeded in impressing their own views on them in any matter concerning their interests.

The first Council was not representative even of the educated classes, as the more extreme politicians, in pursuance of the non-co-operation policy, did not stand for election. The Council represented only those of the educated classes who held moderate political views. Within that Council, apart from the small group representing the tea industry, there were no political groups or parties and the only distinction was the communal distinction, local or religious, on which the constituencies are based. The second Council, with the entry of the *Swaraj* Party, was more representative of the educated classes, inasmuch as it represented not only the communal distinctions among the people, but also the two chief political schools, *viz.*, those who believe that the present constitution represents a real advance and are prepared to work the Reforms to the best advantage until a further advance can be secured; and those who have no faith in the Reforms and whose declared policy it is to make them unworkable as a preliminary to the introduction of full responsible government. How far the Council reacts on public opinion, it is difficult to estimate. It has little or no influence on any but the educated classes, and even among a large section of the latter there is little interest in the wider political issues. Communal questions still excite the greater interest and in so far as the members of the Council raise the communal issue, Muhammadan *versus* Hindu, Assamese *versus* Bengali or the Assam Valley *versus* the Surma Valley, they do truly represent and effectively react on public opinion.

The small block of members representing the tea industry undoubtedly represent the views of their constituencies and in all important matters ascertain and are guided by their wishes. The interest of these constituencies and of their members was at one time confined almost entirely to questions affecting the material interests of the tea industry, but there has been a marked change in this respect in recent years. They have realized that in mutual good will and co-operation lies the greatest hope for the continued prosperity of the industry and of the province where it is established, and the members now take a greater interest in matters outside the industry and in return receive greater consideration for their interests from the members representing the general constituencies.

46. (*b*) *The extent to which and by what means relations have been maintained between members of the Council and their constituencies.*—Apart from canvassing at election time and occasional meetings to discuss some subject on which they desire to arouse public feeling, the members of the Council make little attempt to keep in touch with their constituencies, to ascertain their views or to educate them in political matters. A member often declares that he has the mandate of his constituency in the attitude he takes on a question before the House, but he does not explain how he received that mandate. Except on purely communal questions, the majority in all general constituencies is apathetic and any mandate which a member may have received must usually have come from the minority. On the other hand, the members all live within their constituencies and thereby are able to make themselves acquainted with local needs and aspirations. The *Swaraj* Party makes some attempt to instruct their constituencies, if not to ascertain and be guided by their views. In this they are helped by their more efficient organization and more defined policy, even though or perhaps because the latter follows

the easier path of destructive criticism rather than of constructive organization. Even when meetings are held in the constituencies, the attendance is poor and consists mainly of members of the legal profession and students, except when the meetings are convened to stir up the feelings of the raiyat against the land revenue assessment or some other form of taxation.

47. (c) *The formation on political lines of groups or parties within the Councils and how far these coincide with or traverse purely communal lines of cleavage.*—In the first Council, as has already been stated, there were no political groups or parties other than the small European group representing the tea industry. All the members representing the general constituencies belonged to the moderate school of political thought. Divisions within that Council followed the communal lines of cleavage on which the constituencies are based, Muhammadan and Hindu, Assam Valley and Surma Valley. In the second Council the position changed with the entry of the more extreme politicians who had held aloof from the first Council in pursuance of the policy of non-co-operation. They were strongly represented in the second Council. At first they were nominally divided into two parties, the Surma Valley members of this school adopting the name of Nationalists while the Assam Valley members described themselves as *Swarajists*. From the first, however, these two parties sat and worked together and it was not long before there was complete fusion under one leader. This party traversed the communal lines of cleavage in that it included Muhammadans and Hindus and members from both Valleys. It took its policy and instructions from the All-India leaders of the *Swaraj* Party, it was well organized and disciplined and in this lay its strength. It was able for a time to overcome or, at any rate, keep in the background communal differences between its members, but the latter were deeprooted and in the end snapped the connecting link of a common political programme. The first signs of a rupture appeared in the last year of this Council when two Muhammadan members refused to follow the rest of the party in the " walk out " that had been dictated by the All-India leaders, and eventually the growing friction between the two communities throughout India led in Assam to a complete rupture between the Muhammadans and the *Swaraj* Party. At the general election of 1926, the only Muhammadan who stood as a *Swarajist* was defeated, and in the present Council the party includes no Muhammadans among its members. Besides the *Swaraj* Party and the small group of six members representing the planting constituencies and the commerce and industry constituency there was at first no other political party in the second Council. The members of that Council belonging to the moderate political school also included representatives from both Valleys and of both the main communities, but, unlike the *Swarajists*, they had no party organization and no common programme. They had been elected mainly on account of personal influence and popularity. They represented no party outside the Council and had no bond of union within the Council except the principle of working the Reforms to their best advantage. This absence of any party organization among the moderate members naturally gave the *Swarajists* a great advantage in the early days of the second Council, and there were indications that although they had not an absolute majority in the House they would be able, owing to the absence of any concerted action on the part of the Moderates, to secure sufficient votes to carry the day on most contentious matters.

Realizing, however, the weakness of their position in the Council the Moderates formed themselves into what was called the Independent Party to work concertedly in the Council. Although they represented no party outside the House and although they had no binding tie except opposition to the main policy of the *Swarajists*, they proved to be a united party for all Council business and effectively checkmated the *Swaraj* Party's hopes of securing a majority in the House.

48.(*d*) *Institution of what may be broadly called conventions of procedure as between the Legislature and the Executive Government or the Governor and, within the Council, the institution and growth of parliamentary practice and procedure.*—In the matter of summoning the Council His Excellency is ordinarily guided by the wishes of the House, and the number and dates of the sessions are fixed to suit the convenience or wishes of the majority of the Council. Beyond this no convention of procedure between the Legislature and the Executive Government has been established, outside that laid down by the Rules and Standing Orders. The Government have always shown themselves ready, so far as possible, to meet the wishes of the Council in any question concerning the arrangement of business and generally there has been a friendly spirit of co-operation in such matters.

The Council has on the whole maintained a high standard of dignity in procedure. The ruling of the Chair is rarely questioned, and with very few exceptions the debates throughout the whole period have been marked by a high standard of decorum. The second Council when it first met appeared likely to fall short of the example set by its predecessor in this respect. Some of the members, new to parliamentary procedure and with the memory of the bitterness of feeling provoked by the non-co-operation movement fresh in their minds, showed at first some want of restraint in debate, but these lapses were not serious and soon disappeared. The members quickly adapted themselves to parliamentary traditions and the contact between opposing parties which the Council proceedings entailed soon restored friendly relations. To this end the restraining influence of the leader of the *Swaraj* party greatly contributed. The Council elected its President for the first time in March 1925. He was at the time a member of the Nationalist Party, but from the date of his election he maintained the traditional impartiality of the Chair.

49. (*e*) *The institution on the part of Government or of parties within the Councils of any form of party organization the issue of whips, etc.*— The Government have never had any form of party organization within the Council. No whips have been appointed and, apart from occasional friendly discussions between individual members of the Government benches and other members of the Council, the Government have been content to try and convince the Council by speeches from the floor of the House. In the first Council there was no organization of any other party, but in the second Council the *Swaraj* party had its leader, deputy leader and whips and its example was followed later by the Independent party. Both these parties and the group representing the tea industry frequently met to discuss and determine the line of action to be taken on any particular measure. The issue of whips is unnecessary with comparatively small parties the members of which are rarely absent from the Council Chamber during the sessions. The *Swaraj* party or its leaders

determine which of its members shall speak in any particular debate, and, to a lesser extent, this practice was also adopted by the Independent party and the group representing the tea industry. There is however little, if any, control exercised by any party in the matter of elections or appointments to Committees or the priority to be given to particular items of business.

50. (*f*) *Prominent party leaders, their policies and adherents.*—In the first Council, although some members were more conspicuous than others, there were no parties and therefore no party leaders. In the second Council Maulvi Faiznur Ali was appointed the leader of the *Swaraj* party. He was liked and respected by all parties. He maintained himself an admirable moderation and courtesy in debate and he used his influence to instil the same principles in his adherents. The deputy leader of that party, Babu Brajendra Narayan Chaudhuri, was perhaps the most prominent figure in the House. To great ability he added a capacity for a careful and detailed study of all important questions before the Council. Ready and able to speak on any question, he contributed to every debate of importance. He was also most active and persistent in interpellation. The policy of the Assam *Swaraj* party is dictated by the All-India leaders of the party, its main principle within the Council being the destruction of diarchy and the substitution of full responsible government. The members of the party in the Assam Legislature have not however resorted to the more extreme methods adopted by the party in other Legislative Councils. They have never adopted purely obstructive methods, except when, in obedience to a dictate from Delhi and after an attempt to get the orders withdrawn, they "walked out" of the House in the March session of 1926. Rai Bahadur Sadananda Dowera was the leader of the Independent party, in the formation of which he took the initiative. A good and fearless speaker, with the courage of his convictions, he proved an able and respected leader. As has already been stated, his party consisted of the members of moderate views who had no common policy except that of working the Reforms with a view to securing a further advance towards responsible government, but under his leadership the party presented within the Council a united front on all important questions, and the strength of their opposition contributed very largely to the moderation of the attitude adopted by the *Swaraj* party.

Another outstanding figure was Lieutenant-Colonel Smiles, the leader of the group representing the tea industry. An able and amusing speaker with a strong personality, he soon acquired considerable influence and popularity among all parties. To him is largely due the credit for the change in the policy of his party and of the industry it represents which has been described.

C.—Constituencies and the Public.

51. *The ascertained percentage of enfranchised persons to the total population, and the percentage of votes recorded in general or bye-elections to the total number of voters on the register.*—The total population of the province, excluding the hill districts and frontier areas which are not represented by election, is 6,871,570. At the general election of 1920 the number of registered voters was 202,440 or 2.94 per cent. of the population. In 1923 the number of voters had increased to 224,063 and the percentage to 3.26 and in 1926 the corresponding figures were 250,751 and 3.64. In

the constituencies where the elections were contested 25 per cent. of the voters went to the poll in 1920, 42 per cent. in 1923 and 43.5 per cent. in 1926. At the last general election the highest proportion of polling was in the South Sylhet (Muhammadan) constituency (71 per cent.) and the next in the Sylhet Sadr (non-Muhammadan) constituency (66.11 per cent.).

During the lifetime of the first Council there were seven bye-elections in general constituencies of which six were contested. The percentage of votes recorded was 13.39. During the second Council there were no bye-elections in the general constituencies.

52. *The interest evinced by the constituencies and the public in the work of the Councils.*—The proceedings of the first Council evoked little interest in the constituencies or among the general public. The more extreme politicians stood aloof and public interest was absorbed almost entirely by the non-co-operation and *Khilafat* movements outside the Council. In 1923 the position had changed. The elections were contested by the *Swaraj* party and their organisation and energetic canvassing resulted in an increase in the polling. The Council became more representative in character and the interest taken in its proceedings by the educated classes was thereby increased, being stimulated by the anticipation that the proceedings would be enlivened by the *Swarajists'* attacks upon the Government. In this respect the *Swaraj* party somewhat disappointed their supporters and interest began to wane. It was revived slightly at the general elections of 1926 but a newspaper of the province has not hesitated to say that a large number of voters were brought to the polls only by bribery.

53. *The extent to which the formation of political groups or parties in the Council is reproduced in or derived from the constituencies.*—The only political party in the House which can be said to have been reproduced in or derived from the constituencies was the *Swaraj* party in the second Council, but they really represented the Assam branch of an All-India party formed outside the legislatures. The so-called Independent party was a party only within the Council formed mainly to oppose the *Swarajists* in so far as the policy of the latter was directed towards the breaking of the constitution. The Independents represented no organised party outside the House. The natural divisions inside the Council are the communal and local divisions which are reproduced in and derived from the constituencies, *viz.*, the Muhammadan and the Hindu and the Assam Valley and the Surma Valley. Although no political group was formed within the Council, following the natural divisions, yet when questions affecting the communal claims arise, the members may be expected generally to follow the natural divisions, irrespective of any artificial party creation, and in so doing they more truly represent their constituencies. Until recently in Assam the division between Muhammadans and Hindus was confined to rivalry in competition for Government service. The acute dissension between the two communities which originated in other parts of India has now spread to Assam and the relations between the two communities are strained. Rivalry between the two Valleys has always existed and was accentuated by the agitation for the transfer of Sylhet to Bengal. When that agitation was at its height everything else in the political world in Assam faded into insignificance in the popular estimation.

54. *Electoral organisation in the constituencies, Political programmes, parties and party funds and machinery.*—As already stated the *Swaraj* party alone is an organised party with any attempt at an electoral organization in the constituencies. The candidates of this party are not, it is believed, financed from any party fund, but they are able to utilize at election times the Congress organization existing in all important centres. Apart from the Congress Committees, there is no permanent electoral organization in the constituencies. No party other than the *Swaraj* party has any programme, electoral organization or funds. The Independent candidates for the general constituencies have to improvise their own canvassing arrangements for the elections and enlist the help of their friends and relations as agents and supporters.

55. *The influence of the Press on politics and public opinion, and the promotion of organs of the press supporting the views of particular groups or parties in the Councils.*—There are no daily newspapers in Assam. The two weekly newspapers published in English are usually moderate in tone. The *Swaraj* party is supported by two or three vernacular papers in the Surma Valley and by one in the Assam Valley. The provincial newspapers however have little influence. Such influence as is exercised in this province by the Press is exercised by the Bengal Press from which the provincial papers mainly take their tone.

D.—Political Agitation and Parties outside the Reforms Scheme.

56. The first Legislative Council constituted under the Reforms Scheme was marked by the absence of representatives of the Congress and *Khilafat* parties, who, in pursuance of the policy of non-co-operation, abstained from offering themselves for election. The first Council therefore consisted only of men of moderate views. The members with hardly an exception disapproved of the non-co-operation movement, though many of them disliked the measures which Government were compelled to take to deal with that movement. In particular the use of emergency legislation, the additional expenditure incurred in the preservation of law and order and the treatment of so-called " political " prisoners were the subject of interpellation in Council. A resolution moved in March 1922 for the withdrawal of " repressive " measures and the release of political prisoners met, however, with little support and was withdrawn, and generally speaking the Council recognized the difficulties with which Government were faced and abstained from adding to them. With the collapse of the non-co-operation movement and the adoption of the " Council entry " policy no party remained outside the political system, and the more extreme politicians, who had hitherto stood aloof, stood for election to the Legislative Council, still pledged to break the constitution but adopting constitutional methods within the Council as a means to that end. One of their first actions was to move a resolution in the Budget session of 1924 recommending the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the measures adopted by the executive authorities for the suppression of the non-co-operation movement. This attempt to rake up old animosities was regarded with misgiving by the more moderate members of the Council and the debate was quickly terminated by the carrying of a motion that it be adjourned *sine die*. The following day, however, the *Swaraj* party moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the propriety of allowing a motion for adjournment of a debate *sine die* to be put without discussion.

Under the cover of this motion on a question of procedure the *Swaraj* members were able to ventilate their grievances against the action of the Government in the non-co-operation days. In the September session of the same year the resolution which had been adjourned *sine die* in the March session was moved again, but on this occasion the tone of the debate was more restrained and the resolution was eventually defeated by the President's casting vote. No attempt has since been made to revive it, the ill-feeling has subsided and although some of the members of that Council and of the present Council are men who suffered imprisonment in the days of non-co-operation, allusions to the past and to their own incarceration have generally been made in good temper.

57. The non-co-operation movement had little effect on the working of Municipalities and Local Boards. Several individual members were removed on conviction for offences connected with the agitation. The Chairman of one Municipality, who was one of the leaders of the non-co-operation movement, used his influence to promote *hartals* and generally to further the movement, and in another Municipality the non-official members resigned in a body in consequence of a disagreement between the Chairman and the Deputy Commissioner in connection with the visit of Mr. Gandhi to the town. There was however no real attempt to carry out the principles of non-co-operation in the working of the local bodies. They were dependent largely on contributions from provincial revenues and such a policy would have been suicidal. With the adoption of the " Council entry " policy the *Swaraj* party made an effort to capture the local bodies. In this they were not successful, although they obtained a majority in some of the Boards and captured the Chairmanship in a few. The *Swarajist* members have made no attempt to adopt obstructive measures in the proceedings of the local bodies, and no serious difference of opinion has arisen between any Board and the Government.

STATEMENT A.

MOTIONS FOR REDUCTION OF GRANTS CARRIED DURING THE YEARS 1921—1926.

1921.	Remarks.
1. That the lump provision of Rs. 80,000 for increase in the Governor's perquisites be reduced to Rs. 40,000.	
This sum (Rs. 40,000) was subsequently added to the estimate under "31.—Education" (Transferred).	
2. That the grant of Rs. 11,000 for the steam-boat establishments for the Commissioner, Assam Valley Division, be omitted.	
This sum (Rs. 11,000) was subsequently added to the estimate under "41.—Civil Works—In charge of Public Works Officers" (Reserved), the Council having agreed to the launch being made over to the Public Works Department.	No expenditure rejected by the Council was restored under the provisions of section 72D of the Government of India Act.
3. That the provision of Rs. 22,128 for recruit boys and recruits be reduced by Rs. 10,000.	
4. That the grant of Rs. 30,100 for the construction of a provincial museum at Gauhati be omitted.	
5. That the grant of Rs 14,062 for La-Chaumiere Fruit Garden be omitted.	
The motion was adopted in the following amended form:—	
"That the grant of Rs. 14,062 for La-Chaumiere Fruit Garden be reduced by Rs. 7,000 so as to give the Government a period of six months within which the garden is to be disposed of and it is no longer to be a charge on public revenues."	

1922.	Remarks.
1. That the provision of Rs. 13,000 for recruiting charges be reduced to Rs. 2,000. The motion was adopted in the following amended form:— "That the provision of Rs. 13,000 for recruiting charges be reduced to Rs. 5,000."	
2. That the provision of Rs. 50,000 for construction of a central jail at Jorhat be omitted.	No expenditure rejected by the Council was restored under the provisions of section 72D of the Government of India Act.
3. That the provision of Rs. 1,74,000 for increasing the Armed Police Reserve be reduced to half. Out of the sum reduced Rs. 43,000 was restored by the consent of the Council.	
4. That the sum of Rs. 7,500 provided for secret service expenditure be reduced by Rs. 2,500.	
5. That the sum of Rs. 18,000 provided for Assam allowances under '41—Civil Works' be omitted.	
1923.	
1. That the lump provision of Rs. 1,200 made under the head "Village Police" be omitted.	Accepted by Government.
2. That the demand for Rs. 1,52,556 for the cost of the resettlement of the districts of Sibsagar and Kamrup under the head "5.—Land Revenue" be omitted.	Restored by certification under section 72D (2) (*a*) of the Government of India Act.
1924.	
That the provision of Rs. 7,286 under management of private estates be reduced by Rs. 1,666.	Accepted.
That the provision of Rs. 1,91,750 under settlement operations be reduced by Rs. 1,41,000.	Certified by His Excellency the Governor.
That the provisions of Rs. 5,760 and Rs. 2,800 for pay and allowances of the Superintendents of grazing be omitted	So much of the provision as was required to pay these officers for the period of notice to which they were entitled before dismissal was certified by His Excellency the Governor.
That the provision of Rs. 84,000 for the salary of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 48,000.	Accepted.

1924—*contd.*	Remarks.
That the provision of Rs. 15,400 for the steam launch "Kestrel" be reduced by Rs. 10,000.	Accepted.
That the provision of Rs. 93,160 under "Commissioners" be reduced by Rs. 1,000.	Ditto.
That the lump provision of Rs. 16,270 for a saloon for the Superintendent of the Railway Police be omitted.	Certified by His Excellency the Governor.
That the provision of Rs. 36,600 for the salary of Deputy Superintendents (of Police) be omitted.	Ditto.
That the provision of Rs. 2,200 under Village Police be omitted.	Accepted.
That the provision of Rs. 1,84,345 under "Excise" be reduced by Rs. 65,000.	Certified by His Excellency the Governor.
That the provision of Rs. 17,600 for Assam Allowances of the Executive Engineers and Assistant Engineers be omitted.	Accepted.
That the demand for an additional sum of Rs. 22,000 under head "22.—General Administration" be refused.	Ditto.
1925.	
That the provision of Rs. 16,93,781 be reduced by Rs. 100 as a protest against the grazing tax.	Ditto.
That the demand for grant for "Assam Surveys" be reduced by Rs. 8,200.	Certified by His Excellency the Governor.
That the demand for the grant under "Establishment" be reduced by Re. 1 (Forest).	Accepted.
That the demand for the grant under head "Navigation, Embankment, etc." be reduced by Re. 1.	Ditto.
That the demand for grant under "Commissioners" be reduced by Rs. 80,000.	Certified by His Excellency the Governor.
That the provision of Rs. 2,95,657 for "District and Sessions Judges, etc.," be reduced by Re. 1.	Accepted.
That the demand for the grant under "Jails" (Rs. 4,46,472) be reduced by Re. 1.	Ditto.
That the demand for the grant of Rs. 1,800 for contribution to the Municipal Board of Shillong be refused.	Ditto.

1926.	Remarks.
That the sum of Rs. 12,959 under "Assam Rifles" be reduced by Re. 1.	Accepted.
That the sum of Rs. 2,00,000 for reconstruction of buildings of the Assam Rifles lines at Kohima under "Assam Rifles" be reduced to Rs. 25,000.	Ditto.
That the sum of Rs. 44,34,800 under "Civil Works" (Reserved) be reduced by Re. 1.	Ditto.
That the sum of Rs. 9,48,073 under "Public Health" be reduced by Re. 1.	Ditto.

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